GLOBAL TRADE, SMUGGLING, AND THE MAKING OF ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

Asian Textiles in France 1680–1760

FELICIA GOTTMANN

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the Making of Economic Liberalism

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Asian Textiles in France 1680–1760

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To Claudia and Günther
and
David and Clio

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List of Abbreviations

AD	Archives départementales
AM	Archives municipales
AMAE	Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères
AN	Archives nationales
ANOM	Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Encyclopédie	Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (eds), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* […]
SHD	Service historique de la Défense

Introduction

In 1758 appeared a tract by the Enlightenment campaigner, contributor to the *Encyclopédie*, and later member of the Académie Française, the Abbé André Morellet. The short book has not received much scholarly attention, in all likelihood because its subject matter as suggested by the title appears more than arcane: *Reflections on the advantages of the freedom to produce and use calicoes in France*. However, while ostensibly preoccupied with arguing in favour of permitting the import, production, and consumption of Asian and Asian-style printed and painted textiles into France, outlawed since 1686, Morellet's work was at the same time the clearest, most widely publicised, accessible, and polemic statement of what scholars now tend to call the 'liberal movement'.[1] For Morellet and for his associates, Vincent de Gournay and Voltaire among others, the improvements liberalisation was supposed to bring were, like two sides of a coin, both material and moral. In a period that predates the modern divorce of economics and ethics into separate disciplines, the values of the wider Enlightenment movement were essential to their economic argument: the defence of freedom of enterprise, production and consumption; as well as the two typical arguments behind what we would now consider 'economic liberalism' – the belief in the civilising force of commercial interaction ('doux commerce thesis') and in free competition as always leading to the optimum outcome ('invisible hand thesis'). Morellet's opponents in the acrimonious and very public debate that preceded the lifting of the calico ban immediately understood that more was at stake than textiles. For the Enlightenment economic liberals, an individual's freedom to pursue his or her economic choices was part and parcel of the wider argument in favour of liberty, a first step towards a society in which greater economic freedom was coupled with freedom of thought; religious toleration; a moderate

and moderated government, legislature, and penal system; and respect for the fundamental right to individual liberty, tempered, however, by a near-egalitarian obligation to contribute to the common good.[2] As such, Morellet's political economy perfectly complemented his wider defence of the Enlightenment movement (*Préface de la Comédie des Philosophes*, 1760), his attacks on religious intolerance (contributions to the *Encylcopédie*, 1756–57; *Le Manuel des Inquisiteurs*, 1758), his advocacy of criminal law reform (his translation and popularisation of Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, 1766), and his calls for the right to comment on, and intervene in, government concerns and state economic administration (*Réflexions sur les avantages de la liberté d'écrire et d'imprimer sur les matières de l'administration*, 1764).

Although stripped of all of its more radical ethical implications, Morellet's political economy has become today's doxa: the ideology of liberal capitalism hailed as one of the great achievements of the West. And yet the formulation in which it conquered the public stage in 1758 was as a response to a perceived threat from the East. That threat was the flooding of the French market by Asian and Asian-style textiles, the fear that French manufactures could not compete, with bankruptcies and unemployment on a massive scale as inevitable consequences. Against this backdrop Morellet set out to prove that the real danger lay not in free trade or Asian productivity but in the political response they evoked in France itself: in the abusive, violent, and despotic responses by tax officials tasked with policing the ban on these textiles' importation, production, and consumption, which authorities had vainly tried to implement for over 70 years. The real damage, according to Morellet, was the violent repression, mass arrests, and executions as well as the loss of another possible outlet for France's creative economic energies in the shape of a potential new branch of industry, namely the printing and painting of such textiles. These Eastern textiles then played a surprisingly important role in what are usually considered to be indigenously French or, at the most, European developments: the rise of consumer cultures; the state's power of policing but also of encouraging invention, knowledge transfer, skilled migration, and industrial espionage; the nascent French cotton industry and industrialisation; and the birth of what we now call, as a convenient short hand, 'economic liberalism'. This book tells their story.

In order to tell this story, the following chapters set material culture, consumption, and their impact in their widest possible context. In and of itself, there is nothing special about such an approach. After all, there is a well-established French historical tradition of material

culture studies which remains exemplary for its comprehensive contextualisation of consumption and for the careful assessment of its wider cultural, social, economic, and intellectual impact. For the early modern period alone Daniel Roche, the doyen of the field, has linked consumption habits to the rise of civility and Enlightenment, while Madeleine Ferrières successfully combined material culture and social history. More recently, Natacha Coquery has studied the materialities of the thriving Parisian retail and consumer culture. This culture and the 'empire of fashion' more broadly have in turn been linked to innovation, increases in production, and the development of capitalism in early modern France, a connection that is particularly applicable to the vibrant Lyonnais silk industry.[3] A whole host of eminent historians have studied more specialised aspects of eighteenth-century consumer cultures, ranging from coffee to wigs, and from seamstresses to mercers, stressing in particular the spread of consumption across the social spectrum.[4]

However, since Braudel, and in spite of some significant recent works acknowledging the importance of the international context for the economic development of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, these studies, like most of French history, tend to be national at best, and more usually regional or local.[5] Only rare exceptions even take the European context into account, which in turn is frequently limited only to the Franco–British rivalry. This remains the case even in the increasingly popular research on transfer, movement, and circulation.[6] All in all, there are as yet disappointingly few attempts to study the impact of the colonies on the metropole or, more broadly, to set metropolitan French developments into their global context. Such a global history approach is much needed – and that is what this study seeks to provide.

Such an approach is necessary because one of the most exciting historiographical developments of the last decade or so has been the emergence of global history as a discipline, a discipline that attempts not only to provincialise Europe but also to set 'European' events in their wider context, showing that what have traditionally been considered solely Western or European achievements, the 'consumer revolution', the American and French Revolutions, the industrial revolution, and more widely the 'great divergence', or the 'rise of the West', were not only phenomena of worldwide importance and impact, but that their roots were global, too. Thanks to the work of Maxine Berg and Jan de Vries, among others, the link between global trade and the rise of consumption or the 'consumer revolution', a now quite contentious term,

has been well established.[7] Most scholars would now also accept their conclusion that the rise of global consumption was a significant contributing factor to the developing industrious and industrial revolutions in Europe.[8] For while the attempt to globalise the early modern Western political revolutions is more recent, it is firmly established that Europe profited enormously from its aggressively expansionist global drive.[9] The question of how far this violent expansion, both commercial and territorial, depended on, or conversely, fostered 'the great divergence' will undoubtedly continue to be a much debated subject, which, incidentally, this book carefully avoids.[10]

One particularly fertile subset of the developing field of global history is the study of consumption and commodity chains. Following the pioneering work of Sidney Mintz on sugar, more recent studies have ranged from cotton, porcelain, and emeralds to a spate of works for the popular market mainly on comestibles such as tea, tobacco, cod, and potatoes.[11] It is true that, as Jonathan Curry-Machado acknowledges when offering his own collection of commodity biographies, such studies – especially those written to sell to popular audiences – may suffer from the grandiose tendency to make their one commodity of choice the linchpin of all human history, systematically insisting that, as their titles proclaim, their chosen subject 'changed the world'.[12] When applied with a little more modesty, however, the commodity focus as adopted in this study offers an innovative way of writing global history that has three distinct advantages. First, thanks to its grounding in the concrete material realities of an object's production, trade, and consumption, it can meaningfully cover global processes and vast swathes of territory and yet avoid the pitfalls of macrohistorical abstractions or generalisations. Second, it can follow networks horizontally, across regional, national, and continental dividing lines and thereby reveal quite unexpected global connections between local actors who do not often figure as active agents in traditional history writing. Such studies link producers – ranging from highly skilled and highly paid artisans to the most cruelly exploited slaves in south American mines or Atlantic cotton colonies – with merchants, transporters, retailers, and consumers from all across the world and all across the social spectrum. Indeed, recent scholarship has shown the degree to which commodity globalisation touched even the lower and lowest strata of early modern European, Asian, African, and American societies.[13]

Finally, the grounding in material culture brings one further advantage to the study of global history: it permits a type of history-writing that transcends the narrowly economic. The impact of early modern

France's imports of Asian textiles as studied in this book involves not only trade flows and statistics, but a social history of consumption, of smuggling, revolts and resistance as well as the fascinating and multi-faceted responses by government, textile producers, scientists, and intellectual elites. This approach thus allows for an integration of economic, social, political, cultural, and intellectual history. Such a 'connected history' avoids the pitfalls Boldizzoni finds in purely cliometric economic history, and instead provides what he calls for, an 'economic history that is [...] at the same time social and cultural history'.[14] More innovatively perhaps, it reinserts early modern debates about political economy and Enlightenment liberalism into the socio-economic realities from whence they sprang and which they treat, proving that, as Michael Sonenscher has advocated, the history of political and economic thought does not have to be treated as an alternative to social and economic history.[15]

This study seeks to globalise French eighteenth-century history, to show that some of the most crucial developments in this era have roots that are global, not simply regional, national, or European. This is not, of course, a lone endeavour. While such an approach is more usual when it comes to intellectual and cultural history, it has now also moved to political economy: Istvan Hont, Paul Cheney, Sophus Reinert, and Anoush Fraser Terjanian have all emphasised the importance of the international and global dimension to the development of eighteenth-century French economic thought.[16] Even more recently Michael Kwass has offered a detailed and fascinating insight into what he calls the 'dark side of globalization' in the metropole.[17] While the iniquitous impact on the periphery – slavery, forced labour, war, conquest, violence – is generally well known, Kwass shows that violence also spilt over to France itself. Very much in line with this present study, he reveals how global trade and consumption led to the formation of a 'global underground' of smugglers and their customers which ultimately fermented opposition, if not yet to the French monarchy itself then at least to one of the monarchy's most important aspects: its fiscal arm, the private tax farms.

However, the grounding in material culture also permits this study to take into account developments that a focus on smuggling alone cannot consider, namely the role of the state, of the increasingly professionalised and centralised administration, beyond their attempts to control and police production, trade, and consumption. Largely marginalised both by Whiggish and neoliberal historiography, the (French) state, as Emma Rothchild has recently argued, 'was an overwhelming

presence in economic relationships'.[18] Moreover, its role extended far beyond the purely economic. J.R. Harris, Liliane-Hilaire Pérez, and Philippe Minard have convincingly demonstrated the importance of the French state in fostering invention and innovation and, as this book confirms, it played a crucial role in the development of applied science, in the gathering of useful knowledge, industrial espionage, and other attempts to imitate global – not just European – production processes.[19]

Thus, as the recent works by Sven Beckert, Prasannan Parthasarathi, and Giorgio Riello have amply proven, the study of cotton textiles, one of the oldest and most widely traded manufactured global goods, contributes to the wider global history agenda by revealing how much of what has traditionally been seen as the West's indigenous path to greatness had its origins in Europe's global connections. These developments range from the mass consumption of popular consumer goods such as cotton textiles to the codification of useful knowledge; the link between scientific research and industrial production; and, so far overlooked, the emergence of Enlightenment economic liberalism, a development which, as this book argues, was inextricably linked, in France, both to the state and to global trade.[20]

Indeed, studying the impact of Asian textiles in France also confirms once again how much Europe's economic institutions and doctrines were enmeshed in its global trade ventures, a fact that historians are only just beginning to explore.[21] Overseas trade not only led to the first joint-stock companies in Europe, the various East India Companies, and in France to the – spectacularly failed – first introduction of paper money and a state bank based on Law's merger of the Africa, West, and East India Companies in 1719/20, but also to the first public victories for the type of economic liberalism propagated by Vincent de Gournay and his circle, important predecessors of, and alternatives to, the perhaps better-known physiocratic movement. Many members of the circle, including Vincent de Gournay himself, had a background in global trade which they allied with their involvement both in government service and in the wider Republic of Letters and Enlightenment movement.[22] The circle, especially through its mouthpiece, André Morellet, was instrumental first in the lifting of the calico ban in 1759, and then, ten years later, in the removal of the French Indies Company's trading monopoly. Both events, accompanied as they were by acrimonious and widely publicised debates, brought the arguments for economic liberalisation to wide public attention at a time when, on the one hand, public opinion itself developed into a powerful legitimating concept and, on the other, political economy became both one of the most central topics

of public interest and one of the defining features of the European Enlightenment as a coherent movement.[23]

An investigation of the impact of early modern France's global trade on mainland France itself is thus most effective when firmly grounded in the materiality of the actual goods traded. This grounding forms the first part of the book. As Wellington has calculated, textiles were by far the most valuable import of the French East India Companies.[24] Yet import statistics alone can never explain the near-universal appeal of these textiles. Instead this can only be understood in terms of their inherent characteristics, their very materiality, too often neglected by those who trade in aggregate figures. This then is the subject of the first chapter. The increasing popularity of Indian cottons in Europe from the seventeenth century onwards was due, at least in part, to their qualities which European textiles could not match until the later eighteenth century. Indian weavers could produce a much finer weave and could use cotton both for the warp and the weft, while European producers struggled to achieve the finer qualities of muslin and for a long time continued to use linen as a warp, which was less likely to break. Moreover, unlike with their European imitations, the bright colours of printed and painted Indian cottons not only resisted fading in the sunlight but were also colourfast when washed. However, the European success story of Asian textiles, whether Indian, Chinese, or Middle-Eastern, can only partly be explained by their high quality. As the book also reveals, it also lay in their *low* quality, that is, in their cheapness. The trick to their success was that they came in a vast range of qualities, from the finest hand-painted chintzes to the cheapest block-printed or dyed calicoes, and could thus both furnish the summer houses of aristocrats, clothe poor labourers, and provide the bourgeoisie with cheaper alternatives to high-quality French silks.

Chapter 1 also shows, however, that the French story of Asian textiles was a lot more complicated and global than a simple linear model of Asian production and French consumption would suggest. Bought by Europeans in Asia and paid for most usually with South American silver mined by African slaves, the fabrics in question were truly global textiles, not just products of a simple bilateral exchange. Moreover, in the East India Companies' textile trade Europe itself was only one of three destinations: it also involved the slave trade – Indian cottons were required both to buy and then to clothe African captives – and the Americas, in the French case the sugar islands, the French possessions in the Caribbean, where such textiles were popular due to their lightness. Furthermore, the 'East Indies' were only one of three origins for

these fabrics, which could also come from Europe itself or the Levant. Printed and painted Indian-style textiles, known in France interchangeably as *toiles peintes* ('painted cloth') or, reminiscent of their first origin, as *indiennes* ('Indians'), had begun to be imitated in Europe from the seventeenth century onwards. These were usually only in the lowest qualities, often in simple monochromes that were not colourfast: Europe's catch-up with Indian technological superiority took a long time. Another region of the world, however, had already mastered Indian printing techniques: the Levant. And in the French case, unlike in that of the Dutch or English, imports of Levantine cotton textiles were an important source both of *indiennes* and of white cottons. By taking a global approach, this book thus brings together traditionally separate historiographies: oceanic trade ('Atlantic France'), the Levant trade ('Mediterranean France'), and intra-European trade ('Continental France'). The result demonstrates not only the enduring importance of the Mediterranean for early modern France but also the deep interconnections of European, Asian, American, and African trade networks.[25] These all intersected at the French East India Company's auctions held in Nantes and Lorient. Quite in contrast to what the traditional narrative of strict national monopolies would have one believe, the French East India Company, as this study reveals, supplemented its own imports with purchases from other European East India Companies, its ostensible rivals. Moreover, for a large part of our period any Asian-style textiles, be they of Asian, Levantine, or European origin, which were found to be circulating illegally in France were sent to the French East India Company to be sold for re-export. Consequently such Company auctions became nodal points of a truly global textile trade.

In France itself these global textiles became so popular that the state began to fear for its own textile manufacturing sector, a branch of industry that had been at the heart of Colbertist economic policy and which continued to be heavily regulated and protected ever since. As a consequence France was the first of several European countries to ban the importation of calicoes. In France, however, the ban was not only earlier (1686 in France versus 1701 and 1721 in Great Britain, 1717 and 1718 in Spain) but also more comprehensive than anywhere else. It included not only any printed or painted textile but most types of Asian and Asian-style fabrics, and, for a time at least, also muslins. Indian calicoes were perhaps the most obvious target of the ban, but they were not the only one. The global nature of the textiles in question is emphasised in the repeated legislation itself, which referred to 'fabrics from India, China, and the Levant'. Such textiles then also included so-called *écorces*

d'arbre (fabrics woven with ligneous filaments), finely woven cloth with gold and silver thread, several types of Indian and Chinese silks, and of course any textile that was printed or painted. Moreover, in France, unlike in Britain, the calico ban outlawed not only the import but also the production and usage of any printed or painted textile, including printed linens, which effectively killed off France's own calico printing industry. The consequences of the ban, however, were not quite what the legislators had imagined, namely the retention of species and the protection of the French textile industry to prevent unemployment and emigration. Instead it caused hundreds of thousands of ordinary French men and women to break the law. This often highly violent culture of smuggling and illicit consumption forms the subject of the book's second part.

The French calico ban led to a veritable industry of smuggling. Chapter 2 analyses the operating mechanisms of these illegal imports and the territorial, social, cultural, and economic structures underlying them. In many respects the smuggling of textiles imitated and combined itself with that of an equally popular but highly regulated global product, tobacco; even if, as a careful evaluation of sentencing records for smugglers reveals, tobacco and salt were more commonly smuggled than textiles. Unlike in the case of tobacco, however, which was only illegal if not sold through the tax farms, all consumption of Asian-style printed and painted textiles was forbidden. Given the highly visible and distinctive nature of the fabrics in question, offenders were easy to spot. However, while perhaps easy to identify, not many of them were as easy to arrest and to fine. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, both retailers and consumers found ways to evade the ban and were in many cases quite ready to violently resist any attempts to curtail their activities.

This created not only cycles of repression and revolt but also traditions of resistance, both popular and violent and elite and intellectual, that undermined the French authorities long before the revolution. More importantly in the short term, it revealed some of the intrinsic weaknesses of the early modern French state: the fragmentation of its territory and the concomitant lack of legal unity; a culture in which personal reputation was ranked far above any impersonal rule of law; and the limits to the state's power of policing and control both over its own elites and over local populations whose leaders would not happily side with an unpopular directive and risk potential violence or unrest. Meanwhile Britain, Switzerland, and several smaller principalities were developing successful calico-printing and muslin-spinning industries, the products of which they happily – if secretly – exported into France.

The very obvious failure of the ban significantly contributed to the perception of a wider national decline and need for patriotic reform which began to prevail among the French elites from the time of the War of Austrian Succession (1740–48) onwards. The final part of book therefore turns to the reaction of the French administrative and intellectual elites and to the link between Asian-style textiles and state-sponsored attempts at improvement, innovation, and reform. For the Parisian authorities, particularly the Administration of Commerce, were interested in more than just limiting any potential harm to already existing industries: they also took a very active role in fostering innovation, invention, and knowledge transfer. This was not just a hallmark of a mercantilist economic policy. Many of the figures most central in these endeavours formed part of the wider Enlightenment movement towards improvement, a movement in which the development of political economy as a discipline played a crucial part. Two men in particular, Vincent de Gournay and Daniel Trudaine, used their position and influence, most importantly their membership of the Parisian Bureau of Commerce, to foster this culture, creating nodes of knowledge and expertise, both in the practicalities of trade and production and in the 'new science' of political economy.

In recent years, the history of science has turned away from a conception of early modern science as pure and academic towards an understanding of it as applied, hybrid, and practical.[26] Concomitantly, scholars have begun to appreciate the importance of the global dimension to the early modern European quest for knowledge and improvement.[27] Chapter 4 explores this dimension, demonstrating that the traditional focus on France's main rival, Britain, as the cradle of the industrial revolution and thus as fertile ground for attempts at industrial espionage, needlessly obscures how global these French – mainly state-sponsored – efforts to gain and implement useful industrial knowledge really were. Attempts to improve French cotton technology were both far-reaching, including sponsored trips to India and the Levant, and methodologically broad, ranging from the fertile collaboration between the Council of Commerce and experts from the Academy of Sciences, to the collection of codified knowledge, the employment of foreign experts, laboratory and field experiments, and the offer of financial incentives and rewards for inventors and spies.

Though research exists on the practicalities of gathering useful knowledge and on the role of the state and other institutional actors involved with it, this is rarely connected to the intellectual aspects of improvement culture, namely to the Enlightenment movement in general and

to political economy in particular. Indeed, an appreciation of the global context has only very recently made inroads into the realm of the history of ideas.[28] Political economy and Enlightenment liberalism are the subject of the book's final chapter, which reveals the centrality of those sponsoring the practical attempts at economic improvement analysed in the previous chapter also in the intellectual sphere. For, rather unexpectedly perhaps, Asian textiles played an important role in the development of one of the eighteenth century's most lasting intellectual legacies, economic liberalism. Among the first to advocate a variant of this school of thought in Europe were the men loosely gathered around Vincent de Gournay; and they first rose to public prominence in the acrimonious public debate, fought via pamphlets, books, and journal articles, that preceded the eventual abrogation of the calico prohibition in 1759. The obvious failure of the ban on the import, production, and consumption of Asian and Asian-style textiles in France provided the opportunity to convince the wider public of the case for economic liberalism as put forward by Gournay and Morellet, made, as the chapter demonstrates, firmly in the spirit and in the manner of the wider French Enlightenment movement.

Taken together, the chapters reveal the profound impact which just one single aspect of early modern France's global trade, its imports of Asian textiles, had economically and in terms of knowledge transfer and industrial development, but also socially, culturally, and intellectually, contributing to a wide range of developments traditionally studied in a solely French or at the most European context: the growth of consumer cultures; the deliberate encouragement of both the collection and application of scientific and useful knowledge; contestations, both popular and violent, and elite and intellectual, about state regulation, economic choice, and individual liberty; and, linked to this, the rise of political economy as a discipline, both in the administration itself and in the wider public sphere. By connecting these fields and by emphasising the importance of the wider and extra-European context for both, this study is but one point in the wider case currently being made for the importance of the global in the – too often purely Eurocentric – narratives of the European attainment of modernity.

Part I
Global Textiles

Prologue
Three French Women and Their Troublesome Textiles

On 27 February 1756 at around five in the afternoon, Madame Chanelle, widow of the late Sieur Chanelle, was returning, mounted on a brown horse, from the town of Trévoux, then capital of the Dombes, now a suburb of Lyon. She had done some shopping and was returning to the local parish in which her uncle, with whom she lived, was the curate, when she was stopped by the local tax and customs officials, who wished to inspect her saddle bags. Madame Chanelle, they found to their chagrin, was a determined woman and she was having none of it. She tried to escape, but when that proved futile she took her riding crop to one of the men. Finding that this did not much help either, she changed tack, took out her purse – made, as the officials duly noted, from real silk – and offered them money in exchange for her freedom. However, either she did not quite offer them enough, or she had met with some rather conscientious fellows, who may not have quite appreciated the liberal application of her whip. The men proceeded to open her suitcases and immediately found what she had been trying to conceal from them. Not only was she carrying gun powder (which, she claimed, she had bought only so that her and her uncle's servants could use it to rid themselves of rats), but, worse perhaps, she had also acquired three pieces of *indienne*, printed or painted Indian or Indian-style textiles, whose import, retail, and usage had been forbidden in France for, by then, exactly 70 years. Of grey and white background with tendrils and small sprigs of flowers in different colours, the pieces came to a total of 20 metres of fabric. They may of course, as Madame Chanelle claimed, have been destined for the personal use of herself and her daughter, but then she may also have intended to retail them, an even worse offence than usage of such fabrics. In either case, the officials took this seriously and decided to seize her saddlebags, her

horse, and her person and to escort them to their nearest post, in Villefranche-sur-Saone, in the wine region of Beaujolais, 25 km north of Lyon, to draw up their official report, the *procès-verbal*, that would serve as evidence in her prosecution.[1]

Madame Chanelle had clearly been unsurprised that her textiles might lead her into trouble with the officers of the *Fermes*, the private tax farms who were officials in charge of policing the ban on Asian and Asian-style fabrics. One who certainly did not expect to be inconvenienced by such lowly officials was a member of the French nobility, the marquise de Chiffreville of the Normandy Chiffrevilles. Unfortunately for her, however, the authorities were under pressure from the Controller General, Orry, to set an example and also to arrest the upper-class leaders of fashion. And thus one day, as the marquise ventured out in Paris clad in a white skirt decorated with purple flowers, she was indeed made an example of and called to appear before the magistrates on 30 June 1738. Not, of course that she deigned to appear in the presence of the 16 other accused summoned that day, who included a female beer seller, a wine seller and a vinegar maker, the wives of a coppersmith and a cooper, and a married couple, wine sellers both – all, one would think, much beneath the notice of a marquise and most of whom, it should be said, did not appear in person either. Found guilty together with all the others, the marquise was sentenced *in absentia* to pay a fine of 300 livres and to hand over her offending garment. The confiscated textiles would be sent to the French Indies Company to be sold for export, while two thirds of the fine was to go to the tax officials who made the arrest and the informers who helped them. Whether anybody indeed managed to force the marquise to pay or hand over her skirt is of course quite another question.[2]

The middling and upper classes were not, however, the only ones to make use of such forbidden textiles. Rose Barbosse was a Provençale from the town of Tarascon, 20 km south-west of Avignon, whose proud castle still overlooks the Rhône river today. Rose was poor. So poor indeed that when in July 1744 *fermes* officials spotted her wearing a calico skirt, and a very worn one at that, the *Intendant* of the Provence proposed to the Controller General that her fine be lowered from the officially required exorbitant figure of 3,000 livres, or indeed the more usually imposed amount of 300 livres, to a mere 3 livres – a sum she would still struggle to pay.[3]

It seems surprising that three women from different French regions and of such different social status and financial means would wear the same kind of textile, when there would have been so very little else

in their lives that they had in common. The following chapters will therefore examine such Asian and Asian-style textiles more closely to understand what they were, where they came from, and how they could appeal to such a wide range of the French population.

1
Global Fabrics: The French Trade in Asian and Asian-Style Textiles

The very finest of the banned Asian textiles, the type that a marquise might wear, were imported directly from India and China via the East India Companies. Both China and India had been famous for their textiles for many centuries before the first European ship ever rounded the Cape of Good Hope: India for its cottons and China as the fabled home of silk. White Indian muslins had already been appreciated by ancient Greeks and Romans for their lightness and sheer weave. In the modern period both plain and printed or painted cottons as well as cotton and silk mixes were traded to China, South Asia, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and North Africa. The Mediterranean market in particular was thriving and some cottons would have reached Europe through the trade of the Italian merchant states, but the real influx began after the Europeans, starting with the Portuguese, established a seaborne direct trade to and from India in the sixteenth century.[1]

India's cottons and cotton and silk mixes came in a vast range of types and qualities. The top end included the finest and sheerest muslins, sometimes woven with gold and silver thread, as well as hand-painted chintzes, which in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe were made into dresses, skirts, housecoats, or furnishings for the upper and middle classes, as seen in Plates 1.1 to 1.4. However, Indian weavers and dyers had for centuries also been producing and exporting coarser cottons and cotton mixes. Chequered, dyed in single colours, block printed, resist-dyed to produce simple patterns, or left undyed, these sold to the lower and lowest end of the market. In the later early modern period, such cottons were used by Europeans to clothe African slaves, but earlier examples of such simpler ranges also survive, as that depicted in Plate 1.5, a resist-dyed Indian cotton fragment found during excavations of late medieval Egypt.[2]

Whether simple block prints, intricate painted patterns or combinations of the two, Indian chintzes and calicoes shared an advantage over anything Europeans could produce until the late eighteenth century: their exceptionally bright and beautiful colours did not fade either with washing or sunlight and lasted as long as the fabrics themselves. This was due to Indian technical skills that Europeans still had to master: resist-dyeing, mordanting, and linked to this, the proper use of indigo and of madder dyes. Resist dyeing consisted in the application, by painting, printing, or a combination of both, of wax or resin to areas that would be reserved on the textile which would subsequently be soaked in vats of indigo dye. Once dried and the resist removed the result would be a colourfast blue textile with white spaces – or with motifs in different colours which had been preserved from the blue dye. This required familiarity with the use of indigo as dyestuff as well as the use of cold vats, since waxes or resins would melt at higher temperatures. Mastery of this was something which Europeans, who had traditionally used woad for blue dyes, were only slowly acquiring by the eighteenth century. The same was true of familiarity with the fermentation and dissolution of indigo and indigo crystals required to be able to use it as a brush-applied dye for textile painting. For colourfast red and red-based dyes, on the other hand, the textile would need to be prepared with a mordant before being immersed in a madder dye-bath. The mordant served to fix the colours, so that after washing and bleaching untreated areas would again become white. The challenge here lay not only in the composition of the metallic mordants, but also in their thickening so that they could be applied by brush or, more cheaply, via printing blocks. The combination of these techniques would result in colourful calicoes and chintzes: cheaper block-printed ones in one or more colours, but also those that used a combination of block printing and hand painting, and the very finest, entirely hand-painted ones, which could involve up to a dozen separate dye transfers to the fabric.[3]

The popularity of Indian cottons and their advantage over European imitations lay not only in their designs, however. The weave of Asian cottons was equally important. Whether printed, painted, dyed, or bleached, the weave of the higher quality Indian cottons was finer, lighter, and more even than that of any of the cotton textiles produced in Europe, especially since until well into the eighteenth century most European 'cottons' were in fact cotton mixes. European producers struggled to use cotton as warp and instead resorted to the more familiar and sturdier silk or linen as warp yarns, resulting in heavier cotton–linen mixes.[4]

India was not the only region to have mastered cotton technology: by the beginning of our period its know-how had spread widely, including to China, Persia, and the Levant. Thus, while India was the main source of the French East India Companies' textile imports, China was also a supplier of cottons, of the so-called nankeens in particular, but more importantly provided silks, both plain and figured, such as the man's dressing gown depicted in Plate 1.6 or the painted silk fragment (Plate 1.7).

In Europe, such textiles proved very fashionable indeed. Used first as furnishings, by the mid- to late seventeenth century they became very much *à la mode* for high-end clothing, too, especially once Indian printers, painters, and dyers adapted their export goods for the European market, adopting specific flower motifs, measurements, and especially changing the dark background colour of chintzes for the Asian market to suit the Western taste for light backgrounds.[5] In any discussion of the popularity of Asian textiles in early modern France, inevitably there will be a reference to Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* of 1670, in which the eponymous hero, Monsieur Jourdain, proudly shows off his new dressing gown in *indienne*, having been informed by his tailor that 'all people of quality wore this in the mornings'.[6] While the reference is perhaps tiresome, M. Jourdain is, as it turns out, quite correct. Over the course of the last three decades of the seventeenth century, the *Mercure galant*, France's first and foremost journal on courtly life, worldly affairs, the arts, sciences, etiquette, luxury goods, and fashion, regularly featured these and other East Asian fabrics in their fashion news and reported on the arrival of the French East India Company's ships. In the 1670s it found that one couldn't see anything but Indian and Chinese printed or painted fabrics in the streets of the capital, and that, while chintz dresses and dressing gowns continued to be highly fashionable, one could by now also find skirts of the same material. Chinese silk taffetas, which previously had been a favourite material for bed furnishing, were now also becoming fashionable as a fabric for skirts, while in 1677 finely striped sheer muslins were the preferred material for overlaying the latest gentlemen's coats.[7] In the 1690s still, Asian fabrics made it onto the journal's coveted fashion plates, as a stylish bonnet decorated with muslin, or as a whole outfit for 'a lady of quality', whose luxurious Indian fabrics embroidered with silk and gold were held together with a diamond brooch and a belt with a large diamond buckle in the latest fashion.[8] Wealthy men and women continued to wear and use such textiles over the century to come, but, as the example of Madame Chanelle and Rose Barbosse shows, this high-end consumption was

not the only market segment that the Indies Companies' textile trade catered to. The first part of this chapter will therefore outline the contours and mechanisms of this trade focusing on the great diversity of the textiles in question to explain how such textiles could appeal to consumers right across the French social spectrum. The chapter's second part then complicates the picture by explaining the global, rather than bilateral, nature of this textile trade and by introducing the mechanisms and characteristics of France's second source of Asian-style fabrics, the Levant trade. All in all this chapter thus explains both why this book consistently refers to 'Asian and Asian-style' fabrics, rather than just 'Indian' or 'Chinese' textiles, how these made their way to France, and why they managed to gain such popularity there.

The French East India Company Trade

The first French Company, the *Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales*, was founded in 1664 under Louis XIV by Colbert and modelled on the already existing Dutch Company. Like the former it was a shareholder monopoly company that had an exclusive right to equip ships to trade in the Indian Ocean, which meant that none but Company ships were allowed to bring goods back from anywhere east of the Cape of Good Hope to their home country. The French Company's administrative seat was in Paris, and after first using various other Atlantic ports, it gained its own base in Lorient, Brittany, which over time acquired all the important facilities needed for staffing, building, and repairing the Company's ships, for loading and unloading as well as storing and selling the merchandise.[9] Unlike in the British or Dutch case, the royal government, not merchants, held sway over the French company. It remained the majority shareholder of the French India Companies in all their guises, which included the original *Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales* of 1664 and the Law Company of 1719–21, a merger between the Company of the West Indies (*Compagnie d'Occident*) and the East India Company, which gave the newly created company not only the monopoly over all trade past the Cape of Good Hope but also extensive taxation and land rights as well as extensive rights over American and African trade, including the slave trade. That company, the *Compagnie des Indes*, or Indies Company, ended with the spectacular failure of Law's Bank and his linked Mississippi scheme, and its successor company slowly but surely retroceded many of its rights, privileges, and territories in order to focus on the core trade to India, China, and the Mascarene Islands. While profitable overall, trade of both companies

suffered greatly in times of war. The earlier company, which had suffered greatly from the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97), never quite recovered from the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–13), one of the reasons that made the 1719 merger seem so attractive. The Indies Company in turn saw its trade severely damaged and interrupted by the War of Austrian Succession (1740–38) and was crippled by the Seven Years War (1756–63), and the damages it sustained was one of the arguments most frequently invoked in the debates that preceded the loss of its trading monopoly to the East in 1769.[10]

Of the three branches of the post-Law Company's trade past the Cape of Good Hope, to China, India, and the Mascarene Islands, the Indian one was by far the most valuable and the most profitable.[11] And the majority of that trade was in textiles. Indeed, unlike the English and Dutch Companies, established in 1600 and 1602 respectively, which had originally been created to trade in spices and only gradually increased their imports of Asian textiles over the seventeenth century, the French Company's key good, from its beginning in 1664 to the end of the second Company's monopoly in 1769, was textiles.[12] By far the most important source of these textiles was India.

The French in India: Surat and the Gujarati Textile Trade

Like the other European nations who had trading companies sailing to India, the French maintained footholds on the subcontinent's three main textile-producing regions: Gujarat in the west, Bengal in the east, and the Coromandel Coast in the south-east. In the French case these footholds included both *comptoirs*, extraterritorial settlements in India that actually belonged to the Company, and simple *loges* or factories within Indian towns and cities. The earliest of these was in Surat, centre of the Gujarati textile trade where, among many other international trading communities, the Dutch and English Companies had already been installed since the 1610s. The French received permission to join them from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in the 1660s. Gujarat had long been famous primarily for its printed cottons, many of which had made their way abroad and overseas, as did the small fragment (Plate 1.5) found in the excavations of fourteenth-century Fustat (Old Cairo).[13] Apart from coloured cottons, the French, like the British and Dutch, also bought embroidered cotton textiles, silks, and white cottons of different qualities from their basis in Surat.

A manuscript left by the French Company servant Georges Roques gives an unparalleled amount of evidence about the goods and conditions of

the early French trade in Surat.[14] Unfortunately, the document is as notable for its detailed descriptions as it is for the author's unabashed hatred of Indian merchants. In pre-colonial India the execution of the trade was the same for all foreigners: it had to be conducted through Indian brokers or baniyas. There were two options of acquiring textiles open to European traders: they could commission them, which would allow them influence over qualities, dimensions, and designs, but which would require advance payment, or they could buy ready-made textiles on the open market. In the first case the baniyas, or courtiers as they were also called, would negotiate qualities, prices, and time-frame with the European traders, take advance payment, and have their agents distribute the necessary raw materials to the weavers. Decisions were usually made on the basis of sample textiles. Once the weaving and finishing of the goods were complete, the baniya would then have the textiles collected from the individual weavers and present them to his client. Baniyas stood as guarantors for the foreigners and were indispensable to any buying or selling.[15] Europeans could also buy ready-made goods. However, as Roques found much to his chagrin when he visited Surat and its region in the late seventeenth century, this would then involve not only one but two baniyas, the one employed directly by the European merchant and a local 'courtier de la ville' who held the public charge of channelling all buying and selling of a specific product in the place.[16]

Roques is much more enthusiastic about the textiles the French sourced from Gujarat, particularly from Ahmedabad, north of Surat. While overall Western India specialised in cheaper varieties compared to those produced in Bengal or on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, it still covered a large range of qualities. First and foremost came white cotton textiles, which, as Roque explains, were called, depending on their size, dorgagis for the widest, sannagagis for the narrower sort, and bafetas for the narrowest and most common type.[17] The reason that the width, rather than length, was important lies in the nature of the weaving frames used: fabrics could theoretically be produced to an infinite length, but their width was limited by that of the frame. The quality of these textiles depended not only on the quality of the cotton yarn used, but also on the fineness of the weave, that is on the number of threads used as warps: the more threads used, the higher the quality would be. After weaving these cottons would be washed, whitened, and usually subjected to finishing techniques which would give them either greater stiffness or softness and a lustrous finish and shine.

Many of the white cottons would be dyed or printed: the coarsest ones in one single colour, as that of Plate 1.5, the medium sort in two to three, and the finest ones would be printed, dyed, and painted in up to five different colours. Some of the finest white cottons would be whitened but left undyed: mamodis were the type of fine Gujarati cotton cloths that could either be used as white goods or as chintz; and, according to Roques, Gujarati betilles were equivalent to the finest Bengali muslins, the queen of all cotton textiles.[18] Apart from pure cottons, the region also produced pure silks and cotton–silk mixes, usually with a cotton warp and a silk weave. Such cottonis, alleges, allas, sooseys, and taffetas could be either white, flowered, striped, or patterned with gold or other thread, while more expensive versions included velvets and 'panes', a type of velvet with longer pile.[19] This great variety of available fabrics was reflected in what the French actually brought home from Surat, too. In the just over ten years from 1688 to 1699, Company ships carried a wide array of fabrics from Surat which catered for a broad range of social classes. These included the above-mentioned cottonis, both simple, flowered, and, most expensive, with gold thread; armoisins, a cheap coloured silk of a plain weave; cheap and popular 'mouchoirs', printed and painted kerchiefs or large handkerchiefs; several varieties of silks; cotton and satin bedcovers; chuqulars (also spelt chucklas or chuquelas), striped silk, and cotton fabrics; as well as pinasses, nillas, and guingans, all types of fabrics that fell under the French category of 'escorces d'arbre' or 'tree barks', the 'tree bark' in question referring to any ligneous fibre, most usually hemp, which tended to be mixed with cotton or sometimes silk.[20]

The example of Surat alone thus reveals the triple appeal of Indian textiles to French and European consumers. The attractiveness of these fabrics certainly lay in their intrinsic qualities, unmatched in Europe, their colourfast designs, and their weave. However, just as important was their wide variety of types appealing to different tastes and changing fashions, and the wide variety of qualities and prices, which could attract very different classes of consumers. Despite this variety on offer, however, Surat would become less and less important as a source for French textile imports in the years to come. By the time that the French arrived on the scene, European trade there was already on the decline. The famine of 1630 had disrupted textile production to such an extent that it took decades to recover, during which time the Europeans began to focus on the territories in which they had secured advantageous concessions if not outright ownership. The French concentrated on Pondicherry, its headquarters for the whole of India,

especially as the financial circumstances of the French Company in Surat became increasingly precarious. French trade there relied heavily on financing by local bankers or *serafs*, and by the end of the seventeenth century the situation was becoming untenable: in 1699 the factory had to warn the Parisian directors that the ships to arrive would not bring sufficient amounts to fulfil the order for 1700 and that the Company's debts were too significant to allow them any solid establishment or credit.[21] The situation did not improve and finally resulted in what amounted to outright bankruptcy by the 1720s: the Company had to ask its employees to leave Surat for Pondichery in 1724 and it no longer sent ships there for fear that they would be seized by its creditors.[22] The French maintained their interest in western India with a seat in Mahé, on the Malabar coast, on which the by now minor and fairly inactive factories of Calicut and Surat depended. As a region the Malabar coast was known for its fine white cottons. However, the French presence there was largely to buy pepper.[23] Thus, while there still remained French traders in western India, when it came to textiles the French Company's focus had by then shifted east and was now firmly fixed on Pondicherry on the Coromandel Coast and on Chandanagore in Bengal.

Pondicherry and the Coromandel Coast's Textiles

Unlike the British East India Company, the French did not have regional presidencies; their headquarters in India was Pondicherry on the Coromandel Coast, seat of the *Conseil Supérieur*, or Superior Council, the Company's governing body for all its possessions in India to which the other regional councils were subordinate. The French presence in Pondicherry developed over time, especially after 1697 when the Company bought the rights to the town from the Dutch who had previously obtained them from the nawab of Arcot.[24] With permission from the nawab, more territory and fortifications were added in due course as were factories in the wider region: Karikal to the south and Masulipatam and Yanaon to the north. Pondicherry and its dependencies, those in the north in particular, were important textile centres, especially for fine painted and dyed cottons for which the Coromandel region was famous.

As in Surat, commercial operations in eighteenth-century Pondicherry and Chandanagor depended on Indian merchants as middle men, though unlike in earlier Surat they did not depend on one baniya in overall control. Instead, when contracting with Indian merchants,

the East India Companies ran their trade through its chief brokers or *dubash*, literally translators, a position that became more or less hereditary in both Pondicherry and Chandanagore. The diary kept by one of these *dubash*, Ananda Ranga Pillai, from 1736 to 1761, is one of the best sources we have on everyday life and commercial operations in Pondichery.[25] Due to the scale of the operations necessary to supply the European companies, the Indian merchants often organised themselves into companies which received the European advances to permit them to pay for raw materials and labour. They agreed with the East India Companies to supervise and collect the work from the production centres and to bring the finished goods to the port cities in accordance with negotiated time limits, designs, quantities, and qualities. In Pondicherry the French would contract with the *Old Company* or *Anciens Marchands* once or twice a year for piece goods, with advances varying significantly between contracts, from between under ten to over fifty percent.[26] All in all, the structure and organisation of this trade was roughly the same for all European East India Companies, as were their eventual problems with it: uneven quality above all, but also few guarantees or collateral should the deliveries not be within the agreed timescale or to the agreed specifications. On this, they had little choice. The Europeans were, after all, but one of many merchant communities operating on what was, prior to British colonisation, a flourishing international sellers' market.[27]

The Coromandel Coast supplied most of the beautiful hand-painted cotton chintzes for the European export sector that, fashioned into garments and furnishings in Europe, still survive in Western collections today. Thus the petticoat illustrated in Plate 1.1 was hand-painted and dyed on the Coromandel coast around 1725 specifically for the European market as its white background and popular flower motif attest. Also hand-painted and dyed in that region was the banyan which, made up either in the Netherlands or Great Britain and lined with a cheaper, block-printed cotton fabric, dates from slightly later in the century, from between 1750 and 1775 (Plate 1.3). The matching ensemble of a caraco, a short women's jacket, and a petticoat (Plate 1.4) was similarly entirely hand-painted on the Coromandel Coast specifically for the European export market and subsequently tailored in 1770s or 1780s Britain. Palempores, bed or wall hangings like that in Plate 1.2, were also especially adapted to the European market. Carefully hand-drawn by a Coromandel Coast artist at some point between 1725 and 1750, it depicts a stylised flowering tree, typical of the chintz furnishings exported to Europe in the early eighteenth century. Minutely

detailed, blending European, Indian, and Chinese design elements and including whimsical exotic birds, it would have evoked a rich – albeit perfectly inauthentic – 'Oriental' feel in any of the European homes it would have graced.

These textiles, like most of those that made it into museums, were of the finest quality. Just because few cheap Coromandel Coast textiles survive, however, does not mean that they never existed in the first place. They simply do not usually make their way into collections: cheap textiles were used up, not carefully preserved. And indeed, Pondicherry and its factories provided many types of textiles apart from fine chintzes. The region also supplied muslins, as well as chequered, striped, printed, and simply dyed textiles of varying qualities. Over the course of the eighteenth century it also became famous for its indigo-dyed blue cloths, especially those from the town of Porto Novo.[28]

The Coromandel Coast textile trade thus reveals the fourth ingredient to Indian cotton's global popularity: next to the intrinsic qualities of the textiles, their weave, design, and colours, to their variety, and to their wide range of qualities and prices, the important fourth aspect was customisation – the ability and willingness of Indian artisans to adapt their textiles to specific regional tastes and preferences.[29] All four criteria equally applied to the textile products of the third major region of France's Indian textile imports: Bengal.

Chandanagore and Bengali Textiles

Like the Coromandel region, Bengal was a global producer of textiles and offered a vast range of types and qualities of textiles. The French Company's base in Bengal was Chandanagore. Its relationship to Pondicherry was often uneasy, for while Pondicherry was administratively most important, Chandanagore was more important in commercial terms. Justly proud of its crucial role in procuring textiles, it frequently resented Pondicherry's political primacy.[30] Chandanagore was responsible for five regional dependencies: Cossimbazar, Patna, Dacca, and less importantly, Jougdia and Balasore. Together they represented the French entrée to the vast Bengali textile market. Unlike the Coromandel region, Bengal was not primarily known for its printing or painting. Instead its reputation lay in the fineness of its woven goods and embroideries: Bengali muslins were accounted the finest in the world.

Company trade in Bengal was conducted roughly along similar lines as in the other parts of India, but with some differences. Unlike in Pondicherry, the Company did not deal with a unified body of

merchants, and unlike in Surat during the later seventeenth century, rather than dealing with just one translator and broker, or *dalal* as they were called in Bengal, the Company contracted with several different merchants who in turn also frequently traded with different European companies as well as on their own account.[31] In an anonymous manuscript dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, a French Company employee based at the factory of Jougdia describes the mechanisms of this trade during the earlier part of the century: contracts were concluded between the Company and a *dalal*, who agreed to provide the textiles within a seven to eight month period, with prices set on the basis of the textile samples provided. The *dalal* then subcontracted his orders to other merchants who travelled out into the countryside to the *harams*, the actual places of production, distributing raw materials, every now and then checking on the work in progress, and eventually bringing it to the *dalal*, who, once he had a certain amount ready, would bring it to the French factory in question.[32]

A second option was to buy finished textiles on public markets, something the sub-merchants were also wont to do. This in itself could be problematic since, as the employee writes, 'On these markets, which I have often visited, sometimes up to two or three hundred workers gather, each bringing one or two pieces. If they get the price they ask for they sell them. It often happens that they sell the pieces that they had been contracted and paid for.'[33] However, while the employee at Jougdia was particularly proud of his ability to speak the local language which permitted him to buy on the markets directly and to contract with the sub-merchants without the need to resort to a *dalal*, the practice of contracting with brokers in advance seems to have been the more common and more desirable practice since it allowed the Company to ask for certain designs and qualities. Thus, whenever possible this path was followed in Chandanagore itself, which provided the greatest part of the textiles shipped back from Bengal to France. Here contracts with the merchants were usually concluded in May or June so that the advances could be distributed as soon as the European ships bringing the necessary funds arrived with the summer monsoon season. Goods would then be delivered to the Company's warehouses from October onwards.[34]

The range of textiles that the Company acquired in Bengal was immense, both in terms of type and quality. The then director of Chandanagore, Duval de Leyrit's 1754 memorandum on the French trade in Bengal gives a glimpse of this. Chandanagore alone provided,

on the higher end, very fine muslins either plain or embroidered made from either cotton or silk, and exquisite enough to make onto in the *Mercure gallant*'s fashion plates. More widely traded were other muslins such as cases or cassas, mallemolles and terindannes but also adatayes and soucis or sooseys, tanjebs, and the quite common doreas which could be plain or embroidered, mixed with silk or of plain cotton, and which frequently came in monochrome checks or stripes. Apart from muslins, Chandernagore furnished dozens of other cottons, silks, and silk–cotton mixtures both plain, dyed, patterned and flowered, including chaclas or chuquelas, sanas, caladris, tabayes or tabis, and simple guingans, as well as various kinds of kerchiefs and many more textiles known only by the name of their origin which are now unidentifiable for us. All in all Duval lists 116 varieties of textiles produced in or brought to Chandanagore from distances of between one and 15 days' travel. Depending on type and dimensions, these could cost between 3 and 35 Rupees (8–84 lt) per piece.[35]

Chandanagore, however, was not even the main source of goods: Dacca and its dependencies were, according to Duval, the 'places in the whole of Bengal which furnish the most and the most beautiful merchandise'.[36] The Delhi court took its finest white goods from the region, which was particularly famous for its embroidery. Accordingly, Duval lists 66 different types of fabrics for Dhaka and its dependencies, brought in from a distance of between one and eight days' travel. Ranging in cost from between 2 to 200 Rupees per piece (5 to 480 lt), they are perhaps the most striking example of the broad range of qualities India supplied: in France this would have meant the difference between the daily salary of a highly qualified master artisan, a master carpenter, or a master cabinet maker for instance, and their entire yearly income.[37]

The Importance of Knowledge: Quality, Markets, and Feedback

If consumers well beyond the traditional elite in France could thus afford Indian textiles – one such piece was after all wide and long enough to be made into several individual items of clothing or furnishing – for them to actually want to do so, another ingredient was indispensable for all the European East India Companies: knowledge. The required expertise was double: to be able to procure textiles that would succeed with European customers, Company agents in India needed on the one hand knowledge of markets, both of what could be had in

India and of what would sell in Europe; on the other they also had to develop an intimate understanding of the physical textiles themselves. Two processes were crucial for this. The first was the checking of the textiles in India itself and the second the feedback loop between France where the auctions were held and the Company personnel in India who negotiated the buying of next year's supply.

Duval de Leyrit was particularly proud of the thoroughness with which the French checked their textiles in Bengal. When the fabrics arrived in the Company's warehouses in October they would be rigorously checked or 'visited' by Company employees and whenever possible by the Director of Chandanagore himself before the final payment was handed over. Three tables were set out and each piece would be checked for the evenness of the weave and then sorted according to quality, before being measured in all its length and, once accepted, packed with others of the same sort and sent into storage. This, according to the director, made the French quality superior to that of the Dutch and English Companies which only checked a random sample of three per batch and then estimated the rest accordingly. The French method did not prevent all problems, however, and sometimes very thin muslins were still lumped together with more tightly woven ones and faulty ones were overlooked, which Duval explained away by the necessarily varying individual judgements of the employees, by tiredness, and worsening eyesight.[38]

Getting the best quality of each type of textile was only one half of the equation. The other consisted in getting the right types for the market back in Europe. To do so the Company not only sent out precise orders to India, but also included detailed reports and feedback on what had sold well in France and what had not. The Company knew its French markets and their needs: the merchants who attended the Company auctions were encouraged to comment on the samples the Company provided in advance of the sales, and such comments were then relayed to the employees in India. Several such reports survive, including a memorandum with feedback and instructions on Bengali white goods which may well have been what prompted Duval to write his treatise in response. The report discusses the most important types, guinées or guineas, betilles, hamans or humhums, casses, tanjebs, nensouques or nainsooks, mallemolles or mulmulls, therindanes or terrindams, different types of doreas, stinquerques, and various kinds of embroideries, indicating which qualities and dimensions the Company wanted and in which quantities and stressing the importance of the good quality

of each type, from the cheapest to the most expensive, with particular attention to the finishing of the textiles.[39]

The Company was careful to explain French market conditions to its employees in India. Fine embroidered goods were sold to Paris and Lyon, it explained, with Paris also the target for high-quality doreas, while the Languedoc was more likely to buy the mid- to low-range ones. Most important, however, was the ability to have Company goods respond to changing fashions in France: 'As the current rage is for checks and small stripes, we must follow this torrent', the author of this particular report writes. For the more expensive types, those checks and stripes should then be embroidered. The Company would like fruit, birds, flowers, bouquets, and butterflies, if possible with twining vines and vine leaves, with the whole thing imitating the design of the ever-fashionable Indian chintzes. These were by no means random suggestions. The Company was well informed of fashionable practices and often had precise usages in mind, in this case for men's sleeves.[40] When ordering goods, the European companies usually referred to the codes used in their sample books, but in this particular case the French Company also added several drawings of such embroidered muslins: Figures 1.1 and 1.2 are their suggestions for chequered or striped Bengal doreas with fine embroidery of fruit and flowers in the squares and columns. These drawings give an idea of the beauty and delicacy of such textiles.

If the French Company knew its buyers and their tastes, it was at least equally aware of its competition. Embroidery for instance, as the report points out, was produced in France itself. The Company thus faced only a fairly small profit margin and greater danger of selling at a loss. They therefore demanded to be sent only small and beautiful embroideries on high-quality clear muslins, made with a thread that was to show no discolorations and that were to follow the designs of the enclosed drawings. In this case the competition may have been national, but in most cases it was European and global. The French Company was at all times acutely aware of its Dutch and British rivals. In the memorandum the Company compares the white cottons bought by the French and British respectively. In all of this, the memorandum echoed the pride in the Company's policy of getting good-quality merchandise which also characterised Duval's treatise: 'In the end the Company must not worry about spending a few more rupees to get the very best that there is available: there will always be a more of a profit in that than in the bad stuff.'

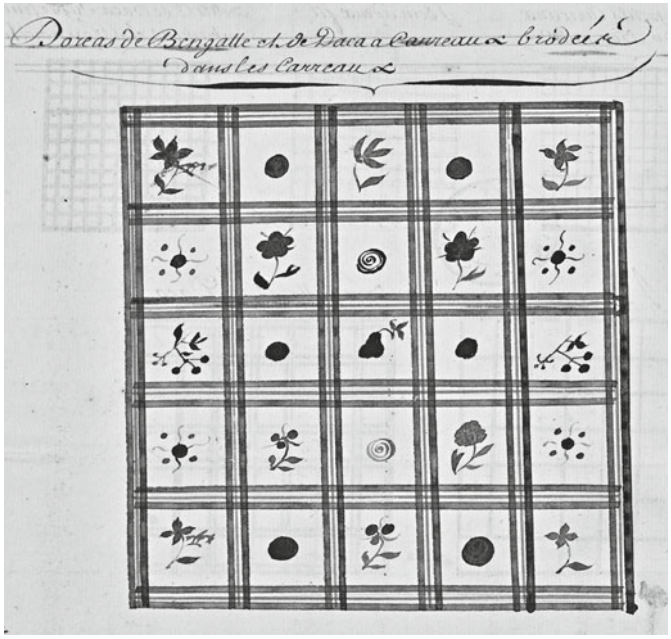


Figure 1.1 Company drawing I: proposals for designs to be embroidered onto chequered Dacca and Bengal white muslins (doreas), sent by the French Indies Company. FR ANOM Aix-en-Provence (COL C2 285 fol. 86v). All rights reserved.

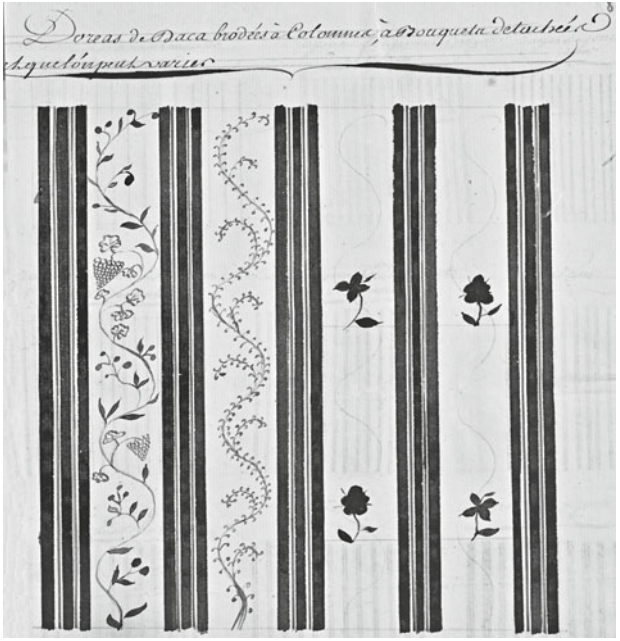


Figure 1.2 Company drawing II: proposals for embroidered designs on striped Dacca Doreas (white muslins), sent by the French Indies Company. FR ANOM Aix-en-Provence (COL C2 285 fol. 88). All rights reserved.

In reality, however, the Company quite frequently ended up with the bad stuff. In a period marked by wars and conflicts in India, famine, displacements, and disorders were frequent and disrupted the production and supply of textiles. Even in times of peace and stability, the French Company suffered from late arrival and chronic lack of the funds necessary for the yearly purchases in India. This meant that often it could not contract sufficiently in advance, had to accept goods of lesser quality, or had to buy what was left over late in the year when some of the many other foreign and indigenous merchants or its rival companies had already bought up the better merchandise.[41] For in the end, the Company was in the weaker bargaining position: its ships had to leave with the monsoon and to have them leave less than full would be to make a certain loss. The dependency of the Asian trade on the monsoon season meant that the commercial calendar for all the East India Companies was fixed and that calendar included as its high point the Companies' auctions back in Europe.

The French China Trade

The auctions of the *Compagnie des Indes* did not only include goods purchased in India, but also from China, the second most profitable branch of the Company's trade.[42] The trade had developed slowly and came later than the Indian one. Though the first Company's monopoly extended to all French trade past the Cape of Good Hope and thus included China, the Company did not actually send ships there. More or less serious and feasible proposals to have France trade to China predated the Company's foundation in 1664, but the first successful voyage, that of the ship *Amphitrite*, only took place from 1698–1700.[43] This highly profitable voyage was not, however, organised by the East India Company. Damaged by the recent war, it had been forced by the central government to give up the parts of its monopoly that it wasn't exploiting. Thus a separate company was formed by the merchant Jean Jourdan and the Huguenot banker Etienne Demeuves. After the success of the *Amphitrite*'s first voyage this company merged in 1701 with another that had also been founded by Jourdan to exploit an unused part of the East India Company's monopoly: the *Compagnie de la Mer du Sud*. The newly merged company aimed to combine its operations travelling to China by way of the South Seas and South America, via Cape Horn. The complexity of such operations added to the disappointment of the *Amphitrite*'s second voyage's lower profits and to the Company's debts, which led to interminable internal quarrels

and company reorganisations.[44] Dermigny estimates that the French sent 23 ships to China between 1698 and 1715, a small number compared to the EIC's 43.[45] When the newly established Indies Company regained its full monopoly it began to trade regularly with China from the later 1720s onwards, usually sending between one and four ships per year.[46]

From the later seventeenth century onwards and throughout the eighteenth century the organisation of the trade in China was the same for all Europeans, who, like in India, were but one of many groups of international merchants and had to conform to local conditions. Since the Chinese allowed only very few Europeans into the country itself, European trade was generally limited to the city of Canton, modern-day Guangzhou, capital of the Guangdong province, on the Pearl River in south-eastern China. European ships would anchor in Wampou, at the river's mouth, a dozen miles from the city itself. Little islands in the natural harbour served one each as entrepôts and provisional lodgings for the European nations, complementing the Company warehouses or *hang* in the suburbs of Canton itself. The European Company employees did not usually spend the whole year in Canton. The trading season lasted from September to February and for many years the Europeans were obliged to leave China or at least to withdraw to the Portuguese-owned territory of Macao outside of this season. Despite its irregular voyages, the first French China Company actually had some permanent staff in Canton. Different in style to the English merchants, the French, who for instance did not, like their cross-Channel counterparts, refuse to kow-tow to the viceroy, benefitted from a slightly preferential treatment in Canton: their right to reside there all-year round predates that of the other European Companies. Though not in use from 1715 to 1720 when no ships were sent, the French regained that right in the 1720s and had a permanent resident in Canton from the 1730s onwards, something achieved by the Dutch and British companies only about twenty years later.

Despite this, however, trading operations were identical for all. Taxes in the form of import and export duties, calculated both on the ships' sizes and on goods traded, were to be paid by both the Chinese and European merchants to the *hoppo* or local tax official. Certain goods, such as the highest quality of silk and porcelain as well as silks dyed red or yellow, were reserved for the exclusive use of the imperial court and hence illegal for the companies to buy and export. However, at least in the cases of coloured silks, this simply resulted in widespread smuggling. From 1720 onwards all European trade had to

be conducted through the *Cohong*, a guild of merchants who would contract with the Europeans and pass their samples and commissions to other merchants or directly to producers in Canton or the production regions inside the Chinese Empire. Once again the calendar for all the trading operations was tight as ships that did not leave in time would have to wait a whole year to be able to sail with the monsoon in the Indian Ocean.[47]

Chinese Textiles Bought by the French

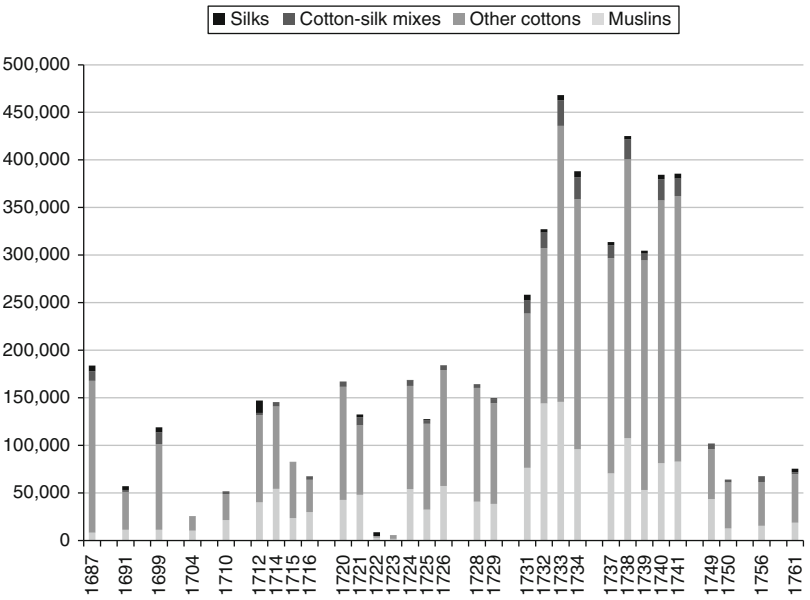
The East India Companies' China trade was very diverse and included, next to the ubiquitous tea, also porcelain, lacquerware, fine manufactured goods such as fans, boxes, and furniture, different drugs, and of course the famous Chinese silks, both raw and manufactured. Unlike in India, textiles made up but for a fraction of the trade.[48] Though China did have an export trade in cotton, these were negligible in the European trade compared to its silks.[49] When Gennes de la Chancelière, Lieutenant on the *Comte de Toulouse*, which returned from China to Lorient in 1735, wrote a very extensive report on China's trade and production, including 35 different sorts of tea, he claimed that he included cotton only to make his list complete: 'it is hardly exported and only serves to clothe the common people'. Instead he focused on silks: the most beautiful, satins and damasks, such as a Chinese damask woven for export to Europe and, once arrived there, made into a dressing gown at around this time (Plate 1.6), would cost between 7 and 12 taels (*c*.46–78 lt). Even more expensive, velvets would go for between 18 and 20 taels (*c*.117–30 lt). Other varieties were slightly cheaper and exclusive to China: Pekins, similar to taffetas, which came monochrome or striped, painted or brocaded and in different sizes, cost between 4 and 7 tales (*c*.26–46 lt); the similarly rich gorgorans or gorgoroons, including patissoies 7–9 taels; lampas, the most richly patterned and figured of all Chinese fabrics, 10–12 taels (*c*.65–78 lt). De la Chancelière also included the cheaper and less common saya-sayas, thin and light-coloured fabrics favoured by the Spanish and Portuguese, lins (also spelt lines in other documents), white and tightly woven silks that could be washed like linens, and *pièces de plomb*, small damasked satins. These three types would cost between 1.5 and 3 taels (*c*.10–20 lt) and, like French and Indian fabrics, but unlike those mentioned before, they came folded rather than rolled. Finally there were simple silk serges, *basins*, and 'all kinds of kerchiefs' or *mouchoirs* for three to four taels per piece (20–26 lt).[50]

Just like their Indian counterparts then, Chinese artisans were able to supply a very wide range of types and qualities and to adapt them to European tastes so as to appeal both to elite and middle-class customers, but since silks were substantially more expensive than cottons, the China trade did not supply much for the popular French market. In China, too, the French Company was proud to buy high-quality merchandise.[51] However, as a general rule the very highest qualities of Asian goods came to Europe through privately traded individual orders, which were often customised. This was also true of textiles, especially of finely woven and painted ones, such as the one shown in Plate 1.7 for which the French personnel in Canton accepted private commissions, just as they did for porcelains and paintings.[52] Company imports that weren't privately traded tended to be less elaborate, but could still be of very high quality. For these the French concentrated on fairly small quantities of a limited number of types of silks, which, however, came in many colours and variations. The cargo of the *Amphitrite*, which was sold with great success in the autumn of 1700 in Nantes, still contained over 8000 pieces of 13 different sorts of fabrics, including damasks, satins, damasked satins, taffetas, sayas, gauzes, and fabrics with silver and gold threads. Most of these came in different types and in various colours and many were decorated, some embroidered with flowers, some chequered and striped.[53] However, though varying decorations and colours still made for a broad choice, the number of different types never broadened and overall quantities were small. In 1703 the private merchants who ordered through the China Company ordered only damasks and taffetas,[54] and when in 1742 the French council in Canton contracted with Chinese merchants for a total of 2085 pieces, these were for only 12 different sorts: 400 pekins; 100 two-coloured, 100 striped, and 400 monochrome damasks; 400 gorgorans; 160 monochrome and 100 striped satins; 160 patissoyes; 70 lampas; 80 pieces wide damask for furnishings as well as 80 narrow damasks and 35 lampas.[55] The following year they focused on pekins, gorgorans, patissoyes, satins, simple, striped, and two-coloured damasks.[56] Sales notices and cargo lists confirm the policy of having only a few types of textiles but in different varieties: the two Company ships that arrived from Canton in Lorient in July 1732 for instance brought a total of 3461 pieces of Chinese textiles, all silks: 499 damasks, 100 two-coloured damasks, 100 striped damask, 500 gorgorans, 1063 pekins, 300 striped and worked pekins, 200 pekins with flower brocade, 580 plain satins, 100 striped satins, and 19 flowered nankeen satins.[57]

French East India Trade: An Evaluation

While also of very varied designs and prices and, like Indian cottons, customised to appeal to European consumers, Chinese cargoes formed only a tiny part of the French Company's overall textile imports. From the figures of the years for which we have reliable sales statistics we know that the greatest part of the Asian textiles brought to Europe by the French Company were not silks but cottons and thus came not from China but from India. In the years from 1687 to 1761 for which sales figures exist, these made up for nearly 95 per cent of the textiles sold at the Company's auctions, with muslins of all qualities prominently among them and accounting for nearly a quarter of all fabric sales, as Table 1.1 illustrates. Overall quantities sold at the yearly auctions varied drastically over time, and could range from only around 50 to 100,000 pieces when the Company was hampered by international warfare or recovering from it, such as between the 1690s and 1710s and the late 1740s, 1750s, and 1760s to over 300,000 or 400,000 when trade was booming as in the 1730s and early 1740s.[58]

Table 1.1 French Indies Companies' textile imports*



* *Source*: Wellington, *French East India Companies*, pp. 188–9. For more details see Appendix I.

Important were not only the quantity but especially the great variety of textiles on offer, even in years of low overall imports. The 1704 auction for instance was one of the smallest and did not even include any Chinese goods, since the China Company was at this point a separate entity. Nevertheless the 25,930 pieces of textiles came in over 30 different varieties, often each in different sorts: salempouris, guineas, and percales came white or coloured and in different breadth, tanjebs came plain or embroidered, betilles in two different types and in varying dimensions, and kerchiefs in four different makes.[59] This increased substantially as the Company's trade expanded. At the November 1726 auction, the Company sold nearly 50 different types of textiles, which came in over 140 different qualities, dimensions, and finishes. And this variety in type was reflected in an equally wide variety of price at which they were sold. Lower-quality muslins and white cottons, such as baffetas, garas, sanas, and certain betilles and casses, sold for between 13 and 20 lt, while the finest casses, doreas, and mallemolles went for between 70 and 90 lt, with embroidered terindannes and tanjebs fetching more than 90 lt, and different dimensions and qualities of those same white goods going for anything in-between. Among the forbidden patterned, painted, and printed sort, cheap guinea cloth, as was used for the slave trade, sold in very large pieces of nearly 30 m length for 35–6 lt, while smaller but better-quality calicoes and *écorces d'arbre* went for between 16 and 30 lt. Most expensive were Chinese silks, with damasks and gorgorans fetching between 60 and 80 lt and the most elaborate, satins with silk flower embroidery, going for 230 lt per 15 m piece. But it is clear that while the top end was impressive and would have suited any French aristocrat, the immense variety in price and quality catered to the entire social spectrum and even poor Rose Barbosse might have been able to afford some of the goods on offer – if not new, then certainly once they were available second-hand. For the cheaper element was well represented. Thus, since the red and blue Pondicherry kerchief pieces, which sold at auction for 15 livres, would ultimately be subdivided into 16 individual kerchiefs, each of these would, even with an eventual retail bonus added, come to not much over 1 lt each – roughly the daily wage of a servant or a manual labourer at this time.[60]

The reasons for the popularity of Asian textiles in France are thus clear. They consisted not only in the intrinsic qualities of the textiles in question, such as their weave and their colourfastness, but just as much in their vast variety of type, quality, and price, in the Company's alertness to market conditions and changing fashions in France, and in the high skill and willingness of Asian artisans to respond to these.

Originating from very far-apart regions on the Indian subcontinent and China, the immense range of these textiles was finally brought together at the French Indies Company's auctions, only to be dispersed again across the globe. These auctions thus became nodal points of a truly global trade and hence deserve a closer look.

Company Auctions in France – Functioning

From sporadic sales of individual cargoes or certain types of merchandise held either in the vicinity of the Company's ports in Brittany or of its headquarters in Paris, the Company auctions developed over time into annual events held each autumn on the Company's premises, first in Nantes and after 1734 in Lorient where new facilities including an auction house had been built in the Company's compound near the port.[61] As they were central to the functioning of the Company, one of the Company directors was directly responsible for the auctions and presided over all the sessions.

Advertising the auctions was done in several stages. First of all, after a ship's arrival concise lists of its cargo were sent out. They consisted of a narrow band of printed paper, about a third of an A4 page in width, and, in the early decades at least, their descriptions would make it into national journals and newspapers such as the *Mercure gallant*.[62] A few months before the auctions a second list was distributed detailing the date and place of the auction and giving a concise overview of the goods on sale, starting with drugs, then listing textiles, followed by furniture, porcelains, and lacquerware, and finishing with those textiles that were forbidden in the kingdom and thus only sold for re-export. A few days before the start of the auctions, posters were put up in Nantes or Lorient detailing the usual procedures and the terms and conditions of the sales. Potential buyers would be able to inspect samples of the goods and receive the hefty sales catalogues which detailed the composition of each of the lots on sale.[63]

Before they moved into the specially designed auction hall in Lorient, the sales were held in a hall at the Company's warehouses in Nantes and then in a provisional wooden hall in Lorient.[64] The setting was similar to that of the EIC auctions in London: on a raised platform were the Company's syndics and directors together with a local government official, while the merchant-bidders were seated on benches placed in amphitheatre formation.[65] Sales were by lots and went to the highest bidder. The sample pieces taken from each lot would be reinserted and the whole would remain with the Company until payment was received

either in cash or in bills of exchange. After the ordinary auction finished, there would be a 'small auction' or 'petite vente', consisting of the official *pacotille* brought in by the sailors and of any damaged merchandise, such as spotted and stained textiles. These were listed at the back of the catalogues. Before taking delivery of their acquisitions and bringing them to the local tax office for transit papers, buyers were permitted to open them in the presence of one of the Company officials at which point they could voice any complaints if the quantity, quality, or dimensions of the merchandise were not as described in the sales catalogue. This seemed to have happened frequently enough for the Company to accept this without too much difficulty.[66]

French Auctions – Global Markets

It is nearly impossible to establish who the real buyers at the French Indies Company auctions were. The majority of the merchants present at the auctions, at least between 1758 and 1769, were from Brittany, mainly Nantes itself (45–66 per cent), followed by the Paris and Ile-de-France region (up to 20 per cent), and up to 10 per cent from abroad, Switzerland, and the Channel Islands mainly.[67] However, many of the merchants from Nantes present at the auctions seem to have acted more or less as middlemen for other wholesalers and bought textiles only to hand them over immediately, which would imply a much higher percentage of buyers from elsewhere in France and quite possibly from abroad.[68]

Together with the Company's own feedback on its markets which, as seen above, only discusses metropolitan French consumption, these figures can thus give the misleading image of a linear path from Asian production to French consumption. In reality, however, the situation was more complex and multinational. First of all, what was sold to French merchants did not necessarily stay in France. Forbonnais, Morellet, and the experts who sat on the French Bureau of Commerce all knew that France was but one of several destinations for these textiles, which apart from exports to other European and Mediterranean destinations, most notably included the African and slave trade, and the sugar islands.[69]

A great deal especially of the cheaper cottons imported by the Company would have served to clothe African captives while finer painted and printed cottons were used as payment for them.[70] Moreover, after 1720 the newly established French India Company included the former Senegal, Africa, Saint-Domingue, and Guinea companies and so the Company was from henceforth itself involved in the African slave trade.[71] The second large overseas market that French merchants

supplied with Asian textiles, especially Indian cottons, was the French West Indies. Here the hot climate made the light oriental fabrics particularly attractive and hence the prohibition of printed and painted cottons, which extended to France's West Indian possessions, particularly irksome. It therefore seems to have been roundly ignored here, too, and the French government was forced repeatedly to pass legislation forbidding French merchants to bring Indian, Chinese, Persian, and Levantine textiles to the French islands and colonies in the Americas.[72]

Conversely, what was sold at auction ostensibly to go abroad and to foreign merchants was in all likelihood actually destined for the French market itself: Switzerland and the Channel Islands who top the list of foreign buyers were the two main entrepôts for smuggling textiles into France.[73]

French Auctions – Global Textiles

Further complicating any concept of a simple, bilateral French–Asian trade nexus is the fact that it was not only the destination for the textiles sold at auction which was global rather than national or regional: so was their origin. A little known fact is that the French Indies Company itself supplemented its own purchases of Indian and Chinese textiles on the global market, too. First of all, in the early years, they added a European element to the mix by themselves printing on their imported cottons in France and selling those at auction – a practice well established by the 1680s.[74] Later on, they also frequently supplemented their own textile imports by buying more of these and of other Asian goods in Europe from the Dutch and British East India Companies and, in at least one instance also from a Danish merchant, in order to sell this on at the French auctions.[75]

This mix becomes even more international once the French authorities abandoned their policy of burning illegal Asian and Asian-style textiles and instead passed them on to the Company. Henceforth illicit Asian and Asian-style fabrics seized in France, that is muslins without the right documentation to certify that they were legally bought at the French Indies Company auctions and all printed and painted textiles, were sent to Lorient and resold at the Company auctions under the proviso that they were to be sent abroad. And the quantities involved could be substantial: several cartloads full were brought from Paris to Lorient each year. In 1749 alone this amounted to 62 bales, 19 of white goods, 42 of printed and painted cottons, with a combined weight of over 9 metric tons (19,005 livres).[76]

The origin of the textiles seized and resold at auctions was resolutely multinational, varying between Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. Since the French Indies Company was the only one permitted to import muslins, the ones seized in France and resold at auction had been smuggled into France and could have come either from other European Companies' imports of Indian muslins, via the Levant trade, or been made in Europe, such as those then resold at the 1758 auction which were known to have come from Zurich.[77] The same was true for all printed and painted textiles seized in France and resold at Company auctions: they could either have been sold by the French Indies Company for re-export and subsequently smuggled back into France, could have been bought at the other European East India Company auctions, made in Europe, or indeed stem from the Levant trade, which was thereby also represented at the Lorient auctions.

The French Indies Company auctions were thus a nodal point of the global textile trade. The fabrics sold there, just as those seized in France, could not be straightforwardly qualified as 'Asian' even though those which did not actually come from Asia did try to imitate Asian styles or production techniques. It took Europeans a long period of what Riello calls an 'Indian apprenticeship' until they could match, and eventually surpass, Indian prices and qualities.[78] Another region had mastered Indian cotton spinning, dyeing, and printing techniques earlier: the Levant. And the Levant was an important source for the type of textiles, which this book, in a rather unwieldy fashion, describes as 'Asian or Asian-style', the type of textiles which the French state banned and which French consumers used anyway.

The French Levant Trade

The French Company was not the only legal way for France to obtain Asian fabrics. Before its foundation and throughout its lifetime France imported large quantities of oriental textiles from the Levant, via the port of Marseille, which imported both muslins and printed and painted cottons. Some of these came directly from India and Persia, but the majority were made in the Middle East imitating Indian techniques. They remained an important import even after the establishment of a direct trade link with India.[79]

Even though France had established trade relations with the Ottoman Empire since the sixteenth century, it was only in the later seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century that it became a dominant force in the Levant trade, replacing the Dutch and British dominance which in

turn had supplanted that of the Venetians earlier. As in India and China, the situation of early modern European merchants in the Levant was by no means that of a colonial force. They were but one of many long-established groups of traders who all had to conform to local regulations and seek permission for their activities from the ruling authorities. Part of what distinguished the French from its northern European competitors was that it imported not only raw materials such as silk, cotton, raisins, and oils, but also manufactured goods, most notably cotton textiles.[80] Like so much of early modern European global trade, the French Levant trade was run under a monopoly and remained the exclusive domain of the Marseille Chamber of Commerce. The state nominated the consuls who resided in each of the major *échelles* or Levantine trading posts, but the *nation* or body of traders in each city was made up exclusively of the *commis* sent by Marseille's merchants to represent their trading houses. Marseille had a legal monopoly on all trade to and from the Levant. Its chamber of commerce controlled and gave out the permits for temporary residence there, and channelled all imports and exports. From 1700 onwards it also kept precise statistics on its yearly imports from each of the *échelles* of the Levant and Barbary coast. Mainly because it provided an important outlet for French woollens, the French state also took great interest in this trade, so that a superabundance of documentation on its precise functioning and detail survives in French archives today.[81]

The commercially most important *échelles* were Cairo, Rosetta, and Alexandria in Egypt; Smyrna and Constantinople in modern-day Turkey; Aleppo, Seyde or Sidon, Tripoli, and Acre, modern-day Akko, in what are now Syria, Libya, Israel, and the Lebanon; Cyprus; and, to a lesser extent, the Peloponnese, Archipelagos, Crete, Chania and Thessaloniki in what is now Greece. In these, the French as well as the other European community lived apart from the local population. In more peaceful cities they could live openly in their own street or quarter, such as the 'Rue des Francs' in Smyrna. Often, however, they lived all together, in one large, shuttered and defensible complex, called *khan* in Syria, *fondouk* on the Barbary coast, or *okelle* in Alexandria. Near fortresses on the outside, they had a large inner courtyard around which were located storage places, small shops, and, above these, the living quarters. These structures permitted Europeans to sit out any local uprisings or epidemics in relative safety. The French community in each of the major *échelles* was headed by a government-appointed consul and represented and financially administered through the assembly of the *nation*, the body of the resident merchants. These were joined by a small group of non-commercial residents: artisans mainly, but also

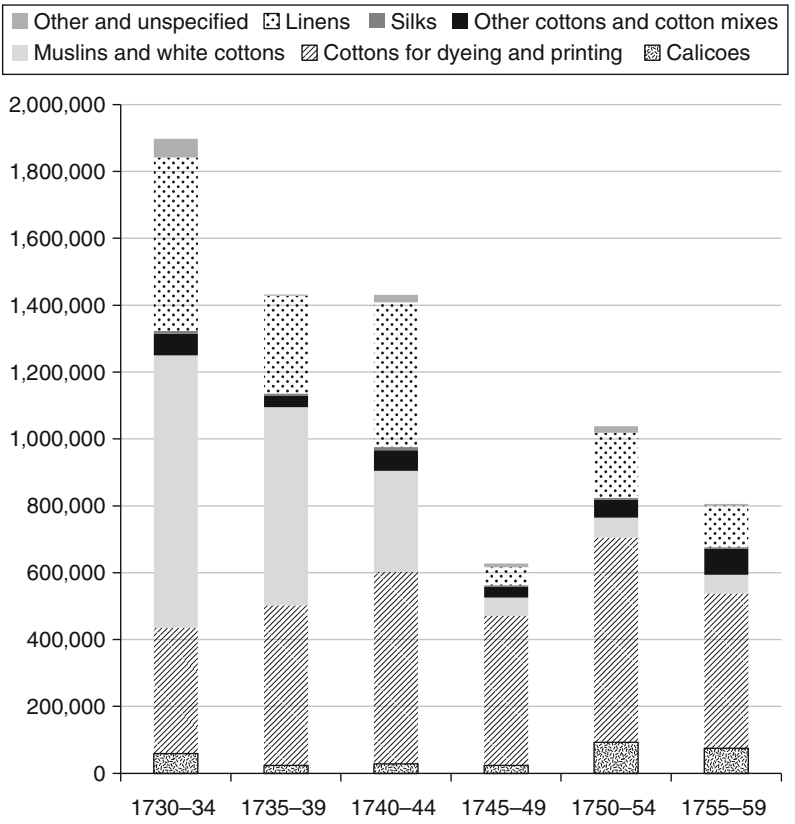
doctors and clerics. To avoid both undue commercial competition and the exodus or possible 'Levantisation' of French subjects, residency in the *échelles* was firmly regulated by the Marseille Chamber of Commerce and through state legislation: it required an official permit and was limited, from 1731 onwards, to ten years, which was extended to 15 in 1743. This was reinforced by the interdiction to marry, bring wives or family, or to buy any property in the Levant. Consequently, the communities were never very numerous, even in the most important posts they never surpassed a hundred – except in Smyrna at the end of the eighteenth century – and tended to gravitate around thirty or so in the larger mid-eighteenth century ones such as Aleppo and Cairo.[82]

The trade was conducted by the *commis* or *régisseurs* sent out by the heads of the merchant houses in Marseille to represent them. Forbidden from engaging in any trading activities on their own account, these would be paid a commission of 4–6 per cent on their imports and exports. The French traded three types of merchandise to the Levant: French-made goods, mainly woollens made in the Languedoc imitating English models as well as a much smaller number of other French-made textiles and goods; drugs and spices both from France's own colonies and from third countries; and finally piasters, which either paid directly for goods or served to buy coffee and wheat in Egypt that would then be exchanged against other merchandise. Only a small percentage of the trade was paid for in cash. Credit was frequently used, but, especially in the case of Levantine textiles from around the 1730s onwards, most trade was based on barter in exchange for French woollens. The goods the French brought back were drugs and foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, raisins, wine, incense and gum, but most importantly raw silk, wool and cotton. Finished goods made up for a smaller but still significant percentage of returns. They consisted mainly of cottons as well as some silk and linen textiles. Over the first half of the eighteenth century the share of textiles increased from around four to between seven and ten per cent.[83]

Types of Textiles Imported from the Levant

The Marseille Chamber of Commerce kept very detailed import statistics from 1725 onwards, which become more reliable after 1730 and give us a very comprehensive picture of the types of textiles imported via Marseille. The vast majority of these were cottons and cotton mixes, which, in the period 1725–59 accounted for nearly 70 per cent of all textiles imported. Linens, which mainly came from Egypt and whose

Table 1.2 French Levantine Companies' textile imports from the Levant*



* *Source*: CCI Marseille: I 27. See Appendix II for further details.

share diminished significantly in favour of cottons over the period and indeed over the century as a whole, made up for about a quarter overall, falling to only 15 per cent by the later 1750s. Silk textiles accounted for less than 1 per cent. Woollens were of negligible importance, as were made-up goods, which are not included in Table 1.2.

The finest of cottons had in the past come from Persia and India. This top end included Indian muslins, also referred to by the French traders as *lisats* and *cambrésines*, as well as printed and hand-painted Indian but mainly Persian cottons – with the Indian ones being much higher quality than those printed in Persia. These were known in France as *perses*,

but also indiscriminately called *indiennes*, and in the records sometimes distinguished as *serongis* (usually from India), *calankars* (which could come from either India or Persia), or by their name of origin, such as *indienne d'Isphahan*.[84] A mid-eighteenth-century memorandum from Smyrna claims that in the past the city used to receive about 15,000–20,000 pieces of muslin a year of which the French would buy up to 6000 or 7000 as well as around 1500 to 2000 *indiennes de perse*, which came in seven to eight different qualities whose prices varied between 4 and 12 piasters (12 to 36 lt). The very finest were entirely hand-painted and would cost 23–5 piasters a piece (69–75 lt). However, with the unrest in the Safavid Empire imports of all of these dwindled, and by mid-century they had completely ceased.[85]

A replacement for the cheaper variety of such calicoes was on hand, however. Thanks to the intervention of Armenian merchants, the Ottoman Empire had developed its own cotton printing industry, which mastered the Indian mordanting, dyeing, and printing techniques necessary to produce colourfastness.[86] Centres of Ottoman calico production were in Aintab, Aleppo, Tokat, Bursa, Smyrna, Istanbul, Serra, and, most famously, in Diyarbakir (in modern-day Turkey), whose *chafarcanis*, known for their bright colours and good weave, the French bought in Aleppo. These also came in different qualities but, like the two surviving French-imported *chafarcani* samples shown in Plates 1.8 and 1.9, were usually printed in one or two colours only and destined for popular and middle-class consumption.

Aleppo was the main centre for French cotton textile imports. Here French traders acquired the vast majority of their calicoes, both *chafarcanis*, *calankars*, and many of those indiscriminately lumped together as *indienne* or *toile peinte*, and only rarely distinguished as *indienne de perse*, *des Indes*, or *du Levant*. More importantly perhaps, since actual finished printed cottons only made up for about 5 per cent of textiles imports, Aleppo was also the main market for the most prominent type of French fabric imports, the group lumped together under the rather cumbersome heading 'cottons for dyeing and printing'. These were exported either already dyed or left white and included *ajamis*, *amans* (later called *toile large d'aintab*), and *auquilis*, which were either dyed indigo blue or left white, and the red, white, or printed *boucassins*. Together with *azas* and *toiles d'antioche*, which were of the same type and usage, this group made up for the largest share, 37 per cent, of all textile imports for the period 1725–59. When imported undyed they were then frequently either dyed in single colours, or resist-dyed and printed in Marseille, as was the *ajami* of Plate 1.10 and the two *amans* of Plates 1.11 and 1.13.

While much used for popular consumption in and around Marseille, such textiles also fed an important re-export trade, in particular to the Antilles.[87]

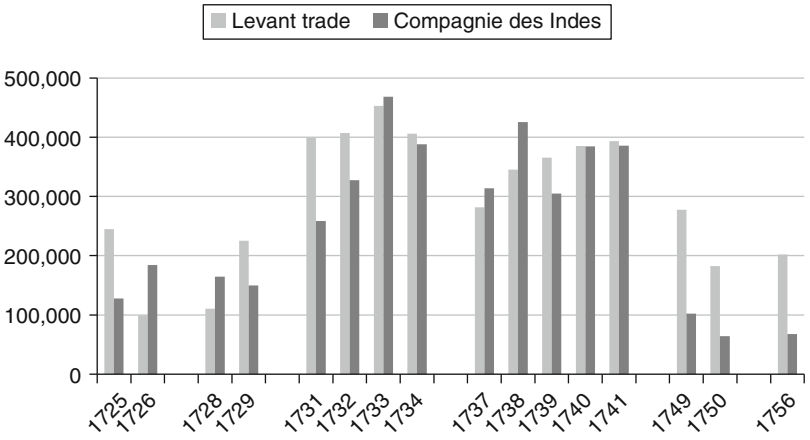
Also often finished in Marseille was the second largest group of Levantine cotton textile imports, which with 23 per cent was also nearly the second most important type of fabric import overall, that of white cottons, which were indeed left white. The finest of these, *lisats* were quilted in Marseille for use as bedcovers and clothing, a branch of industry sufficiently well established already in the late seventeenth century to give rise to legislation protecting it from the general ban on cotton imports, which would otherwise have destroyed it.[88] High-quality muslins, often also called *cambrésines*, were used in clothing. The majority of such imports, however, consisted of the slightly coarser *demittes* and *escarmittes*, which, depending on their individual qualities, were used, if finer for underclothes and corsets and if coarser for linings and summer clothing of the popular classes.[89]

The Importance of the Levant Trade

French textile imports from the Levant made a lasting impact for three reasons, which already shine through in the analysis of the types of fabrics imported. These are, first, the large overall quantities of textiles imported; second, their relative cheapness; and third, their effect on the establishment of imitative or finishing industries in Marseille.

As Table 1.3 visualises and Appendix III reveals in more detail, quantitatively textile imports via the Levant were as important as those via the French Indies Company. In the 16 sample years between 1725 and 1759 for which we have reliable numbers for both, Marseille imported a total of 4,778,173 pieces and the French Indies Company 4,116,737. Despite the large variations in weight and dimension of different textiles we can assume both to be roughly equivalent. Given the overwhelming importance of cotton textiles among those, the Levant trade thus significantly increased the availability of Asian-style textiles in France. Particularly important in this respect was the *type* of textiles that it made available. Indeed, the expansion of the French Levantine cotton imports served in particular to develop the element of popular consumption, thanks to the relative cheapness of the printed and painted Asian and Asian-style cottons that it provided, be those printed in the Levant or in Marseille itself. By around the mid-eighteenth century a 14 m-long piece of Levant-imported cotton such as an ajami, an aman, or a chafarcani, both those printed in the Levant itself and in Marseille, would cost 7–11

Table 1.3 Comparison of French textile imports, East India and Levant*



* *Sources*: CCI Marseille I 27 and Wellington, *French East India Companies*, pp. 188–9. Cf. Appendix III.

lt, with smaller pieces, such as a red boucassin, worth around 5lt.[90] Add to this the overwhelming importance of the second- and third-hand market for textiles, and it is easy to imagine how even very poor consumers such as Rose Barbosse could have afforded her worn calico skirt: it was bright and colourful, but it was also comparatively cheap; not necessarily cheaper than some of the local linen and cheapest woollen alternatives, but visually and qualitatively more attractive. Such calicoes thus permitted even the lower classes to engage in a bit of fashionable consumption.[91]

The boost to consumption was, however, by no means the only or even the most lasting impact of Marseille's Levantine textile imports. Because of the particular situation of Marseille as a free port and centre of the Levant trade, the city received several important exemptions from the initial total prohibition: over time it received permission not only to employ white cottons, but also printed and painted Levantine imports on its territory, and, most importantly, to re-establish its own cotton printing and painting industry.[92] By the 1730s this industry, established in the seventeenth century but wiped out by the 1686 ban, was again flourishing and produced competent imitations both of Indian and of Levantine designs, as the samples, collected to showcase its available products in 1736, beautifully illustrate (Plates 1.13 and 1.14).

Combined with the licence to wear and use Levantine cottons, Marseille's own calico production doubled the effect of its Levantine textile imports and resulted in a broad tradition, both popular and elite, of using printed cottons that last in the Provence up to this day: few twenty-first-century tourists to the region manage to escape the relentless pressure to buy one of the table cloths, aprons, or little sachets of lavender made from cheerfully bright Provençal *indiennes*. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Provence thus mirrored northern France where, despite the prohibition, printed cottons also proved widely popular, thanks to the close links to the French Indies Company in Brittany and the easy availability across the border in Normandy and Flanders.[93]

Thanks to their intrinsic qualities, their designs adapted to European tastes and changing fashions, the wide variety of their types and styles, and to their broad range of qualities and prices, Asian and Asian-style textiles, be they Indian, Chinese, Levantine, or European imitation, had managed to find favour with French consumers all across the social spectrum. The result was firmly established habits of Asian and Asian-style textile consumption – elite, middle class and popular – which caused French authorities an immense headache when trying to impose their ban across the country. This will be the subject of the following two chapters.

Part II
Smuggling

2
Smuggling Textiles into France

Contemporaries were very much aware of the wide cross-class popularity of these textiles in France. Forbonnais, another member of the Gournay circle and author, together with Gournay himself, of the circle's first public intervention on the topic of the potential liberalisation of Asian-style textiles in France, gave an astute overview of their markets. Like Morellet, he identified the three major international destinations, the slave trade, the sugar islands, and France itself, and, like Morellet, he also agreed that only metropolitan French consumption could be regulated. This metropolitan consumption he then divided into three segments: that of the highest classes, a very small and exclusive group of consumers who only employed the most luxurious printed and painted fabrics for both furnishing and clothing; that of the middling classes who made very extensive use of calicoes and chintzes, especially for children's clothing and for furnishings, which made up at least one room in urban homes and the entirety of country houses, where the conspicuous display of wealth was less prevalent and the freshness and cleanliness of the easily replaced and comparatively cheap calicoes even more appreciated; and finally that of the working classes, where the lowest quality of printed textiles was an omnipresent staple in urban women's clothing.[1] Forbonnais's analysis is fairly accurate and corresponds to that drawn up by the Bureau of Commerce at the time, to which, his co-author Gournay being a member, he may very well have had access.[2] What made his intervention powerful, however, was that he appended an estimate of what this 'foreign' consumption replaced: while for the most opulent consumers clothing made from chintz was but one further purchase that did not supplant fabrics made in France – court, ball, or other formal dresses would always be made of the much more expensive and prestigious

French silks – their choice of Asian fabrics for furnishings did mean that they wouldn't buy French silks, cottons, or linens. The situation was more dangerous still for French manufacture when it came to the ever-expanding consumer base of the middle classes. Here calico consumption always replaced that of the more expensive 'national fabrics', be these French clothing fabrics, tapisseries, brocatelles or French cottons such as *siamoises* which would have been used as furnishings in their stead. The lower classes, Forbonnais noted, could not afford to dress entirely in printed fabrics, but nearly always complemented their coarse everyday wear with one or two such items, especially for their Sunday best.

In an age of mercantilism this threat to the health of the most important segment of the French manufacturing sector, textiles, was a danger too important to ignore. Together with the outflow of bullion which was used to pay for the foreign textiles, Forbonnais's argument for the loss of outlets for, and hence damage to, French textile manufacture was one repeated ceaselessly over the years, most usually with the addendum that such damage would lead to mass unemployment, unrest, and emigration. The royal administration was under pressure to act to protect the national industries, especially the silk industry which Colbert had particularly favoured. And act it did, banning in October 1686 the import and trade of all 'cottons painted in the Indies or counterfeited in this kingdom and other silk textiles with gold and silver flowers from China and the said Indies', to which it soon added any and all printed textiles, be those cottons, linens, or hemps, produced in France, Europe, India, China, or the Levant.[3] And yet, if Forbonnais could point to the ubiquity of calico consumption in 1755, then the said ban clearly wasn't working. Indeed, despite over a hundred separate *arrêts* on the topic, it had never worked.[4] That French consumers could continue to indulge in their love of Asian-style fabrics was due to the pervasive culture of smuggling in early modern France and testimony to the fact that the mercantilist state's ambitions to regulate trade and consumption were profoundly unequal to its means actually to do so.[5]

Early modern smuggling was a boom industry. For the smugglers involved, certainly, but now also for historians. With circulations and movement as fashionable themes, particularly in French scholarship, studies on smuggling have also been on the rise.[6] When it comes to early modern France such studies tend to offer a detailed investigation of the act of illegal movement or retail in one particular region.[7] However, this means we lack both *connected* accounts which chart the

journey of a product from its source, through its illegal entry, to the stages of retail and finally consumption, and *comprehensive* accounts, which consider the various regional practices together and set them in their wider sociopolitical context.[8] This is what Part II of this book sets out to do. While the following chapter traces the journey of the textiles through their retail process to the hands of their consumers, this chapter elucidates how they got into the country in the first place. Its approach is an analytical one, which connects disparate regions and smuggling practices to bring out the commonalities and underlying structural problems of the early modern French state that permitted a real culture of smuggling to come into existence. With this as a framework in place, it will then be possible to consider in detail the actual practice of smuggling Asian and Asian-style textiles before concluding with an evaluation of the importance of textiles in the wider culture of smuggling in early modern France.

Smuggling and the Early Modern French State

The ubiquity of smuggling was at the same time made possible by, and revealed, some of the fundamental structural problems which limited the early modern French state's ability to exert power effectively and uniformly. These limitations were both sociocultural and straightforwardly political. Three factors made up for the political: territory, faction, and policing. Apart from the third, the more practical problem of the insufficiency of policing resources, the first two of these were due to the very nature of *ancien régime* French governance and sovereignty: they stemmed first from the constantly shifting power of factions and lobby groups within the royal administration which resulted in incoherent policy changes, and second, from the fragmentation of French territorial sovereignty. The cultural factors contributing to making smuggling such a widely accepted and indeed frequently institutionalised business practice were deeply ingrained in old-regime society. Culturally smuggling was facilitated due to, on the one hand, the fact that for early modern French subjects the notion of personal honour was vastly more important than the impersonal rule of law, and, on the other, to the impossibility of equitable enforcement in a society of ranks characterised by the pervasiveness of privilege.

Incoherent Legislation and Uneven Application

One factor that facilitated smuggling and illicit consumption, at least in the early decades of the ban, lay in the power of factions and

interest groups, which lead to a constant tug-of-war between imposing a total ban on all Asian textiles and encouraging the East India Company and Levant trade through permitting imports and distribution. The decision to ban the import, production, retail, and wearing of Asian and Asian-style textiles had been contentious from the beginning. It was, and continued to be, demanded by the *anciennes manufactures*, the producers of silks, woollens, and linens, especially the Lyonnais silk industry, but it was opposed not only by many of the retailers, but more importantly by the East India Company and the Marseille Chamber of Commerce. These were important and influential forces in French politics. The East India Company, the reorganised Marseille Chamber of Commerce, and the *anciennes manufactures* were Colbert's creations and remained central state concerns, with successive Controllers General and the Council of Commerce closely following their progress and intervening whenever they felt it necessary.[9] The result of these groups making their grievances heard and using their influence in the royal administration of commerce and of the navy was a drawn-out process of legislative dithering in the first two decades post-1686, which interspersed increasingly stringent prohibitions with repeated concessions. Thus the application of the original 1686 prohibition was immediately delayed to allow the East India Company to sell its stock, and exceptions were made in various years to permit it to sell its textiles in France, notably those seized from enemy ships during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97). By 1701, Marseille as well as the East India Company were under the obligation to ensure that all of their imported painted and printed textiles were securely stored and re-exported, and yet in 1700, 1701, and 1702 the Company, having sent several memoranda on the topic, was also given the permission to sell printed and painted textiles, silks, fabrics with gold and silver thread as well as *écorces d'arbre*, leading to strong protests from the Lyonnais deputy to the Council of Commerce.[10] A year later, in 1703, Marseille was again given the right to use Levantine printed and painted textiles in the confines of its territory. Such incoherence was a boon to all would-be smugglers and retailers. After all, potential buyers could always claim that their textiles were part of those legally imported and sold. For, once made into finished goods, it was impossible to tell the difference between legally imported and smuggled textiles – it is for good reason that this remained the major argument behind the total ban. It was really only 20 years after the original ban, from 1705 onwards, that the legislation became coherent and the prohibition – at least on paper – total.[11]

However, the prohibition remained total only on paper. Aristocrats would place their orders abroad without fear of prosecution by their social inferiors while economically important groups, such as the Nantes-based slaving interests, were regularly given permission to import the textiles necessary to their trade.[12] Moreover, as the pressure groups from the *anciennes manufactures* complained time and again, punishments and fines were often reduced and the very harshest of punishments, executions and the galleys, were only imposed for those who formed part of armed and organised groups.[13] Of course to be thus punished, smugglers had to be caught first, a task significantly hindered by both the lack of human and financial resources and the nature of the French territory itself.

Territorial Fragmentation and the Geography of Smuggling

The territorial fragmentation of *ancien régime* France was one of the major contributing factors to its smuggling culture. Unlike its British counterpart, France's territories were not a customs union. The tax and customs framework devised by Colbert survived more or less unchanged until the Revolution. As illustrated on a later eighteenth-century map (Plate 2.1), France was divided into three types of regimes: the *Cinq grosses fermes* (left white), a tax and customs union of the central French provinces, the *provinces reputées étrangères* (in green), which were separated from the other provinces by a customs barrier, and the *provinces à l'instar de l'étranger effectif* (in red): peripheral regions that had only lately come to be part of the kingdom and which continued to be treated effectively as foreign territories for tax and customs purposes. These, like the free ports such as Marseille, could trade freely with foreign countries. Further complicating the situation were territorial exclaves within France, such as Avignon, Orange, and Mulhouse (also in red).

Together with the free port of Marseille three territorial exclaves within France became havens for the production and distribution of Asian-style printed cottons: Orange, Avignon, and, towards the end of the prohibition, Mulhouse, which as an independent Calvinist republic remained associated with the Swiss Federation until the Revolutionary Wars in the 1790s.[14] Avignon, former seat of the popes during the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century schism, together with its surrounding region, the Comtat Venaissin, remained a papal enclave until its official integration under the French Revolution. The city of Orange in the south-east of France, very near Avignon, belonged to the Princes of Orange. Confiscated by Louis XIV, surrendered back with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and again returned to France with the Peace of Utrecht

in 1713, it was only officially made part of France in 1731. This meant that they now became part of the French tax and customs regime – something the inhabitants were not at all happy about.[15] The reason for this lay not only in the additional taxes the inhabitants now had to pay, but, more importantly perhaps, in the fact that the new controls put an end to their extremely lucrative business of smuggling tobacco and Asian textiles out of their territory into France. Faced with 'the great quantity of *indiennes*, muslins, and tobacco, held by the merchants of the city of Orange', the Bureau of Commerce decided that the tobacco had to be handed over to the tax authorities who would reimburse the merchants and that they had one year to send the textiles abroad.[16] The merchants, however, were as clever as their holdings extensive. In 1731 by official count they held a total of 906 kerchiefs and just over 4100 aunes (4900 m) of now forbidden textiles consisting of 1380 aunes muslins, 383 fine, and 2258 aunes common *indiennes*, and 85 aunes flowered flannels. By January 1732 already, they had dutifully sent abroad a third of the kerchiefs and nearly 1500 of the 4100 aunes of fabrics. However, 'abroad' in this case was less than 30 km away: they had sent them to Avignon. Everybody involved knew that this was just another entrepôt for smuggling into France, but as it officially was a foreign territory, there was little that the Farmers General could do until the Bureau of Commerce officially intervened.[17]

Indeed, compared to Avignon, Orange was but a minor problem. While the surrounding Comtat Venaissin produced – and illegally exported into France – tobacco on a grand scale, Avignon itself became a major producer not only of silks, but especially of printed cottons. Cotton printing began in the late 1670s and by the end of the seventeenth century 30 per cent of the city's population worked in its textile sector. At the height of its development 23 water wheels turned in the rivulet running parallel to the long and picturesque street still today known as the *Rue des Teinturiers*: Dyers Street.[18] Smuggling, especially via the Rhône on the borders of the Comtat was endemic.[19] So much so that in the end the French government decided to put a stop to it by blockading the region until it conceded. The result was the 1734 Concordat between the Pope and the French Crown, according to which Avignon and the Comtat had to cease the production of all tobacco and printed cottons in return for a yearly indemnity of 230,000 livres.[20] The resulting demands for compensation give an idea of the scale the smuggling operation had reached. In a declaration from October 1735 Avignon's merchants of printed cottons or *indiennes* certified that before the prohibition five large factories occupied around 500 workers

producing around 30,000 pieces per year, which was supplemented by yearly imports of another 30,000 pieces of higher qualities. There was of course no question that demand in the small Avignon and Comtat could have accounted for such huge quantities: they were destined to be smuggled into France. Indeed, the Avignon merchants in question were quite happy to admit that they had generally sold these textiles to merchants from the surrounding French regions of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné.[21]

The sudden end to an industry lead to some hardship and the city distributed food and financial aid to destitute workers and paid substantial indemnities of between 100 and 1200 lt to former workshop owners.[22] However, compensation was only paid to those who handed in their printing blocks for destruction and subsequently remained in Avignon, not to those who simply migrated to Marseille. One loophole closed simply widened another: Marseille had over 20 active workshops in the 1730s and its industry blossomed. Many former Avignon *indienneurs* simply moved the 100 km south and sought their fortune there.[23] Since Marseille as a free port had been given permission to import and use printed and painted cottons from the Levant within the borders of its own territory, it is no surprise that throughout the eighteenth century Marseille remained one of the main sources of supply for printed and painted textiles smuggled into France.[24]

Mulhouse and the *Provinces à l'instar de l'étranger effectif*

If, due to the countries' territorial fragmentation, the south of France was a hotspot for both production and smuggling, the countries' eastern provinces and exclaves served for smuggling more than for production. Mulhouse was an exception, but it was a relative latecomer. Mulhouse and some of its surrounding land were a small Protestant republic situated within France but independent of it and hence also not touched by its textile legislation. Conserving very close ties to the neighbouring Swiss confederation, where textile printing was well established, calico printing first began in the city in 1747 and both the patterns and the customer base closely followed the example of Neuchâtel, which, together with the rest of much of the Swiss production was undoubtedly much smuggled into France itself.[25]

The *provinces à l'instar de l'étranger effectif*, posed a similar problem in terms of introduction, if not production in the east of France. Apart from Alsace and Lorraine, these also included the smaller neighbouring regions of the Three Bishoprics and the Duchy of Bar as well as the small *pays de Gex*, close to Geneva and made famous by Voltaire's

later residence there in Ferney. Their status meant that they were free to import all kinds of textiles and hence their illegal cross-border commerce with France flourished throughout the eighteenth century, even after the end of the official prohibition, when tax avoidance alone constituted a sufficient motive for smuggling. Lorraine citizens or French subjects adopting false Lorraine names would bulk-buy cotton goods in Switzerland and then stash them close to the borders with the Champagne and Franche-Comté regions from whence they could easily be smuggled across. Similar entrepôts were created in Alsace and the Three Bishoprics, who had a prospering free trade in textiles with Germany and the Netherlands. This practice was so common and so well known that a ruling of 1768 expressly forbade the storage of 'any painted or dyed textiles, white cottons, muslins, any type of fabric or hosiery' within two leagues of the French tax borders.[26]

The Geography of Smuggling

Smuggling, however, was not limited to France's territorial exclaves and foreign provinces. It was rife along most of its borders – internal or external. There was a real geography of smuggling and the authorities were well aware of it. One memorandum, written in response to the French Indies Company's complaints that the smuggling of muslins and chintzes into France hurt its profits, gives a particularly succinct overview. Written in 1757 by a representative of the *fermes*, Roussel, it outlines how such textiles were smuggled into the country.[27] Roussel's account tallies with other surviving documentation in finding that a great part of the smuggling was concentrated in the east and especially south-east of France. The wooded mountainous regions between Geneva and Grenoble were a particular favourite, as were those north and south of this point, with the small community of Barcelonette in the Ubaye valley, close to what is now the Italian border and Turin, figuring prominently. The Provence thus became a smuggling hotspot, not only via Orange, Avignon, and Marseille but also its Alpine eastern borders and smaller Mediterranean fishing harbours and ports. Many, if not most, of the textiles smuggled across France's eastern land borders, however, made their way via what is now Switzerland and Savoy – then independent territories – and from thence towards Grenoble and then Lyon or Paris, so that in January 1709 the inspector of manufacturers in Grenoble alone could report the seizure of first 132 bales of printed cottons, muslins, *écorces d'arbre*, and other illegal textiles on the borders of Savoy and, just over a year later in February 1710, of another 189 pieces of muslin and 134 pieces of painted cottons.[28]

Further north along France's borders, together with the above-mentioned *provinces à l'instar de l'étranger effectif*, the so-called *provinces reputés étrangères*, such as the Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, Languedoc, and Brittany, were also heavily involved in smuggling. They were each a separate entity with customs barriers between each other and the *Cinq grosses Fermes* and they maintained a strong sentiment of independence which allowed smuggling to flourish. Thus, with the VOC as a major importer of Asian textiles so close by, printed cottons were ubiquitous in France's north-eastern provinces, at least in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, especially after the provinces of French Flanders and Artois returned to French control from that of the Estates General in 1714.[29]

Smuggling was even more of a constant in the north-west: Brittany, due to its French Indies Company connections, was a region well saturated with Asian textiles. However, the French Company was not the only one whose goods were smuggled into the country there. Like the south-eastern land border, France's northern and western coastline was a hive of smuggling activity. Given the large imports of Indian cottons by the British East India Company, and the roaring appetite for them in France, it is little wonder that these frequently made their way across the channel. They came hidden in cargo and passenger ships, or were offloaded in secret, with the Channel Islands serving as entrepôts throughout the period.[30]

While France's unusual territorial division was thus undoubtedly an important contributing factor to the flourishing of its smuggling culture, it cannot have been the decisive one: after all, smuggling seems to have been as pervasive along its 'normal' external borders, both land and maritime, as along those of its territorial enclaves and foreign provinces. All of these were supposed to be policed in the same manner, and hence the insufficiency of policing operations was an even more decisive factor for illegal importations of Asian and Asian-style textiles into France.

The Insufficiency of Policing

In theory at least, the French borders were well patrolled. This was the responsibility of the employees of the *fermes*, the private tax and customs authorities who also had the monopoly over all tobacco imports and sales and who imposed the salt tax. Brigades were stationed along the frontiers which they patrolled in pairs of two on foot from one post to the next where they would meet the next patrol who would take the relay. There were to be two patrols per 24 hours, one day and one night

shift and these were set according to secret instructions received every ten days by the captain general. These instructions would indicate the precise schedule and passwords, which changed daily. The schedule had to be signed at each of the posts before being sent back to the captain general. Mounted brigades sometimes came in as reinforcements, especially when armed smuggling gangs were known to be in the vicinity. On the maritime borders and even along the major rivers the *fermes* employed small boats, *pataches*, to intercept secret landings, and the personnel of course inspected boats which came to anchor in French ports, just as they inspected the papers and cargos of land-based transports which crossed any border.[31]

Control did not stop at the external borders. France's internal customs borders meant that there was – at least in theory – effective control over all goods moving through the country. The network of tax bureaus on the borders and inside the French provinces ensured that any circulating merchandise was subject to several inspections, was checked, rechecked, and had to follow fixed trajectories and be equipped with the right paperwork.[32] On top of all this, sedentary brigades were stationed in the major towns and cities where they controlled entries and exits at the city gates, while mobile brigades patrolled cities and countryside and searched houses or workshops, usually after tip-offs. Such tip-offs were crucial to uncover both smuggling and illegal production and retailing. Thus, if their information proved fruitful, spies and informers were well rewarded either in monetary terms or by being given part of the seized merchandise.[33]

In practice, none of this put a stop to smuggling. France had long borders with poor visibility and few guards. And while those who were patrolling the borders and often in danger of violent assault by armed gangs of smugglers may not have been all that lenient, those in the bureaus were frequently open to bribery and collusion. Thus corruption of tax and customs officials was a frequently employed means of getting illicit goods into the country – or indeed of avoiding paying tax on perfectly legal ones. As one of the farmers general wrote, 'the most dangerous enemy that we have to fight are our own employees'.[34] Worse, the general population was by no means willing to cooperate with the tax authorities: smuggling was considered more of a sport than a crime, and even the authorities themselves did not always consider it an offence. Together with the lack of efficient enforcement it was above all this cultural acceptance that permitted smuggling to become so pervasive a practice.

The Culture of Smuggling

Perhaps the greatest difficulty authorities faced when trying to combat smuggling was that it was such a widely accepted practice and not at all automatically considered reprehensible. Three main ingredients contributed to this social acceptance. They were: (1) the highly ambiguous role of the authorities themselves, (2) the widespread hatred of the tax authorities in charge of preventing smuggling, and (3) the ingrained feeling in all parts of the population that personal honour accounted for much more than the letter of the law.

The Ambiguous Role of the Authorities

Part of what made smuggling so difficult to combat was that it was by no means universally perceived as criminal. Instead, depending on context, it was considered perfectly acceptable and even to be encouraged. In a mercantilist mindset in which international trade was a zero-sum-game and hence to be fought like a war by other means, smuggling was an important weapon.[35] Hence the French authorities would happily encourage it, for instance when it was employed to bring French exports into countries that did not officially permit them. It was thus openly acknowledged that the French Indies Company imported tea for the sole purpose of smuggling it into Britain, and there was no criticism implied in this admission, on the contrary.[36] And when an imperial decree forbade the import of foreign textiles into the German lands, the Lyon deputy of commerce, the same who decried the harm done to Lyon's textile industry by Asian textile smuggling, reassured the central authorities: since the decree only forbade import and not the sale and usage within the country, Paris and Lyon could still supply merchants from the Holy Roman Empire as these had already indicated that they would simply smuggle French textiles into their country; excellent news for France's textile manufacturers, proudly complicit in smuggling with the central government's blessing.[37]

Add to this the frequent moderation of sentences as long as the smuggling was not linked to violence, the regular consumption by authority figures and the social elite of smuggled goods – especially of Asian-style textiles – as well as the numerous examples of the involvement of the tax and police authorities in smuggling themselves, either actively, or passively by accepting bribes and closing their eyes, and it is clear that the role of the authorities was much too ambiguous to convince anybody that smuggling was objectionable per se.

Hatred of the Tax Authorities

What made smuggling even more acceptable, even laudable in the eyes of many, was the near-universal dislike of the *fermes*, the private French tax authorities. As Jean Nicolas has shown, by far the most important cause of revolts in early modern France was resistance to the officers of the *fermes* (39 per cent of all recorded rebellions) in the form of violent attacks either by the smugglers themselves or by inhabitants to prevent the tax officials' controls, seizures, reporting, and arrests, or to aid and abet smugglers and free prisoners or confiscated goods.[38] The common people's hatred of the *fermiers* was such that smugglers could become popular heroes and reach cult status as in the most famous case of Louis Mandrin. In the mid-1750s this French Robin Hood figure led his army of about 300 well-organised brigands out of Switzerland and Savoy into France, mainly the Dauphiné and Franche-Comté, organising veritable fairs on the way selling tobacco and illegal cotton textiles and amusing the population by force-selling smuggled tobacco to the hugely unpopular tax authorities themselves. Betrayed by two of his own men, Mandrin was kidnapped from his refuge in Savoy and executed in France, but his legend and popularity continued to be commemorated in songs and engravings, such as that shown in Figure 2.1., from the 1750s.[39]

In many cases smugglers could count on the support of the local population, either in hiding them, or, more rarely, in helping them scare off the tax officials, reclaim confiscated goods, or free them if arrested. Local elites would not countenance popular unrest and violence as easily, but they, too, were not totally opposed to smuggling. They wore smuggled Asian textiles just as openly as the lower classes did. Some of them supported illicit local retailing, some went even further: the aristocrat and most senior of the judges presiding over the Provençal *parlement* in Aix-en-Provence, M. de Bandol, disliked the director of the *fermes* enough to allow his servants to use his estates of Bandol on the Mediterranean coast to land smuggled goods and to store them in his mansion in Aix.[40] Personal honour was a crucial factor in such behaviour. Personages such as Bandol and many of his fellow provençal nobles, subject of the following chapter, who aided and abetted local retailers of illegal Asian textiles, thought it an insult to their honour to obey the strictures of lower-class officials, to let them visit their homes or check their carriages.

Personal Honour versus the Law

The notion of personal honour was crucial to the establishment and functioning of the parallel economy of smuggling. In the early modern

Figure 2.1 Engraving of Louis Mandrin (1750s). © Bibliothèque nationale de France (Estampes Reserve QB-201 (101)-FOL).

period more widely personal honour was ranked far above the impersonal letter of the law. And if the two happened to be incompatible there was no question of what the preference ought to be, as evident in the practice of duelling, strictly illegal but nevertheless common throughout Europe until well into the nineteenth century. The strict adherence to a code of honour, if need be in total opposition to the law, was not, however, a privilege of the aristocracy alone. Michael Kwass has shown for instance how it underlay Louis Mandrin's ritualised exchanges with the tax authorities; but Mandrin's was not an unusual case: the notion of honour provided the backbone for the culture of early modern smuggling.[41] A case from 1750s Lorient perfectly illustrates this point.

The *Diligente* was a French Indies Company frigate which had left Lorient on 3 May 1757 for India and arrived back in Lorient on 1 March 1758.[42] In the meantime she had landed in Pondicherry on 16 October 1757 and an inventory of the official and private correspondence she carried on her return mentions 22 parcels sent to – and usually by – high-ranking officials of the Company or the royal government as well as 'seventy-two private letters or parcels'.[43] These parcels already afforded ample opportunity to include those prized printed and painted cottons for which the Pondicherry region was famous. However, what the list does not include are the goods secretly stashed on board by the sailors; and among these were 15 bales of merchandise, hidden in the hold. Unfortunately for the owners, Graniere, one of the customs officials come to supervise the unloading in Lorient, was surprisingly incorruptible. On his arrival he was offered the substantial sum of 160 louis if he would allow them to unload these bales – after all, he was told, his superior was already in on the deal. Graniere, however, refused and, when bad weather stopped any further attempts at unloading, had the holds sealed. The next morning he returned in the company of his superior officer, the captain of the local customs brigade. When Graniere proposed searching the holds for the bales in question, the personnel on board asked for the owner of the bales, a minor noble and army officer, the chevalier de Mouy, to be present. While the clerks searched for and finally found the bales in question, the chevalier proceeded to vent his anger at the captain of the customs brigade: not because the latter had been doing his job, but because, according to de Mouy, he was a traitor and an oath-breaker, since he had, as the chevalier shouted within the hearing of several of the other, subordinate, officials, promised to let the bales pass for the agreed sum of 60 louis. The said captain of the customs brigade in the meantime took to hiding in the ship captain's rooms as soon as he saw de Mouy arrive – he had clearly dishonoured himself.[44]

Smuggling relied on the institution of honour as a means of contract enforcement: a merchant or private individual who bribed officials or paid smugglers still perceived himself as perfectly respectable and very reasonably expected his partners to uphold their end of the bargain. If they did not, it was not him who was to blame for having engaged in criminal behaviour, but those who, in breaking their words, had proven to be dishonourable. When such a breach occurred the injured party felt it quite within their rights to complain, as did the outraged chevalier de Mouy or indeed a group of grenadiers, who very properly followed standard procedure, complaining to their superior officer when they had not been paid as promised for transporting smuggled textiles. Again quite in accordance with his code of honour – he was after all responsible for his soldiers and had to make sure that his social equal fulfilled their obligations towards them – the officer took the opportunity of a dinner-party meeting to bring this up with the customs official who had promised to pay the soldiers. For what counted was that a man of honour stuck to his word and honoured his promises – nobody seems to have minded that all involved were employees of the crown and supposed to uphold the law.[45]

Smuggling – Business as Usual

Both these anecdotes demonstrate how common and widely accepted – and expected – the practice of smuggling was. With this wide acceptance, smuggling became an institutionalised business practice: otherwise respectable and law-abiding tradesmen would sell smuggled goods while larger companies would import smuggled merchandise together with their legal ones. As a letter by the farmer general at Lyon to the Controller General of December 1701 reveals, by this date already, smuggling Asian textiles was so established a practice as to offer regular insurance policies, and the tax farmers were clearly in the minority when calling this dishonourable:

> I have felt it was my duty to inform your Grace that more contraband merchandise than ever enters our city [Lyon], despite the attention that we pay to watch out for this and which we have had to prevent it by setting up two boats on the Saône at the two ends of the city, a mounted brigade at Heyrieux, and two men to chain up the ships on the Rhône every evening. There are fifty poor and dishonourable people in this city who have no other employ but to band together in armed and mounted groups of ten, twelve and fifteen, to accompany such goods which they pick up in Pont-de Beau-Voisin [a small

> town on the edge of what are now the Savoy and Isère departments, south-east of Lyon], Savoy, and other places, and bring them back right into the suburbs of this city, where they store them and then bring them into the city by a thousand stratagems and with the help of an infinite number of openings along the ramparts of the Rhône and the city walls. These bandits hire themselves out for food and one Louis d'or per journey to five of six gang leaders who insure the merchandise for the merchants for an average of 20%.[46]

If it was the political situation of the French monarchy and territory coupled with the cultural acceptance of smuggling as a potentially respectable and honourable practice that made textile smuggling possible, it was the profitability of selling smuggled textiles which permitted such a well-funded and large-scale organisation. It provided the resources that made smuggling so impossible to clamp down on: there was a seemingly endless amount of money to bribe officials and astonishing technological know-how that ranged from devising hidden compartments to convincingly faking seals and paperwork. And having established where and why Asian and Asian-style textiles could enter France, we can now find out exactly how they did so.

How to Smuggle Asian Textiles

The Special Case of Muslins

The practicalities of smuggling textiles into France varied depending on whether the textile in question was totally banned from the country, as in the case of printed fabrics, or whether its import and consumption were permitted under certain conditions, as in the case of muslins. The smuggling of muslins demonstrates the ingenuity, organisation, and technical skill of those involved in textile contraband.

Muslins were very popular and among the largest of the French East India Companies' textile imports.[47] Following protests from the *anciennes manufactures*, their import had also been forbidden in 1691, though again, like in the case of the other Indian and Chinese fabrics, the Company was subsequently accorded several delays, exceptions, and permissions for sales and retail.[48] Muslins were always considered a distinct category from coloured Asian textiles, and thus when for instance French merchants complained that they held large reserves of white Indian cottons which they had bought legally but were now no longer permitted to sell, another ruling was passed on 30 November

1709 to allow all merchants to bring forward their holdings and have them inventoried and marked on both ends of each piece, which would then permit them to sell them legally.[49] Although there were continued problems with retailers cheating on those marks, the practice was continued, and another ruling from 1712 again permitted the Company to sell muslins for use in France as long as they bore the Company seal; and sales of marked white goods continued periodically.[50] This became the norm after the refoundation of the Company in 1719, which permitted the sale and retail of all white cottons and muslins in France provided that they were those imported by the French Indies Company and had the right seals and paperwork to prove it.[51]

About as large as a small coin, the lead seals, which together with attached pieces of parchment and the relevant paperwork were to prove that the cottons in question were the legal Company ones, were changed regularly to avoid the possibility of falsification.[52] Indeed, the temptation to forge them was great: not only would there be a saving in tax, but it appears that demand for such goods constantly outstretched the Company-provided supplies, which guaranteed potential smugglers an easy market.[53] Moreover, for smugglers muslins had a clear advantage over chintzes, namely that, could they be made to pass for Company-imported goods, muslins would, once inside the country, be able to circulate freely and, unlike printed fabrics, not lead to seizure and criminal prosecution. For this, however, they needed to have the right documentation and the Company's lead seal. Forging these thus became a priority. According to Roussel the white goods destined to be smuggled into France were usually first brought to Geneva, which specialised in forging the Company's seal. Once equipped with this seal, the goods could, after they had been smuggled across the border, pass for the original: they would be declared at the first bureau, usually in Lyon, where the seals and parchments would be checked and found to be in order. Now that they were equipped with the right paperwork they could circulate freely in France and be sold at great profit. Only a chance occurrence had led to the discovery of the fraud Roussel describes in 1757: some years before, the customs brigade had seized a quantity of muslins stitched between calfskins loaded on horses which the riders had quickly abandoned. When sent to Paris, however, the tax authorities were surprised to find that the hidden muslins not only came with the right papers attached but also the correct new Company seals which had only been in use for about six months. Experts were called in and confirmed the authenticity of the seals. It was only after much further investigation that they decided they must be counterfeits

after all. With even specialists fooled, it would have been impossible for ordinary tax and customs officials checking goods on France's many internal customs barriers to discover such fraud.[54] And this fraud was as old as the prohibition itself and rather common: cases of seals found to be forgeries date back to the 1710s.[55]

Unlike muslins, printed and painted fabrics were illegal in France under any circumstances. What they had in common with the white goods, however, were their entry points: Marseille and the East India Companies' sales for legal imports, and, illegally, via the coastlines, eastern borders, and above all their passage from Geneva. By this point Geneva had become a significant centre of calico production in its own right and a good deal of its output was smuggled into France, particularly via Savoy.[56] Such cross-border smuggling was not the only way of bringing calicoes to their French consumers. Another strategy was to divert them from their legal entry points where they were permitted to be stored for re-export purposes only and from there to pass them on illegally for consumption inside the country.

Loopholes: Marseille, the *Compagnie des Indes*, and the Slave Trade

Smuggling textiles into the country via their legal entry points of Marseille for the Levant trade and of first Nantes and subsequently Lorient, where the French Indies Company auctions were held, had the advantage that they did not need to cross any external borders first; they were already inside the country and only had to disappear. The authorities had of course tried to prevent this: before the usage of Levantine textiles became legal again in Marseille, the import was permitted for re-export purposes only and the textiles had to be kept locked with two different keys in special warehouses. The same practice was used for the printed and painted textiles which the French India Companies were permitted to bring and sell at auction for immediate re-export. Once usage was made legal again in Marseille's territory, border controls were meant to prevent the textiles from leaking into the surrounding provence region. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, this did not stop would-be retailers from bring large quantities of textiles into the neighbouring towns and villages. It is the Indies Company's case that is perhaps more unusual and intriguing, for here the measures taken by smugglers had to be much more creative than the simple border-crossing used in Marseille once calicoes and white cottons were again permitted there.

There were two ways in which textiles imported on French Indies Company ships could make their way into France: they could be part of the official Company trade that was sold at the Company auction as destined for re-exportation only, but then not actually be exported; or they could be part of the private trade of the ship's officers and sailors. In the latter case these textiles could form part of the official allowances of the Company's personnel, according to which each sailor and officer was theoretically permitted to use a certain amount of the ship's capacity for his own personal trade. In France such a *port-permis* was fixed in value rather than weight or space and allocated according to rank. However, as this money was then employed by the Company itself for buying products in Asia and selling them at auction in France and handing the profits back to the sailor in question, we can, for our purposes, count this with the official Company trade, as, just as in the case of the main Company trade, all Asian textiles would form part of the official auctions and thus either be marked and certified in the case of white goods, or sold as for export only in the case of printed or painted cottons. Of interest here is the partly legal and partly smuggled private trade conducted by the personnel themselves directly and in kind, usually referred to as *pacotilles*.[57]

Thanks to the work of Philippe Haudrère and Eugénie Margoline-Plot, we have a fairly good idea how this private trade was conducted and which goods it involved.[58] Apart from the normal *port-permis*, all personnel on board were also accorded a 'petit port-permis', which could consist in merchandise, though not in forbidden goods. Unsurprisingly the amounts accorded for this were frequently exceeded and the rules governing the choice of permitted articles were not adhered to. Instead, a major constituent seems to have been precisely those Asian textiles that were illegal and immensely popular in France: printed and painted Indian cottons. The importance and popularity of the illegal *pacotilles* never wavered, despite the efforts of both the India Company and the tax authorities to eradicate them, since apart from serving to introduce illegal goods, they took up space on board, even led to overloading, and could threaten the Company's own official trade.

The Company and tax farmers adopted various measures to prevent the landing of privately traded Indian cottons and other smuggled goods. Since all ships had to arrive at the port of Lorient in Brittany, they were met by a ship of the tax authorities which accompanied them in order to avoid the secret unloading of merchandise in one of the smaller harbours or islands surrounding the natural harbour of Lorient. All entries to the ship's hold were sealed and upon anchoring

opposite the Company's warehouses in Lorient, the ship was met by troops forming a line along the pontoon to avoid the unloading of illegal goods. These measures, as impressive as they may sound, proved perfectly ineffectual. Company ships arranged to be met by smaller vessels, usually fishing boats from elsewhere in Brittany, to transfer smuggled goods before meeting their escort and despite all efforts to the contrary ships were overrun on their arrival in Lorient and the chaos that ensued allowed for easy offloading of the smaller packets of illegal textiles. As a Company official in Lorient explained to the Parisian directors,

> It is enough, gentlemen, to have seen but once a ship from the Indies approach the pontoon, to understand that it is impossible to hold back the crowd of all kinds of people which assail it and board it from all sides while the port officers are berthing the ship. As a result it is impossible to prevent them from carrying off such goods as can be hidden on one's person, in spite of the line formed along the pontoon by the troops with their bayonets on their rifles and in spite of the officials from the *fermes* who seem to me to be less keen than they used to be.[59]

The quantities involved overall were substantial. In a letter from February 1716, Hébert, the governor of Pondicherry at the time, reported that the two ships leaving for Europe carried Company cargo worth 1,800,000 livres and, even though they had made many of the sailors unload theirs, it also carried pacotilles worth 800,000 livres.[60] With such staggering amounts, it is small wonder not only that the Company feared the competition of its own personnel, but also that smuggled illegal textiles abounded in Brittany. This trend seems not to have abated over time: in a *mémoire* of 1727, Godeheu, one of the Company's directors, estimated that about 200 bales of textiles were transported illegally on each ship.[61] Accordingly, in 1728 alone the tax officials from the bureau in Port-Louis, the entry point to the Lorient harbour, seized from Company ships a total of 1099 pieces of printed and painted cottons and several other illegal textiles, including 30 embroidered corsets, 28 painted rugs, 728 pieces of fine Madras chintz, and 13 pieces of *écorce d'arbre*.[62] Most of these were carefully concealed from the prying eyes of tax officials and never discovered: the several pieces of illegal Indian textiles that officials discovered under a false bottom in the Company ship *Bristol* in 1753 were undoubtedly only the very tip of the iceberg.[63]

However, smuggling textiles off-board Company ships was only one way of bringing them into the country. Buying them legally at auctions and then not, as required, sending them abroad was another. Several *arrêts* of May and August 1720 had prescribed the procedures employed to prevent any possible introduction of these *marchandises prohibées* or 'forbidden goods' into the country, and several later ones determined their specifics. Ships were met by tax inspectors and the goods in question were inventoried and then stored in a specific secure warehouse on the Company's enclosed compound in Lorient. This 'magazin des marchandises prohibées' was kept locked with two keys and only a designated government-nominated tax official and the Company directors each held one of these keys. Moreover, the designated official would keep a precise register of all merchandise entering and leaving this warehouse. The merchandise was then sold at the official Company auction with *acquit à caution*, a pass-bill that allowed the merchant to transport the merchandise out of the country, once it was securely packed and sealed. Within a set timeframe after the sales, the buyer then had to present the *fermes* with a proof of unloading abroad.[64]

These measures did not, however, prevent the introduction of such goods into France. A unique set of documents held at the National Archives in Paris arising from a quarrel between Besnier, the Port-Louis customs director, and his employers gives a fascinating insight into the mechanisms involved in smuggling these goods out of Lorient.[65] As Besnier explained, apart from the usual cases of secretly unloading forbidden goods, or, more frequently, bribing the local tax officials to permit such unloading, merchants had found two convenient ways of smuggling banned fabrics bought at Company auctions into France which dispensed them from having to rely on the complicity of local officials. The first used the patronage of the aristocracy and of high-placed court officials. These would obtain exemptions to have such forbidden goods sent to them in Paris and the merchants assigned this task would make use of the designated packages to include plenty of their own forbidden merchandise which would thereby be granted a safe passage to Paris.

A second general trick was to substitute other goods into the sealed packages that were to go abroad, or indeed simply to substitute these altogether and either provide false certificates of exportation or certificates of exportation for the wrong goods.[66] As evidenced by renewed legislation, one of the most frequent ways of smuggling these fabrics into France was simply to neglect to hand in or to forge such certificates and thus to keep or unload the goods within the country.[67] Such

practices were, however, much less risky when aided by corrupt officials. One of the most popular ways of smuggling painted and printed cottons into the country was thus to persuade the tax and customs clerk in question to seal the wrong goods and keep the forbidden goods hidden: all the paper work would be correct, the inventory kept on the outgoings of the warehouse would state that the goods had left it safely sealed as for export-only, and the merchants could take the forbidden goods out of the Company compound and dispose of them as they wished. Indeed, the complicity of the tax officials was such that the paperwork was usually in order: the sums added up and the proof of unloading abroad would be delivered in time to the relevant authorities.[68]

Another, much more blatant, but, if successful, for the merchants also less burdensome procedure, was simply to remove the goods from the warehouse. This avoided any need for seals, pass-bills, or proof of exportation. It did, however, require the cooperation of a great number of officials who were supposed to prevent anything like that from happening. Thus, when a known friendly guard of the warehouse of forbidden merchandise who had been known to cooperate in sealing the wrong goods, was removed in time for the 1758 auction, the merchants who had acquired the textiles in question seem to have decided that it was time for drastic measures and simply bribed enough night-watchmen and warehouse guards to move the wares they had bought at auction from the warehouse of forbidden goods to their own hangars on the Company's compound. When one of the non-corrupt *fermes* officials complained to the Company, they sought to avoid any public scandal and agreed with the merchants to have the goods replaced into the forbidden-goods warehouse the next night. After all, the Company depended on the goodwill of the merchants who provided their income. However, instead of returning to the warehouse, during the following night the wares made their way out of the compound altogether without any guards or watchmen to be seen.[69] Such utterly unashamed manoeuvres were by no means uncommon: in a different year, the merchants had helpers conceal themselves among the bales in the warehouse and then pass these out through the windows;[70] and, as mentioned above, in 1760 and 1761, Dessain, the customs director of Vannes himself, organised the local grenadiers to help with the evacuation and hiding of these goods, while his secretary told the guard not to go to his post and that should he see some fraud taking place, he would be well compensated should he choose to ignore it.[71] These practices could become commonplace because they served everybody's interest: the merchants made profits, the tax officials supplemented

their incomes quite substantially, and the directors of the *Compagnie des Indes* had no reason to discourage such fraud either because buyers who felt sure of being able to dispose of their merchandise easily would pay higher prices, and because illegal cotton goods seized in France would be given to the Company to be sold at auction for export abroad. Thus by encouraging the smuggling of auction-sold illegal textiles into the country, the Company could potentially sell the same fabric several times at no further cost to itself.[72]

What these examples demonstrate is that once inside the country the forbidden textiles were almost impossible to contain. And they legally got into the country more often than one would assume: not only via the French East India Companies, the Levant trade, and any exemptions that highly placed aristocrats managed to wrangle, but also because of government protection of the French slave trade, which depended on a steady supply of cotton textiles. Nantes-based slavers were thus also regularly given permission to import and store such textiles provided that this was for export only – and we may very much doubt that these strictures were observed more effectively than they were in Marseille or Lorient.[73]

A Typology of Smuggling

Smuggling was not limited to these loopholes, however, and practices were diverse enough to warrant a general overview. They can be divided into concealed or open practices, which could in turn either mean concealing the goods in question or the people transporting them. If conducted in the open, the means could be either violent or consensual. In all of these, the practicalities would vary according to whether the smuggling was coastal, fluvial, or across land borders.

To transport illicit merchandise smugglers could either hide themselves or their goods, a choice that often depended on whether the goods in question were transported across internal or external borders. In the former case hiding only the wares was a common practice. Simply concealing them among goods circulating legally was particularly popular, as in a 1722 case when tax officials near Nantes noticed that one corner of a sealed bale of textiles had been cut off in order to stuff in coloured and forbidden ones, or in a more spectacular incident in 1735 when a Toulouse merchant travelling to the most important of all textile fairs, Beaucaire, managed to conceal 80 pieces of *toiles peintes* among the five bales of spun cotton yarn that he was transporting.[74] When transporting goods across external land borders, smugglers frequently concealed

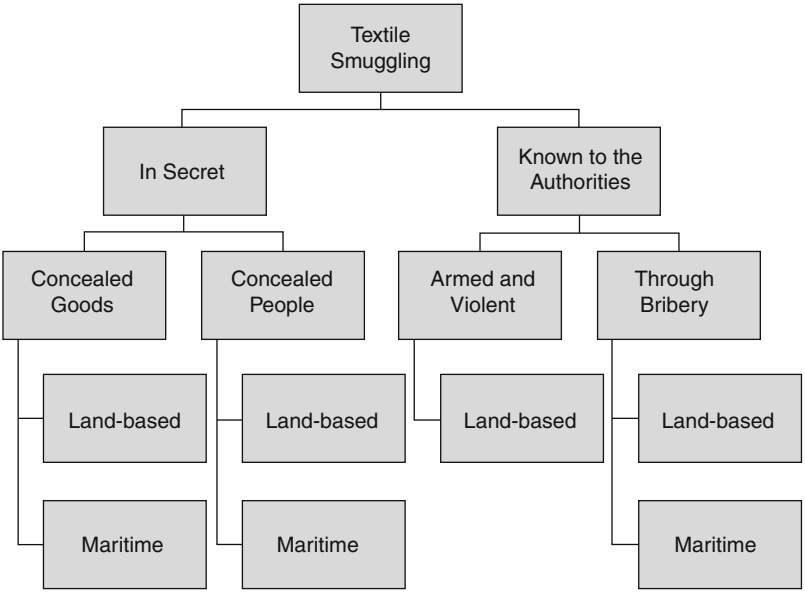


Figure 2.2 Types of textile smuggling

both themselves and their wares, but this very much depended on the size of the operation. Well-equipped armed gangs carried their goods openly, but poorer and unarmed individuals who simply carried goods across borders on their backs, frequently chose to hide them for later pick-up in the wooded and mountainous eastern frontier regions where they were very hard to spot once night had fallen.[75]

Maritime smuggling did not involve organised violence in the way some overland smuggling did. It could, as in the East India Companies cases or in that of the Lord of Bandol, consist in the secret landing of goods in concealed ports and harbours, but in many cases it was more of a by-product of a normal voyage rather than a specific enterprise in the way land-based smuggling was. Ships both for maritime and fluvial transport which brought other goods or passengers also carried concealed stashes of textiles: in the ten years from 1713 to 1722 tax officials in the three Loire-ports near Nantes (Nantes itself, Paimboeuf, and Coueron) operated 23 seizures of Asian and Asian-style textiles hidden on board ships that came from the Low Countries, Spain, the French West Indies, Ireland, Britain, Marseille, or Port-Louis. The goods were variously concealed in and under beds, in false bottoms, or between barrels of victuals,

or indeed not hidden at all, when captains had not expected a thorough search.[76] The same strategies were used in river transport, which included some particularly creative practices, where textiles were not only concealed under bundles of kindling or hay, but also stashed in water-tight leather spheres attached to the underside of boats.[77]

What attracted the most attention, however, was not such concealed smuggling, nor even that which relied on bribing tax officials. Instead public attention was focused on the most violent form: open and armed smuggling usually conducted by well-equipped gangs across France's eastern borders. When caught, smuggler gangs were harshly dealt with and the loss of lives and livelihoods – both of smugglers and of guards – was one of the major arguments by both Morellet and Gournay in favour of the legalisation of *toiles peintes*.[78] For while it was the most famous, Mandrin's was not the only armed smuggler band. Though usually on a smaller scale, such gangs proliferated and, when caught, were subject to harsh punishments: long before the advent of Mandrin, the Royal declaration of July 1723 put the death penalty on all who gathered in armed groups of five or more to smuggle goods.[79] Executions were public and even those sent to the galleys were branded. Particularly notorious offenders such as Mandrin himself were not hanged but broken on the wheel. The severity of such punishments was a direct reflection of the fragility of the brigade's response, which exposed not only the danger these officials found themselves in but also the incapability of the French state to protect its borders. For after all, how would a group of 27 men, as that led by two officers close to Grenoble in the autumn of 1708, stand up to a band of 100 armed smugglers attacking them?[80]

Violence, Scale, and the Importance of Textiles

As both Jean Nicolas and Michael Kwass have shown, smuggling was an astonishingly widespread practice. Heavily armed and organised smugglers of tobacco and textiles such as Mandrin caught the public attention and posed a direct threat to the authority of the state. However, while the most spectacular, it is by no means clear that such smuggling was the most prevalent. Since by its very nature smuggling is impossible to quantify, most of the evidence cited so far is anecdotal. It leaves several questions unanswered: How important was such violent smuggling compared to other forms? What goods were the most commonly smuggled and, most important to this study, how significant were textiles, both in themselves, compared to other goods, and in terms of violent versus non-violent smuggling?

Contemporaries tried to provide some answers to this, but their reliability is often questionable. Roussel is perhaps the most creditable witness and by his account the scale of textile smuggling was indeed impressive. According to him in the late 1740s, the tax authorities seized, in the whole of France 15,000 to 20,000 *aunes* (18,000–24,000 m) of calicoes a year. This was sharply on the increase: by the mid-1750s, he claims, amounts had risen to about a hundred thousand *aunes* a year, with similar amounts for muslins, damasks, and silks from India.[81] Morellet, engaged as he was in trying to make a case for the lifting of the ban, emphasised both the human consequences of smuggling and the importance of textiles overall. Over 16,000 men, he claims, had been lost between the mid-1720s and the late 1750s, and textiles were the decisive factor in this. Citing Mandrin and his gang, he asserts that 'la contrebande des Toiles peintes est à elle seule un objet aussi considérable que celle du sel & du tabac' – a beautifully ambiguous phrasing as it leaves open whether textiles were as important as each salt and tobacco or as both put together.[82]

While it is nearly impossible to verify claims to the overall importance of smuggling, one largely untapped source can provide valuable quantitative evidence about the relative importance of different types of smuggling: the convictions of the Valence Commission. The first and most important of the special courts set up by the Royal Council following proposals of the *fermes* who would provide the salaries for its judges, the *Commission de Valence* was created in 1733 to deal with crimes related to smuggling throughout central, eastern, and southern France, covering the provinces of Bourgogne, Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, and Auvergne, with the later additions of Rouergue, Quercy, the Limousin, and Roussillon, with additional rights to judge certain cases pertaining to the Franche-Comté.[83] Its judgements, printed as posters and preserved in the departmental archives in Valence, give an idea of the scale and severity of the punishments imposed. These ranged from reprimands and fines, sometimes for entire villages, should these have failed to ring the tocsin when a band of smugglers passed, to whippings, exiling, death by hanging, death on the wheel, and of course, the galleys. Members of armed gangs of five or more would automatically be condemned to death and all their worldly goods confiscated, while unarmed smugglers could expect several years in the galleys. Women would more commonly be whipped, branded with a fleur-de-lys and exiled, while *fermiers* who cooperated with smugglers or aided them were condemned to death as were any smugglers convicted of using any form of violence.[84]

The printed judgements indicate the name and if possible the domicile of the offenders and frequently also their – former – occupation and relationship to each other. They list the nature of their offences, usually giving details of the goods smuggled and how: in armed gangs, on horseback, or on panniers on the back. Condemnations ranged from innkeepers and others who had given shelter and supplies to passing smugglers, to poor and unarmed smugglers who carried their meagre loads on their backs and often had little alternative but to become recidivists on their return from the galleys; and various corrupt *fermes* officers, who had engaged in smuggling themselves, agreed to release imprisoned smugglers for money, or simply decided to keep the nice textiles they confiscated for themselves in return for releasing the woman who had tried to smuggle them.[85] Offenders included the enterprising, such as Jean-Baptiste Dereol, valet of a *pontonnier*, who, in exchange for 42 livres and several calico handkerchiefs, agreed to row across the Rhône smugglers trying to evade the *fermiers* lying in wait for them; the determined, such as the relatives and friends, or in one case even an entire village, who teamed up to break free smugglers imprisoned by the *fermiers*; and the simply unpleasant, such as the members of armed gangs who combined their smuggling with robbery, murder, extortion, abduction, and seemingly purely recreational forms of violence, and who in return were routinely condemned to be broken on the wheel.[86]

The vast majority of the archived judgements (323 out of 326) covers the period of interest here (1733–59) and their careful evaluation gives a detailed picture of the relative importance of different types of smuggling. Table 2.1 clearly reveals that not only was the vast majority of smuggling small-scale and unarmed (639 out of 1113 cases or 57 per cent), it also very clearly focused on tobacco, which was mentioned in over half of all cases, followed by salt in 20 per cent of cases.[87] While an impressive number of tax officials were found guilty of having cooperated with smugglers or themselves engaged in smuggling, which confirms the impression that corruption was an important factor in early modern smuggling, textiles appear to have been of only minor importance: muslins and calicoes are explicitly mentioned in less than ten per cent of cases. Part of the reason for this was the authorities' own bias towards tobacco. The *fermes* who also paid for the Tribunal had a strong interest in enforcing the tobacco monopoly since this was one of their major sources of revenue. Policing the textile ban on the other hand was a much less profitable obligation. Hence, while tobacco was mentioned explicitly in many judgements, other contraband was often

Table 2.1 Convictions of the *Commission de Valence* overview*

	Tobacco	Salt	Calicoes/ muslins	Tobacco and salt	Tobacco and calicoes	Fermier officials	Other/ no details	Total	Percentage
Armed	122	12	0	17	6		30	**187**	**17%**
Unarmed	361	118	42	22	41		55	**639**	**57%**
Aid	59	49	18	1	3		51	**181**	**16%**
Other/no details	0	0	0	0	0	64	42	**106**	**10%**
Total	**542**	**179**	**60**	**40**	**50**	**64**	**178**	**1113**	**100%**
Percentage	**49%**	**16%**	**5%**	**4%**	**4%**	**6%**	**16%**	**100%**	

* *Source*: AD Drôme: B1304 fols 1–232. Cf. Appendix IV.

only alluded in the usual phrase 'and other goods' and therefore not included in Table 2.1. We know, for instance, that Mandrin smuggled both tobacco and textiles, something that contemporaries clearly commemorated in both their witness statements and in their depictions of him, such as the 1750s engraving above (Fig. 2.1), which shows him with two items of contraband at his feet, clearly labelled as 'tobacco' and 'muslin'. However, in his and his gang members' judgements, tobacco is the only good explicitly mentioned, a clear example of the bias towards tobacco. Nevertheless, even if, to make up for this bias, one were to double or treble the instances of textile smuggling, they would still not rival tobacco as the most commonly smuggled good. Nor does textile smuggling appear to have been more violent than other types. All in all, then, while the smuggling of Asian textiles clearly both posed a challenge to the early modern French state and revealed its own intrinsic weaknesses, quantitatively it was not as significant as the other global good, tobacco.

Conclusion

While political factors such as incoherent legislation and territorial fragmentation were undoubtedly important, it was above all the social acceptance of smuggling, the existence of a real culture of contraband, that, coupled with the lure of easy profit based on the insufficiency of policing and the insatiable demand for such textiles within France, made the large-scale imports of forbidden Asian and Asian-style textiles possible. Some of these causes were specific to the early modern French state, but far fewer than one might think. Early modern Spanish smuggling also seems to have largely depended on bribing tax officials, as did textile smuggling in eighteenth-century China, where the bribery reached levels high enough to have become semi-official and formalised.[88] The smuggling of tea into Great Britain was at least as professionally organised as that of textiles into France and it also benefitted from territorial abnormalities like the exceptional status of the Isle of Man.[89] Indeed, Britain, having also banned Indian chintzes, became subject to Asian-textile smuggling as well.[90] Moreover, when it came to territorial fragmentation France had nothing on the Holy Roman Empire next door; and while free ports or internal exclaves which channelled or produced Asian and Asian-style textiles would have facilitated smuggling, the presence of numerous internal tax barriers and checkpoints should actually have impeded it. Finally, the cultural practices and assumptions anchoring early modern French smuggling, the predominance of

concepts of personal honour, social standing, and privilege over that of the impersonal and egalitarian rule of law, was so common and widespread that North, Wallis, and Weingast would make it the defining criterion of 'natural state' or pre-modern societies.[91]

While overall smuggling thus constituted a clear threat to the early modern French authorities, the smuggling of Asian and Asian-style textiles, while characterised by several institutions and mechanisms peculiar only to itself, was not quantitatively as important as that of tobacco. Unlike tobacco, however, Asian textiles posed several further challenges to the French state, which form the subject of the subsequent three chapters. The first of these challenges was due to a situation that was unique to France. In France, unlike later in Britain or Spain, the ban on such fabrics was total. Since it also included retail and consumption it criminalised a far greater pool of people than in any other country: the state's attempts to punish and to control extended not only to those who smuggled such textiles but also to all of those who used them as furnishings or clothing. This engendered yet more and different kinds of deviancy, which will be explored in the following chapter.

3

Smuggled Textiles Worn in France: The Politics of Privilege and the Violence of Fashion

If Morellet was thus wrong in his assertions about both the quantity and the scale of violence involved in the smuggling of Asian textiles compared to other goods, he was right in another respect: the French state was incapable of putting a stop to the consumption of these textiles inside France, and smuggling, according to him, would continue as long as consumption did. What Morellet did not point out was the symbolic power of such textiles. Even if smuggled on a grander scale, tobacco, once inside the country, would quietly disappear into the nostrils or lungs of its consumers, indistinct from its legally imported counterpart. By their very nature, printed and painted Asian and Asian-style fabrics were visible and immediately identifiable as illegal. Their ubiquity was thus a constant reminder of the state's failure to enforce its own laws. Mercantilist states frequently found themselves unable to regulate consumption quite as they intended, but never was a failure quite so visually striking. Why and how the state failed to enforce its ban on retail and consumption is the subject of this chapter.[1]

Privileged People

One of the main reasons for the impossibility of putting a stop to consumption was, according to Morellet, the example set by the nobility and the fact that nobody would dare try and stop them. 'No one', he wrote, 'will arrest a duchess in her carriage or the wife of a Tax Farmer General.' He was quite correct. The nobility were very fond of fine hand-painted Indian chintzes which they used to furnish their homes and to wear as *robes de chambre* or informal summer dresses. They cared not a jot for the legislation that officially forbade them to do so: 'I would not be surprised', Morellet added, 'to see the ministers deliberating about

the matters of which I am treating here, in an apartment decorated with Persian or English fabrics.'[2] Morellet was right and his opponents, the spokespeople for the *anciennes manufactures*, couldn't even disagree with him, for over the decades they had regularly implored the king and the ministers to set an example and ensure that the ladies at court stop wearing Indian fabrics.[3]

The high nobility got hold of such fabrics via the most exclusive merchants, often *marchands merciers*, and the link to the law-makers, so pithily drawn by Morellet, did indeed exist: already in 1705, when the Controller General, Chamillard, was informed of the discovery of yet another stash of illegal Asian textiles belonging to a prominent *marchand mercier* who had a flourishing business with the royal court in Versailles and Fontainebleau, he made a note to discuss the issue with his daughter – undoubtedly a regular customer of the merchant in question.[4] With their connections and influence, the aristocracy were by no means obliged to have recourse to the services of French retailers, however: they could simply place their orders directly with the French East India Companies or with suppliers abroad, and, especially as the clamp-down on retailing began to have an effect, they did so without qualms – and, more importantly, without any unpleasant consequences to them. The French Indies Company was a fertile source for such orders. In the 1750s alone, the Lorient warehouses forwarded private orders not only to high-ranking Company officials in Paris, but also, among others, to the Duke of Orléans, the marquise de Pompadour, the *Garde des Sceaux de France*, or French Chancellor, Machault d'Arnouville, the marquis du Châtelet, the chevalier de Montaigne, the astronomer La Caille, the naturalist Réaumur, and the botanist Jussieu.[5] These orders could include all kinds of goods of course, such as Cape Wine, 'natural curiosities', pickled exotic fish, scientific instruments, and of course lacquerware and porcelain. However, we do know for certain that they also included illegal Asian textiles: in 1754 the Council in Canton sent, and the Lorient warehouses duly forwarded, 3 chests of porcelain and 13 chests of 'various fabrics' to Machault d'Arnouville. The same order also included a delivery for Montaran, intendant of commerce and one of the defenders of the prohibition of Asian printed and painted textiles in the *Bureau du Commerce*. It consisted of four chests of porcelain, two chests of 'artifices', one chest of lacquerware, one of 'various goods', as well as four chests of various fabrics, five chests of painted wallpapers and painted fabrics, one of embroidered textiles, and one of painted ones.[6] So perhaps Morellet was right: perhaps Montaran was one of those who used those many metres of illicit Asian painted

fabrics to decorate the very room from which he would write in continued defence of the ban.

The French East India Companies were not the only source of supply for the fashion-conscious French elites. They also ordered from neighbouring countries or even had them produced themselves. What remained a constant was that their social inferiors dared not inconvenience them. They would have been foolish to try: in October 1709, the authorities found that the marquis de Hauteford's muleteer was transporting Indian fabrics. The local *receveur des traites* decided to do his duty, to obey the law and confiscate them. His superior in Valenciennes was wiser. Finding that the fabrics had been ordered from Flanders by Madame la maréchale de Villars, but that she, not having found them to her liking, was now sending them back, he ordered the *receveur* to release them, and, to make sure the prohibition was obeyed at least to some extent, he then ensured that the fabrics did indeed make their way abroad. He was clearly right: one did not want to upset the aristocracy, otherwise one might find oneself rather quickly dismissed, as did the *receveur* who had seized the goods in the first place. Mme de Villars later interceded on his behalf. Neither she herself nor the marquis de Hauteford seem to have gotten into any further trouble over the matter.[7] The aristocracy did as they pleased, and if what pleased them included dabbling in the production of printed and painted fabrics in their own châteaus, nobody dared intercede. Thus, no one seems to have troubled Louis Henri (1692–1740), duke of Bourbon and former prime minister of Louis XV, in his Château in Chantilly, which, after his disgrace and exile there in 1726, became a centre for the production of all kinds of *chinoiseries*. Among other things it was home to a multitude of artists, painters, engravers, and draughtsmen who, under *Monsieur le Duc*'s active supervision, proudly produced high-quality chintzes.[8]

Privileged Spaces

The high nobility made up for only a tiny percentage of the population, but they owned a vast amount of wealth and property; and it was the latter that created a loophole which helped sustain the widespread popular consumption of Asian-style fabrics. For if nobody dared touch the nobility, nobody dared touch their property either. We have already seen how an aristocrat like the provençal M. de Bandol, high above those supposed to stop him both due to his rank and his high office, could have the authorities watching helplessly as he allowed the use of his estates on the Mediterranean coast for the landing of smuggled

goods and that of his mansion in Aix for their subsequent storage.[9] But the problem was much wider and less personal than this. Private residences were not the only spaces off limits to the authorities: religious establishments, royal properties, and many other institutions enjoyed special status that made them havens for the illicit production and retail of forbidden fabrics.

The Demise of Retailing from Shops

In the early years of the prohibition shops had continued to sell such fabrics clandestinely. However, one of the few areas where the prohibition was effective was in the clamping down on retail, at least from official outlets. While condemnations, especially of *marchands merciers* and of *fripiers*, those selling finished luxury goods and second-hand clothing respectively, were still frequent in the first few decades of the ban, they begin to peter out over the 1710s. After the 1720s, when the authorities began to clamp down on consumption in earnest, instances of shops found selling illegal Asian textiles become extremely rare.[10] Retail, however, did not stop. Instead it moved to the safety of 'privileged spaces', so-called 'lieux privilégiés', which proved a major obstacle to the ban throughout its lifetime.

The Importance of the lieux privilégiés

The authorities were well aware that compounds of certain royal or religious institutions were havens for forbidden textiles. Already in 1701, legislation repeating the ban, took care to point out that the production and retail of Asian-style fabrics was illegal, 'même dans les Lieux Privilegiez [*sic*]'.[11] Nevertheless, in the same year, when Paris' *Lieutenant général de police*, d'Argenson, wrote to the Controller General to tell him that painted textiles were being publicly produced both in the Temple and in the Cour de Saint-Benoît, a dependency of the Abbey of Val-de-Grace, he also admitted that, while the legislation expressly empowered him to do so, good manners forbade him to search these premises without first alerting their aristocratic patrons and administrators. This in turn meant that those producing the textiles were informed in advance, would disappear for a while, and, after the search had taken place, would continue their work without further trouble.[12] A few years later, in 1708, another ruling noted that the trade of Indian textiles and their European imitations was flourishing due to the asylum they found in 'les lieux pretendus privilegiez', 'such as the compound of the Temple, that of Saint Jean de Latran, the Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés, monasteries, religious institutions, hospitals, colleges, and other

private homes'. It therefore empowered the Captain General of the *fermes* in Paris to search all these compounds and demanded that their administrators grant him free access.[13] Confiscations did take place at these institutions, d'Argenson reported several in 1708 alone,[14] but none of these had any long-term effect. This was possibly because, like d'Argenson himself, the administrators of these spaces quite strongly felt that they ought not to be sullied by the presence of unpopular tax inspectors. Thus, when d'Argenson tried to seize a stash of chintzes at Saint Jean de Latran in 1705 a priest incited the populace to violently expel them – and the bailiff of Saint Jean felt that there was nothing wrong with that.[15]

So the selling and production of Asian-style textiles continued from within these spaces, not only in Paris, but throughout the country. In 1730s Aix-en-Provence for instance, the Lord of Bandol's was not the only property used for the storing of illegal textiles. Other known locations included the local hospital, as well as the houses of the *avocat général* of the *Parlement*, the highest regional court of law, of another member of the *Parlement*, a former member, an official from the revenue court, as well as those of two further local nobles.[16] In 1748 still the Arsenal in Paris was used for the printing and painting of textiles and the Bureau of Commerce was reliably informed that they could have cloth painted there for an average of 10S per aune (1.18 m).[17] Nearly ten years later, in his memorandum on Asian textile smuggling, Roussel still pointed to the Temple, the Palais-Royal, and the large abbeys in Paris as well as to 'toutes les maisons privilégiées' as places where the sale of such textiles was conducted openly.[18]

Retail and Production

Both production and retail also took place outside of such spaces. However, for most of the period and with the exception of the exclaves and special-status territories such as Marseille, production in France itself was never systematic nor large-scale. Most printing amounted only to fairly small back-room activities, such as those discovered in 1747 of two women, Liesse, and Duperray, in whose house in Vendôme officials found 4 m of blue printed and 2 m of yellow printed textiles, as well as four waxed pieces of fabrics waiting to be dyed, two printing blocks, and four small sacs of dyestuffs and mordants.[19] A similarly small-scale enterprise was that discovered on 10 April 1756 in Salon, Provence, where Joseph Reyre was found to own 6 freshly painted and printed pieces of altogether 10 aulnes (11 m), as well as several

earthenware pots with different colour dyes.[20] Very rare were the discovery of larger operations outside of the *lieux privilégiés*, such as that of Ginoux in Orange, Charles Baillet in the department of Oise, or Joseph Touche in the Provence. Ginoux, originally from Geneva, had rented a whole barn, which in 1709 was found to contain 20 printing blocks, a press, and several freshly printed pieces; while in 1722, Charles Baillet seemed to have employed several girls and women to print and paint in several colours with the aid of 20 printing blocks.[21] The discovery of such enterprises did not go well for the owners, whose fine was never lowered from the whopping 3000 lt maximum. Often prison awaited them – as it did for Joseph Touche. Formerly an *indienneur* in Marseille, from whence he was driven with his wife and children due to lack of employment and hence poverty, he had moved to set up a workshop in the small town of Lorgues, 100 km north-east of Marseille. The workshop that he rented from another local was raided in July 1753 and found to contain 13 pieces of finished calicoes totalling 26 m, 49 white pieces that were yet to be painted totalling over 90 m, and, among other things, 12 design sheets, 6 pounds of starch, 4 pounds of brazilwood, 2 pounds of alum, a polisher, 14 printing blocks, and a table suitable for the execution of both printing and painting. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are a chronologically and geographically close example, one, however, that was both very large-scale and legal: the Wetter manufacture of 1764.[22]

The sale of textiles took place also outside of *lieux privilégiés*, even in cases, as for instance in Aix, where those had been used to store illegal fabrics in the first place. Much of the retail was mobile and ranged from the nearly destitute, such as the pedlar, Gilles Dollé, whose one sack of merchandise which he carried on his back to sell at fairs was found to contain 15 small and low-quality handkerchiefs; and the equally poor but obviously well-padded Mademoiselle Daupiné, who waddled to her potential customers' homes in Aix wearing all her forbidden fabrics under her own skirts; to the more respectable, like the merchant and pedlar from Arles who had chintz fabrics made into garments, mainly aprons, which he then sold in the surrounding countryside.[23]

The Provence region, home to that merchant and the multilayered Mlle Daupiné, is particularly rich in examples of such retailers, and indeed, perhaps even more so than Brittany and Paris, it was notorious for the ubiquitous wearing of printed fabrics. Orry, Controller General from 1730 to 1745, and more determined than most to eradicate the usage of such textiles by any means possible, sent regular updates to the Intendant of the Provence, de la Tour, forwarding the names and

assumed storage spaces of suspected and confirmed retailers, related to him by his informers on the ground. In October 1736 the list comprised nine women, including a Miss Sequin hiding her goods with two nobles, the *avocat général* of the Provence *Parlement*, or court of law, and a *conseiller* on the said *Parlement*; a Miss Vigne; a Miss Jeanneton, the chambermaid of a local noble, the Madame de Valabre, storing her stash in her house; a Miss Granette who hid hers with a former *conseiller*; a Miss Bourelly or Bourely storing hers with another *conseiller*; and the wife of Giraud, the cook of the Président de Limaille, who concealed hers both in his house and in that of another noble and who was known under the rather grand nickname of 'la maréchale', the marshall.[24] These women and their businesses proved resilient. Half a year later, Orry wrote again to tell de la Tour that Seguine and Jeanneton had now started working together and their trade was flourishing more than ever. He asked him to exile the most notorious of the sellers: Jeanneton, Sequine, the maréchale, and Vigne.[25] De la Tour did so but, it seems, to very little effect: 'I have just been informed', Orry wrote to him another six months later in November 1737, 'that the persons who had been ordered to leave the city of Aix, on the account of the commerce and sale they there conducted of prohibited merchandise, have, in spite of these orders, returned to the said city and are again beginning their same trade there'.[26] Again, official interventions had little effect: two years later, in September 1739, a memorandum notes that among those selling the most was Miss Bourely. The former exiles, the maréchale and Vigne, were once more similarly successful, again using sophisticated hiding places and the shelter of the nobility's properties.[27] Like another, earlier example, the Parisian Mrs Thomas to whom 'several months of prison and two or three fines' had still not been incentive enough to abandon her trade, threats and exile had very little effect on these women.[28] And unlike the smugglers or producers of these textiles, these mobile retailers were quite frequently female – something that may well have contributed to the contemporary perception of illicit Asian textile consumption as a distinctly female problem.[29]

Female Fashion?

When making his argument about privilege using the examples of the duchess and the Tax Farmer's wife, Morellet was implicitly pointing to another perceived characteristic of Asian textile consumption in France: its gendered nature. Those expected to wear these fabrics were not the dukes and the tax farmers, but their wives and daughters. This view was

Table 3.1 Convictions for wearing and possession of banned textiles*

Place	*Date*	*Women*	*Men*	*Children*	*Robe and robe de chambre*	*Skirt*	*Casaquin*	*Apron*	*Piece-good stashes*	*Other*	*Total*
Caen	*1713*	3	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	3
Nantes	*1713–14*	38	1	2	1	2	–	37	–	2	42
Rennes	*1721*	11	–	–	11	–	–	–	–	–	11
Ingrandes	*1721–23*	2	18	–	15	–	–	1	1	4	21
Brittany	*1737*	7	–	–	2	–	4	–	–	1	7
Total		61	19	2	31	2	4	39	1	7	84
Percentage		*74.4%*	*23.2%*	*2.4%*	*36.9%*	*2.4%*	*4.8%*	*46.4%*	*1.2%*	*8.3%*	*100%*
Paris	*1727–30*	106	7	1	48	12	21	5	–	16	102
Paris	*1737–38*	88	3	–	5	65	27	2	–	–	99
Total		194	10	1	53	77	48	7	–	16	201
Percentage		*94.6%*	*4.9%*	*0.5%*	*26.4%*	*38.3%*	*23.9%*	*3.5%*	*0%*	*7.9%*	*100%*
Provence	*1742*	137	9	4	60	25	13	98	22	2	220
Provence	*1743–59*	549	76	1	184	71	29	354	180	48	866
Total		686	85	5	244	96	42	452	202	50	1086
Percentage		*88.4%*	*11%*	*0.6*	*22.5%*	*8.8%*	*3.9%*	*41.6%*	*18.6%*	*4.6%*	*100%*

* *Sources*: Caen: AD Calvados: C 2849 and C 2953 (Ordonnance dated 30/12/1713 and letter dated 16/12/1713); Ingrandes: AD Loire-Atlantique: C 750 (Ordonnance dated 25/10/1723); Nantes: AM Nantes: H 266 (1713 procès-verbal; 1714 Procès-verbal; 1714 judgement); Rennes: AM Nantes: H 266 (Ordonnance, 11/10/1721); Brittany: AM Nantes: H 266 (Ordonnance, 25/8/1737); Paris: BNF: Fr 21780 (Ordonnances dated 17/12/1727; 18/9/1728; 27/11/1728; 5/7/1729; 27/8/1729; 19/4/1730; 17/5/1730; 29/7/1730; 29/5/1737; 12/10/1737; 27/11/1737; 16/4/1738; 2/7/1738; 13/9/1738; 30/12/38) and Fr 21778 (Ordonnances dated 15/6/1728; 14/7/1728); Provence 1743: AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Etats dated 16/7/1742 and 4/1/1743, attachment reads: '1742 six derniers mois'); Provence 1743–58: AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2711 ('Etat des Personnes qui ayant été trouvées habillées de Toille Peinte').

widely echoed throughout the period, especially by those, mainly the producers of traditional French textiles, who bemoaned the failure of the ban. The gender gap is indeed confirmed by a systematic evaluation of surviving arrest records, compiled in Table 3.1.

The Available Data

In the majority of cases the data are extracted from printed *Ordonnances*, which, based on the official police reports or '*procès verbaux*' that led to the conviction, list the convicted offenders, giving names and details of their crime, that is, of the illegal textile item in question, and usually also note their occupation and address. They frequently also mention where the offenders were spotted – on the street, in their shop, at a window – and tend to give a fairly detailed description of the item or items in question, noting colours, motifs, and sometimes quality. Thus the *Ordonnance* from Paris of 17 May 1730 lists

> the Demoiselle la Genne, seen at the butchers dressed in an all new casaquin of white background with large brown flowers and red stripes; the servant girl of Mr Dumaille, winemerchand in the Rue Coquiliere, seen by the door of the shop dressed in a casaquin of *toile peinte* with white background and red flowers, the daughter of Mr Bonneloy, domiciled in the rue Saint Martin above the Rue aux Ours, seen in the streets with a *robe de toile peinte* of white background with small red flowers; the wife of Mr de Ville, employed at the *Bourse*, domiciled at the Rue Jean-Robert, seen by the window dressed in *toile peinte* of white background with red flowers, the lady Coulange, domiciled at the Rue des Gravilliers with Mr Anique, gilder, seen by the window in a *demi robe* of *toile peinte*, white background and red flowers; and the wife of Mr Boite, employee of the *Compagnie des Indes*, domiciled at the Carrefour de l'Ecole, seen by the window dressed in new *toile peinte*.[30]

The largest data set however, that of the Provence from 1743 and 1759, is of a slightly different type. It is extracted from a single document, a hand-written compilation of over a dozen *états*, which had been drawn up to suggest moderations to the fines and were successively sent to the Controller General for approval between 1743–59. They list the name, place, date, and details of the offence, often also included remarks to justify the proposed moderation.[31] It should be noted that a handful of these *états* include instances where the confiscations occurred between 1740–43, but where the case was only processed later. These are few

enough in number not to skew the overall results and have hence been counted as post 1743 cases here.

Sartorial Choices

The categories in the above table are 'skirt' encompassing both *jupes* and *jupons* and in one or two cases also a *cotillon* or petticoat (cf. Plate 1.1); 'apron' being a *tablier*; and 'casaquin', being a fitted jacket, at this point in time worn mainly by women of the lower and working classes, not much unlike the longer – and much higher-quality – caraco in Plate 1.4. When the type of item was not specified, that is to say when, as in the above example, the description simply read 'seen wearing *toile peinte*', it is classed as 'other'. Even though they contained various amounts of fabrics, discovered stashes of not-yet-made-up fabrics are listed as one single find. The same applies to kerchiefs or handkerchiefs, which were often found in packets and in those cases listed as one single find, too. Surprisingly, despite their reported frequent use as *fichus*, there are only very few examples of these in the confiscation lists, by far not enough to warrant their own category. One of the most important and widest categories is that which encompasses both 'dresses' and 'dressing gowns', that is, *robes*, *demi-robes*, and *robes de chambre*. In theory, men would not have worn the first two, but women wore all, and as loose-fitting and open-fronted gowns they were similar enough that in the source documents they were recorded interchangeably for both sexes. Thus Table 3.1 has amalgamated all types of 'robe' into one gender-neutral category.

What exactly the convicted subjects wore seems to have been subject to only very little regional variation between the south and the north, with Paris showing some noticeable deviations. However, existing works on clothing choices in mid-eighteenth-century France confirm an overall uniformity. In her study of popular consumption in Avignon, based on the records of the municipal pawn shop, Madeleine Ferrières documents the rise of cotton in the eighteenth century. Cotton was used for dresses but these were made from muslins more frequently than from printed cottons, which would explain why they figure less in confiscations reports from the Provence. Cotton was also a popular choice of material for aprons, or *tabliers*, which made their first appearance in the pawning registers in 1705 and thereafter seem to have become a staple, making for half of all printed and painted cotton goods pawned in the 1720s – a trend confirmed for the entire region by the confiscation lists for the Provence.[32] Roche's analysis of Parisian wardrobes based on the analysis of after-death inventories confirms that, concerning this particular item at least, the Parisian arrest records are not as representative as their

northern and southern counterparts. According to him aprons were as essential a part of the Parisian wardrobe as they seem to have been in the south: while among the nobility the ownership increased from 46 to 100 per cent from 1700 to 1789, it remained stable at about 60 per cent among domestic staff and only slightly fell among artisans to about 50 per cent at the eve of the revolution.[33] These figures mirror those of both of Ferrières and the data from confiscations of northern and southern France – which can thus be considered a further valuable and unto this point overlooked source for the study of popular clothing consumption.

Gender

The numbers are crystal clear on one thing: women made up for the vast majority of those arrested for infraction of the textile ban. This does not mean, however, that calico consumption was in fact gendered. Instead there is a threefold explanation for the predominance of women among those arrested and convicted. First, when men wore printed and painted fabrics they, like their counterparts across the Channel, generally did so in the form of banyans, housecoats, or *robes de chambre* such as those depicted on Plates 1.3 and 1.6. These would, as the name implied, generally be worn as a form of *déshabillé* at home, and while women sometimes left the house in what officially counted as *déshabillé*, men would rarely do so. And since the tax officials usually only entered homes on specific assignments, men were more rarely caught. Accordingly, 15 out of the 18 men charged in Ingrandes were indicted for ownership of a *robe de chambre*, two of the remaining having owned furnishing items, namely a *courtepointe* or quilt, as well as one unmade-up piece. The many male arrests in Ingrandes are, however, very unusual. They seem to stem from a systematic search of the possessions of military officers passing through – very few of them were locals. This one unusual instance means that the overall figures for the north have a stronger representation of men than usual. They are nevertheless representative, however, in that the male ownership itself consists in the vast majority of the very typical *robes de chambre*, which, worn in the privacy of the home, meant that men were less likely to be arrested.

Similarly, all but one of the men convicted in Paris, had been found wearing a *robe de chambre*. The exception was one man who had been caught with a suitcase containing female garments made out of printed or painted fabrics. And while he may have been innocent of actually seeking to sell these, such was nevertheless the second category of men found in possession of illicit fabrics. These account for the vast majority of male offenders in the Provence: they were not wearing Asian textiles

but were caught with varying amounts of fabrics in bales or pieces. And while some of the clearly poorer ones among them, such as a hermit or a Benedictine monk who only owned between one and four pieces each, may indeed have destined them for their personal use, others who held over two hundred pieces clearly fell into the retail category. Indeed, the later years of the second Provence sample actually skew the figures somewhat towards greater representation of men overall. For, from about 1750 onwards, there are practically no further arrests of individuals for wearing alone. Arrests now are almost exclusively for storing and producing. Accordingly the number of female convictions almost halved in these years. The percentage of the earlier sample, of the year 1743 alone, would give a gender balance closer to that of Paris: 91 per cent women, 6 per cent men, and 3 per cent children. Accordingly, stashes at that point are very rare: only 10 per cent, while in the later years, when the arrests begin to focus only on retail and production, these almost double to over 18 per cent, many of which were seized when busting small production sites. This is, however, exceptional: in earlier years and in the whole of France, those found guilty of retail and production rather than just of wearing and possession were convicted separately. This is thus the second reason for why so few men figured in Table 3.1, which is supposed to be based on convictions for consumption, not for production or retail.

Finally, the third type of male ownership of those textiles, namely for the purpose of furnishing, is also underrepresented in the records. They only mention very few furnishing items, only a handful of *couvertures* or *courtepointes*, and just one single case of a *tour de lit* or bed valance. Even when putting all these types together, there are too few instances of furnishing items to warrant their own category in the table. The reason for this is the same as that for the underrepresentation of male garment ownership: officials would only enter houses when they had a specific reason to do so, usually only when they had been informed of retail or production activities. There was a clear reticence on the part of the authorities to do more than that, something also pointed to by Morellet: 'This civil liberty, the free and tranquil possession of what is called *home* ['le *chez soi*'], is respected in the harshest of governments.'[34] In a letter written in spring 1737 to their local director, M. Beauregard, the tax farm explained the situation. After the Intendant of the Touraine, Maine and Anjou had appealed to him in 1736, the Controller General had decided that employees of the *fermes* who entered private homes to search for 'false salt', that is salt that had not paid the salt tax or *gabelle*, should not use such searches as a pretext to

then also seize furniture or clothing made of *indiennes*. After that decision, however, the Intendant of Normandy in Rouen complained that every day the illicit textile goods seized in that city, be it at the city gates or in private homes, included furnishing items, such as bedding, *courtepointes*, and nightgowns. He was at a loss what to do about these, since, he claimed, there was not a single house without them and the employees of the *fermes* who visited houses to search for smuggled salt, tobacco, or stashes of printed and painted fabrics, felt that they had to include such furnishing items in their reports, and the employees stationed at the city gates also found those same items of furniture in the bales of goods that they searched there. This led to another decision by the Controller General who decreed that all furnishing items inside homes were not liable to be impounded.[35] Thus, on the insistence of the Intendant of the Provence, de la Tour, who seems to have been much more interested in the tranquillity of the region than in the law on Asian-style textiles, the regional tax farm director Beauregard confirmed with him in December 1737 that his employees would only visit houses after reliable tip-offs ('sur des avis certains') and only after having received the permission of either the local judges or one of the Intendant's local agents.[36]

Consequently men, whose main consumption took place inside the home, were only rarely arrested, while women wearing such fabrics out on the streets were apprehended in droves. Hence *indiennes* and *toiles peintes* came to be considered female fabrics, and the non-observation of their ban a female problem, giving fodder, in the memoranda of the textile producers especially, to the well-established misogynist discourse which linked women to vanity, fashion, luxury, and immorality, and thus to the inevitable decline of the nation if such female proclivities were not regulated.[37]

Social Class

If the table is clear on the gender bias, it does not reveal that the figures are also markedly skewed in terms of class. Morellet did not believe that the nobility would ever be included in the arrests. Haudrère, however, who studied the consumption of *indiennes* in Paris during the prohibition, instead claims that the women arrested reflect the entire social spectrum, including the nobility.[38] So who was right? Since in most cases the records used for the table do not only give names but also details of employment, and in the Provence *Etats* also further details on the individual's situation, they permit a fairly good estimate of social class: and they reveal the strong social bias Morellet had pointed to.

The *Ordonnances* from Nantes, Ingrandes, and Rennes give the names and occupations of the individuals, and, with the exception of Ingrandes, these individuals were women of the middle to lower bourgeoisie. They included the wives and daughters of butchers, bakers, apothecaries, an ironmonger's wife, and several cloth, gloves, or hat merchants. Some were socially above these, the wife of ship captain perhaps, as well as the widow of a *procureur au parlement*, and the wife of a notary, who accordingly was particularly well outfitted. She was caught wearing a *robe de chambre* made from a fabric called 'Mazilipatan', named after Masulipatam, modern-day Machilipatnam in India which was a famous centre for chintz production on the Coromandel Coast. Her dress was described as of white background with flowers and bouquets in the form of poppies and of red birds, trimmed with white taffetas, the whole worn under a cape of grey taffetas. She was certainly quite posh by comparison to the usual shopkeepers, workers, and servant girls. But she was neither noble nor indeed representative of the usual culprits.

A closer look at the surviving pieces from Paris confirms this class bias. None of those convicted in Paris between 1727 and 1730 were above middle class. Most were artisans, shopkeepers, or lower down the social scale. The documents again list servants, bakers, butchers, innkeepers, a master mason, a master cobbler, laundresses, tapestry makers, a perfume maker, a clerk, and various shopkeepers. The later sample shows a similar pattern: 91 individuals of which only 3 were male, and again most were bourgeois or working class. This time, however, there is one exception: the *ordonnance* of July 1738 also lists the marquise of Chiffreville, or as it is spelt there, 'Chrifreville' from the Prologue: at least a token gesture towards equality.

Samples taken from the very different environment of the Provence corroborate the bias. The 1742 data is taken from two printed posters dating from July 1742 and January 1743 respectively. They indicate the names of the convicted offenders, their place of residence, the garments involved, and the textiles these were made of, almost exclusively *indiennes* though sometimes also other illegal Asian and Levantine fabrics, such as *cottonies* and *demittes*. All in all it lists 150 individuals from 33 different towns and communes, with Aix accounting for the largest part with almost a third of all cases (48 in total), followed by Toulon with just under 10 per cent of the total (18 cases). The offenders came from the same shopkeeping and artisanal middle class as in the Parisian samples: bakers, tailors, shopkeepers, second-hand dealers, wig makers, carpenters, a cooper, a muleteer, and a fripière-tapissière. In less than a handful of cases it is indicated that the offenders are 'bourgeois', and only in one

case it seems to have included the minor nobility, too: the later poster names the wife of Mr Funel, the seigneur du Villars – no relation to the duc de Villars. There are no nobles to be found at all in the later and larger sample. Given that we know how much the nobility supported the illegal sale of these fabrics, the bias in the convictions is obvious.

In the eighteenth century the French nobility was made up of between 140,000 and 300,000 individuals, thus between 0.7 and 1.5 per cent of a total population of about 20 million.[39] To be representative of the population, the statistics should thus contain at least half a dozen or so nobles. They do not even come close. The class bias was obvious to contemporaries, too, and not only to Morellet. Orry was very much aware of this inequity. He wrote several times demanding that enforcement not be limited to the lower classes only but that instead 'exemples d'éclat' involving the upper classes were needed.[40] He pointed to the disproportionate representation of the nobility among those who wore the fabrics and complained about the lack of enforcement against them:

> I am told by all sides that the usage of *toiles peintes* is public in Aix and Toulon and the whole of the Provence. I have, however, told you several times that the King's will was for you to put an end to this custom. I am reliably informed that persons of all the ranks, and especially those of the first estate, wear them publicly in Aix, that they are being sold without precautions in the houses of the officials from the *Parlement*, that their wives are dressed in them, and that the persons of the lowest rank are the only ones to be prosecuted.

All of this was to no avail. Despite Orry's continued protestations Morellet was right: nobody would arrest a duchess in her carriage or the wife of a Tax Farmer General.

Violence and Visibility

Even excluding both the nobility and most of the male population, the numbers involved are staggering. The surviving *Ordonnances* and *Etats* which form the basis for the table only list those which had been successfully convicted. This means they exclude all those who were not caught and any of those who managed to have their sentences annulled. They thus give but a fraction of the total numbers wearing illegal textiles. Like the Intendant of Normandy, officials in the Provence claimed that forbidden textiles were seized every single day, and lists drawn up internally for the *directeurs des fermes*, but not published as posters, list

over 130 people charged in the small town of Toulon in the space of 9 months alone.[41] However, the problem for the authorities was not only that they had to arrest vast numbers of citizens but also that these resisted – and often quite violently so.

Individual Resistance

The tax and customs officials' lot was not an easy one. They were highly unpopular anyway and nobody paid a fine or had their property confiscated willingly. Almost all offenders resisted in some manner. Most came up with very creative excuses of why and how the confiscated items did not belong to them – an unknown customer had left it with them temporarily, a commercial rival had secreted it into their shop to discredit them, and so forth. Whenever possible, they lied, they ran, they swore, and they lashed out. Quite literally in many cases, as in that of Madame Chanelle and her brown horse in the Prologue.

Unlike in the Lyon case, the officers did not always end up having the upper hand in these tussles. In September 1737 tax officials, wisely accompanied by a police officer and a bailiff, came to collect the – already very moderated – fine of six livres against the mother of the offender, a Miss Hutre of Toulon in the Provence, formerly owner of a small piece of chintz. Mother Hutre, a widow, did, however, rather resent the officials' attempt to impound some of her property to make up for the missed payment. She threatened them with two pistols, vowing to blow their brains out, and, according to the officers' sworn statement,

> vomiting many atrocious insults, treating us as thieving knaves and [claiming] that she couldn't care less about the King's orders and those of the Intendant, she had gathered a large crowd who were getting ready to maltreat us, had we continued our execution and, understanding that we were in danger to our lives, we were obliged to withdraw.[42]

Violence

The officers undoubtedly were quite right to run: such situations very easily turned violent, especially when by their intervention the officers directly threatened a person's livelihood. Thus a pair of repeat offenders, the sisters Piron, shopkeepers in Nantes who were condemned for the selling and possession of Asian fabrics three times in 1719 and 1722, did not take it well when officials entered their shop and attempted to draw up a report. Shouting 'stop thief' they took one official by the throat, another by his wig, and a third by the buttonhole making as if to slap

his face, and threw them onto some bales of textiles. With the aid of several more bales of merchandise they then barricaded themselves in their backroom and while 'the older sister threatened them from behind her ramparts and denied them access', the younger proceeded to hide the illicit merchandise. And when the officers tried to draw up their report, the sisters attempted to stop them by throwing down their writing implements and pelting them with merchandise, so that they were finally forced to leave.[43]

Being 'forced to leave' or 'obliged to withdraw' becomes a refrain in many of the reports, especially when, as in the case of the widow Hutre, the offenders managed to gather a crowd. Thus when officers entered the above-mentioned workshop of Charles Baillet in the department of Oise, those whose job was presumably about to be lost reacted quickly: seeing that the officials had seized both the printing blocks and the finished textiles, a gang of women and girls of different ages threw themselves on the fabrics, wrested them away, and ran off with both the fabrics and one of the printing blocks. The officials in question took the leftovers and 'withdrew fearing a second tumult'.[44]

Rebellions

Officers were justified in their fears. Given how unpopular they and the ban were, opposition to their attempts to impose it could quickly turn from acts of individual resistance to local uprisings, or, as contemporaries beautifully euphemised it, to 'émotions populaires'. Indeed, violent collective action by the local population in public places against attempts by the *fermiers* or other local officials to repress smuggling, control illicit consumption, or enforce bans and taxation, makes for the largest category of rebellions against the *fermes* according to Jean Nicolas.[45] The Provence was particularly notorious for resistance to the enforcement of the textile ban, since, as the intendant de la Tour tried to explain to Orry,

> the people of the Provence have long been able to dress themselves in *toiles peintes*, the proximity of Marseille that procures it at abjectly low prices […] makes it very easy to get hold of them and the orders of the King even though publicised have never been followed and executed.[46]

Consequently when officers tried to impose these orders, the region saw several incidents, including a riot in Aix in 1736, barely avoiding yet another such two years later.

The Aix riot started out not dissimilar to the incident at the widow Hutre's: in October 1736 the tax and customs officials set out to draw up *procès verbaux* against several women they had caught wearing *indiennes* in Aix. They, as we might by now expect, resisted and drew quite a crowd. In the version related by Orry, the officials fled to the Intendant's home to complain and by the time they left the ringleaders of the crowd, two women, one a well-known seller of forbidden textiles in Aix, the other a jeweller, had managed to gather over 600 people who had followed the officials and then began pelting them with stones as soon as they left the residence.[47] De la Tour on the other hand sought to downplay the incident: according to him, the crowd solely consisted of children – adults had not dared side with them – who followed the officers around and shouted at them. To calm the waters, he invited the officers into his house, but, he stresses, there was no violence and no stones were ever thrown. He does, however, slightly weaken his argument by adding, 'if a single stone had been thrown, the officers would not have escaped, and I am certain that they would have been killed'. And his admission that, several hours after the officers had returned to their hostelry he was obliged to call in the constabulary to disperse the crowd of 'children', does not make the incident appear any less threatening.[48]

The truth undoubtedly lay somewhere in the middle, but the fact remains that the *employés des fermes* lived in constant fear of popular violence and of further uprisings. On several occasions they tried to convince de la Tour to have the *maréchaussé*, or constabulary, take over some of their duties: 'The Brigades of the Maréchaussées', Beauregard wrote to de la Tour, 'would seem much better able to draw up such *procès verbaux*, and with less risk and the *employés des Fermes*, who would be constantly exposed to rebellions'.[49] A law was indeed about to be passed that officially empowered the *maréchaussée* to help the *employés des Fermes* in their activities against the usage of illegal textiles and to draw up their own, legally valid, *procès verbaux*. However, that did not seem to reassure or help the employees on the ground much.[50] Thus they did not dare actually proceed to imprison those who turned out to be unable to pay their fine, for fear of further violence or uprisings.[51] It seems they were quite right in their estimation of the situation: when they tried to do so in the small town of Brignolles in 1738, this nearly caused another 'émotion'. De la Tour wisely decided to abandon such attempts and to make up for lack of payment not by imprisoning the offenders but by impounding their property – the results of which were not any more edifying as the case of the widow Hutre shows. And Orry was not at all happy about the solution, either.[52]

Sympathetic Local Authorities?

Indeed it would seem that Orry was not at all happy a lot of the time. For when it came down to it, local authorities were ultimately more concerned with peace and quiet in their jurisdiction than with whether or not their subjects wore Asian and Asian-style textiles. As Beauregard wrote to the Indendant from Arles in 1735, 'You know, Monsieur, that we have never been in the habit in this province to divest the private persons in the cities who use *toiles peintes*', and, he added, the consequences of doing so now would be 'great and capable of exciting the populace, especially in a hot country where the poorest are nearly the only ones who dress in *toile peinte*'.[53]

Nobody wanted to 'excite the populace', and thus, whether it was from genuine sympathy for the very many poor, the local fishermen especially, who could not afford to buy new clothing if their cottons were taken from them, or because they feared violence and riots, the local authorities both from La Ciotat and Toulon wrote to Orry to implore him to take pity on their people and not to impose the ban. Needless to say, Orry was not impressed.[54] However, de la Tour likewise delayed the imposition of the 1730s' stricter rules and confiscations several times, much to Orry's continued dismay. Indeed, the continued leniency of the authorities concerning the usage of such textiles in the Provence can have done nothing to improve Orry's temper. He was highly displeased that nothing much seems to have been done to punish those involved in the 1736 Aix riot.[55] Instead, de la Tour seems to have considered the incident as an indication that he should delay the imposition of harsher measures further and to force producers to keep the prices of alternative textiles low, to avoid similar disturbances in the future.[56] And thus in 1737 and 1738 still Orry was exasperated to be informed that the common people in the Provence continued to dress in printed and painted cottons, and that tax officials dared not arrest anybody.[57]

This is not to say that nothing was ever done. It was, even in the Provence. The authorities did end up imprisoning offenders, even those whose only offence had been wearing, and by 1743 complaints had reached Orry about the violence and lack of discrimination displayed by the officials on such occasions.[58] However, even when the authorities did send people to prison and fined hundreds upon hundreds of them, the wearing and usage of these textiles never stopped, nor are there any real indications that it even decreased.

Conclusion

Even though the French authorities arrested and fined hundreds and thousands of their own subjects, this only ever was the tip of the iceberg. Printed Asian and Asian-style fabrics worn openly on the street made for but one out of three types of consumption, totally ignoring the much more substantial usage of such textiles inside private homes. All in all, the arrests therefore had little effect, except perhaps to cement the impression that calico consumption was a female problem only.

Morellet was thus right: there was a complete failure on the side of the state to repress both the retail and wearing of Asian and Asian-style textiles in France. And, as this chapter has shown, this failure was a constant, and not, as his opponents in the 1750s debate would claim, only an occurrence of the last few preceding decades. With his usual acumen, he had correctly diagnosed the underlying problem: it was a combination of the pervasiveness of privilege, which on the one hand gave the upper classes the licence to consume as they wished and on the other created refuges for smugglers, retailers, and – more rarely – even producers; of the fashionability of these fabrics; and of their price advantage which made them appealing to the richest as well as to the poorer members of society. And as long as these conditions prevailed, Morellet concluded, Asian and Asian-style fabrics would always find their way to the French consumers, quite regardless of how many agents would be posted along the country's borders.

Even though they may have accounted for a larger portion of smuggling and certainly also led to violent attacks on French tax officials, illicitly procured salt and tobacco proved in many ways less of an embarrassment to the state. They at least, when they were being consumed, were indistinguishable from their legal counterparts. They did not, as did the Asian and Asian-style fabrics worn by thousands of French women openly on the streets, proclaim to all and sundry passing by that the French monarchy was incapable of controlling its subjects. The very publicity of this failure combined with its tendency to lead to violence against the *fermier* officials trying to combat it, were among the main reasons that ensured the liberals won the argument against the ban in the end. Another reason, however, and one of at least equal importance, was that they could offer definite proof that France had the technological know-how to produce such textiles themselves and was thus able to compete with Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and perhaps even with India itself.

Part III
The Making of Economic Liberalism

4
The State of Knowledge

The cotton textiles that made their way from India and the Levant into France posed a significant challenge, not only through the impact they had – be that species export, supplanting of French-made textiles, smuggling, or illicit consumption – but also in and of themselves: they represented a level of technical expertise and competitive pricing that European producers were struggling to match. One of the arguments for the original prohibition had been that France simply did not have the know-how and skills to produce decent-quality printed and painted cottons itself, a point still assiduously put forward by the opponents of liberalisation in the 1750s. There were two technological challenges to producing calicoes that France would have to master. The first lay in the spinning and weaving of cotton textiles: since Europeans struggled to produce cotton yarn strong enough to be used as warps, most 'cottons' continued to be woven onto a linen warp which meant that they were neither as soft or as fine as Indian muslins.[1] The second was printing and dyeing. Europe had traditionally specialised in dyeing only yarn, predominantly of wool, linen, and silk, patterning textiles through weaving and embroidery, and even after mastering the use of thickeners and mordants necessary for printing textiles, manufacturers continued to struggle to produce colours as bright and enduring as Indian and Levantine ones.[2] Finally remained the question of price competitiveness: even if European producers mastered all the techniques necessary to compete with India and the Levant on quality, would they be able to match their pricing? This chapter investigates how France acquired the technical knowledge to meet these challenges.

Those who argued in favour of liberalising the legislation and permitting production in France did not deny such problems outright. Morellet agreed that to produce successfully, a country had to master

both the spinning and weaving, and the printing and dyeing, and be able to compete on price. He contended, however, that all of these were possible: weaving and spinning were already taking place in France and printing and dyeing were progressing. Cheaper production in India and the Levant would be compensated for by transportation costs, and differences in quality could be made up for by the superior French taste in designs. After all, and this was the crucial argument, other European nations already were successfully imitating Asian textiles and there was no reason that France could not do so as well.[3] Morellet's and the liberals' solution thus lay in the practice of emulation, part of the international game of catch-up and rivalry, in which a country could ultimately surpass its competitors by emulating their success, be this through straightforward borrowing, creative imitation, or independent invention.

In recent years 'emulation' has been established as a key concept in eighteenth-century thought and political practice, and firmly linked both to the global context of empire-building and the newly emerging discipline of political economy.[4] The Gournay circle has become emblematic of eighteenth-century practices of emulation, both conducting and sponsoring information-gathering missions abroad, encouraging the formation of improvement societies, translating and circulating texts in political economy, and ultimately becoming a source for translation and emulation themselves.[5] Eighteenth-century French attempts to catch up with Asian textile technology keep both these connotations (Enlightenment political economy, the Gournay circle in particular, and global or imperial rivalries) and the methods (borrowing, via invited experts or espionage, creative imitation or invention via codified knowledge and/or active experimentation) but move these into the realm of the practical, of what contemporaries called 'industry' and we more commonly refer to as 'useful knowledge'. As this chapter demonstrates, in doing so, French attempts to gain and implement the skills and knowledge necessary to producing Asian-style textiles confirm recent findings in the historiography of science: (1) the active role of the state, (2) the importance of embodied skills, and (3) the importance of the wider global and European rather than simply Anglo-French context.[6] Having established these, the chapter then turns to the role of French codified knowledge about Asian textile technology, focusing on two previously unknown French sources on Indian textile production, to investigate both what they reveal about the appreciation of useful knowledge more widely and the specific place of such information in the campaign for the liberalisation of the textile ban.

The Importance of the French State in the Acquisition of Useful Knowledge

Since the days of Colbert the French state had played a key role in the acquisition of useful knowledge and technical skills. This continued and intensified throughout the eighteenth century and extended to a similarly active promotion of invention and innovation.[7] Several agencies played their part in this endeavour: in their attempt to inventory the French attempt to gather 'colonial knowledge', James E. McClellan III and François Regourd list 34 institutions, with the majority of these (29) forming part of the royal government and administration, and the rest belonging to the church and trading companies.[8] When it came to anything relating to manufacture, however, the central organisation was the *Conseil de Commerce*, founded in 1700, and renamed the *Bureau du Commerce* in 1722, which had been set up to deal with all issues relating to manufacturing. With minor reorganisations over the century, it was made up of between 7 and 22 members, including several representatives of the high administration, such as ministers and secretaries of state and the *Lieutenant de Police* of Paris, who, however, rarely attended, as well as more specialised administrators. Most important among the latter were the *intendants des finances*, who as part of the Controller General's staff were members by right, and the four to six *intendants de commerce*, holders of a venal office especially created for the Bureau which included Vincent de Gournay; the Council's or Bureau's president, an office held by a specially designated *Conseiller d'Etat*; and the directorate of commerce, an office separated from that of the presidency after 1747 and most famously held by the reformer, *intendant de finances*, and concomitant director of the *Ponts and Chaussées*, Daniel de Trudaine from 1749 to 1769; the *inspecteurs généraux des manufactures et du commerce*, which from 1755 included John Holker who took up the specially created post as inspector of foreign manufactuers; as well as representatives of the *Fermes générales*, and, for a period, also of the French East India Companies. Associated with the Bureau but with a purely advisory function were the 13 Deputies of Commerce who were elected by the Chambers of Commerce of France's most important trading cities: two from Paris, and one each from Rouen, Nantes, Bordeaux, Saint-Malo, La Rochelle, Marseille, Bayonne, Dunkerque, Lille, Lyon, and Montpellier. They were permitted to attend meetings, but their advice, regularly requested by the Bureau, was generally given in written form after separately held deliberations. To judge new processes, materials, machines, and inventions, the Bureau

frequently consulted specialists, usually from the Academy of Sciences, who could also become associate members, such as the chemists Dufay, Hellot, Baron, Macquer, and Berthollet, the naturalists Daubenton, Duhamel du Monceau, and Buffon, the geologist Desmarest, and others including Jean-Baptiste Leroy, Mignot de Montigny, Vaucanson, and Vandermonde. The links between the Bureau and the Academy of Sciences, as well as the Academy's investment in practical technical improvement, grew over the course of the century.[9]

The Bureau relied not only on academics, but also on the deputies of commerce, and on the inspectors of manufactures on the ground who served both to control the implementation of manufacturing regulations and to introduce producers to new methods of production, and who were among the Bureau's most important sources of information, sending regular reports and updates from their tours. Drawing on these different sources of expertise the Bureau became a hub of information whose stated mission it was to improve France's economic performance (see Fig. 4.1). Hence, apart from adjudicating in any disputes, they distributed gratifications and privileges to inventors of new techniques, and encouraged innovation and new branches of industry.[10] Together with the Academy, the Bureau thus played a central role in encouraging what Hilaire-Pérez calls the 'logic of state service', promoting a perception of the inventor as advancing the common good thereby giving technological innovation a high status in French society which contrasted with a British image of inventors and projectors as motivated by self-interest. Invention in France took much of its prestige from the accreditation of experts in the service of the state, usually members of the *Académie des Sciences*, who judged new inventions both for the Academy and on request for the Bureau of Commerce. The resulting prominence of experts and inventors was both a mercantilist and Colbertian legacy – in that the state ruled whether a new product or process was in accordance with state regulations and likely to advance the economy – and the hope of the economically liberal Enlightenment elites, who believed in the power of 'improvement', and in the arts and sciences' ability to foster economic development and material progress.[11]

In this endeavour the Bureau remained firmly focused not on abstract knowledge but on the importance of the practical, on productivity, the market, and consumer desire. The experts called in to judge new products or processes were required to give their opinion not only as 'scientists' and members of the Academy but also on whether they thought the new product or process would sell and/or improve productivity, quality, or value. The ultimate decisions usually also took into account

the opinions of the inspectors of manufacture, who frequently acted as go-betweens. Thus the Academician's laboratory became a central space of experimentation, in which processes and products were tested and to which inventors themselves came to demonstrate their work. The laboratory of the chemist Jean Hellot, member of the Academy of Sciences, specialist on dyes for the Bureau of Commerce, and heavily involved in the acquisition of foreign textile dyeing techniques, was precisely such a hybrid space in which 'handy minds' tested the inventions of 'mindful hands'. Aware of the importance of this space the *Bureau du Commerce* was willing to pay for it, and quite hefty sums, too: when he took over from Dufay in 1740, Hellot was accorded 1000 lt to rent the laboratory space, the salary of a dyer who was to support him in his work, and his own salary of 3000 per annum which was soon doubled; on top of all that, the Bureau also paid for the set-up of his laboratory.[12]

The Importance of Embodied Skills: Foreign Workers and the French State

The Bureau and Academicians were quite right in this emphasis: even the most mechanised of eighteenth-century industries still had a very marked craft aspect, so that transferring machines and codified knowledge alone would often be fruitless. Successful technology transfer most usually required the migration of workers. The administration made several concerted efforts to attract such skilled foreign practitioners and in the best-known narrative that has come to dominate most accounts, John Harris's *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer* (1998), three figures played a key role in promoting cotton textile production in France: Daniel Trudaine, John Holker, and John Kay. Trudaine, a central figure in the administration of commerce, was the first to systematise French efforts to attract foreign workers. He not only recruited Gournay as his partner in the administration, but also continued to support Holker and Kay. John Kay, originally from near Bury in Lancashire, was the inventor of the flying shuttle which significantly speeded up and facilitated the weaving process. Subject to violence by disgruntled weavers, but more importantly because he had failed to make any significant money from his invention there, he left England for France in 1747 and managed to gain the protection and financial support of Trudaine and the *Bureau du Commerce*, who endeavoured to spread the use of his shuttle. Kay went on to improve on the production of hand cards, which were routinely used to card

textiles. As his repeated quarrels with both his collaborators and the administration of commerce testify, he was a difficult character, but his inventions were nevertheless considered important enough for the Bureau to continue to support him financially.[13]

If Kay's inventions had some impact on French textile production in general and cotton production in particular, Holker's work was a game-changer. John Holker, another Lancastrian, had run a cloth calendering business in Manchester, but, a determined Jacobite, he joined the Pretender's Army in the 1745 rebellion and, after its failure and his imprisonment in Newgate, he escaped prison and fled Britain, joining a Jacobite regiment in the French army which was then campaigning in Flanders. Thanks to the intervention of Marc Morel, inspector of textiles at Rouen, Holker was introduced to Trudaine, who was hoping that Holker would be able to raise the French cotton industry, then largely based in and around Rouen, to British standards. After a successful espionage trip to Britain in 1751, funded by the *Bureau*, from whence he returned with several British workers, Holker set up two factories, again with the financial backing of the Bureau: one for spinning and weaving, and the other for the finishing of cotton cloth, for calendaring and cotton velvet production in particular. In 1756 Holker was appointed to the specially created post of *inspecteur général des manufactures étrangères* (Inspector General of Foreign Manufactures), with the aim of informing the Bureau of possible improvements to French manufactures along the British model and of attracting more British experts to come and work in France, both of which he managed admirably. His work for the Bureau as well as his own cotton manufacturing enterprises in Sens and Bourges, to which in the 1760s he added the production of Vitriol in Saint-Sever, an important ingredient for calico printing and cotton dyeing, proved of lasting success and importance; and, together with Marseille's calico workshops and Flachat's enterprise near Lyon, the Rouen cotton establishments were cited by Morellet in his treatise as examples for the successful cotton dyeing, spinning, and weaving already taking place in France. Made a Knight of the Military and Royal Order of Saint Louis in 1770 and ennobled in 1774, Holker was succeeded in the Bureau by his son, who took over both industrial espionage in Britain and tours in France.[14]

European and Global versus British Models

The problem with this well-worn narrative of the French successes of English inventors is that, while it correctly emphasises both the

importance of state intervention and of embodied skills, that is, the migration of skilled workers and experts, it represents an overly simplistic, top-down and diffusionist model. The overemphasis on Britain as the cradle of inventions radiating outwards and linearly adapted stems perhaps as much from the Anglocentric focus of many twentieth-century Anglo-American scholars like Harris as from the eighteenth century itself: from Holker's focus on Britain and the Gournay circle's Anglophilia, and the general French obsession with the British economic and military ascendency memorably set out by François Crouzet.[15] Such linear Anglocentric models do not, however, correspond to the actual practice of technological emulation. With recent studies of contact zones, creative appropriations, and reciprocities, arguments for the 'Europeanicity' or indeed global dimension of the Industrial Revolution have come to replace the model of indigenous English superiority and subsequent linear diffusion.[16] This certainly holds when it comes to eighteenth-century French attempts to appropriate technical improvements for their textile production. Here England was by no means the only model to emulate. This was particularly true in relation to colours: different dyes retained different geographical connotations: to dye silks black, the reference point remained Italy, Genoa, and Venice in particular.[17] Germany provided another source of dyeing skills that France sought to acquire. The imitation of Prussian Blue and *Vert de Saxe*, Saxony Green, was quickly attempted in France: in March 1749 Hellot examined the imitation of Saxony Green, 'the most beautiful green that has yet been made in Europe', according to him, as it was produced by Koederer in Strasbourg. To be able to compare Koederer's goods to the original, Machault, president of the Bureau of Commerce, had written to Dresden and was sent samples and information on the different qualities and prices that same month. Less than a year later, in January 1750, Hellot reported that, since the green was so fashionable at the moment, he was working to make it colourfast – his main criticism of Koederer's samples – and that he had a young German dyer with him to help him do so.[18] And, despite all the work done on Prussian Blue in the 1740s and 1750s by the chemist, Academician, and member of the Bureau du Commerce, Pierre-Joseph Macquer, as late as 1778 another textile specialist of the French Academy of Sciences and collaborator of the Bureau du Commerce, Étienne Mignot de Montigny, commented on a newly developed dyeing process involving Prussian Blue.[19]

When it came to dyeing cotton red the examples to emulate remained firmly Eastern throughout the century and beyond: Turkey Red, the

colourfast bright red achieved with the use of madder and the right mordants on cotton fibres, was known in France as *Rouge d'Adrianople* (Adrianople Red) but also referred to as *Rouge de Smyrne* or *Rouge des Indes* (Smyrna Red or India Red) and it was with that Levantine and Indian reference point that various producers, inventors, and information gatherers demanded recognition of their improvements and inventions, which were variously claimed to be 'in the manner of the Indies', 'with the same solidity as those from the Levant', or 'equal to the colours of the Indies', even if the process of producing them came from Switzerland or the Netherlands.[20] Among many others these included the perhaps best-known example, Eymard, a dyer from Nîmes whose process was tested favourably by Hellot in 1757;[21] but also de Lange who had Montigny and Macquer judge the process that he had brought from Holland in the 1760s;[22] Maraud, a *marchand mercier* from Paris, who was accorded a gratification of 500 lt, having shown Turgot successfully dyed yarn and kerchiefs and published a memorandum on the topic in 1776;[23] Osmond from Darnétal near Rouen, who received a gratification in 1783 in recognition of his discovery of a solid red whose production process he passed on to Macquer;[24] Chabert, whose proposal to share his discovery of a 'rouge incarnate d'Adrianople' and a 'rouge de Smyrne' in return for some recompense was discussed in the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce in 1791;[25] and a young inventor, Ferdinand Salmon, whose *rouge des Indes* dyeing process was considered important enough to excuse him from military service in the Year VII.[26] France was by no means alone in this endeavour: like Flachat below, the British dyer Wilson, who received the 1756 prize of the Society of the Arts for a new way of dyeing cotton red, claimed that he had learnt this process from the Greeks of Smyrna.[27]

This Indo-Levantine association was in fact spot on. As Olivier Raveux's research in particular has shown, it was from the Levant that the French and Europeans gained the ability to successfully, permanently, and brightly dye and print cottons. Armenian merchants and textile workers, who had helped transplant these originally Indian techniques to the Levant in the first place, then brought them to seventeenth-century Europe, where they were involved in setting up the first such workshops in late seventeenth-century Marseille and in Amersfoort in the Netherlands. Even with this link it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century at the earliest that European manufacturers could come even close to the quality of red-dyed cottons which they continued to import from the East.[28]

Flachat and Levantine Textile Technology

The French administration, though perhaps not aware of that original connection, was still very conscious of the Levantine and Indian technological superiority when it came to cotton textiles and thus encouraged attempts to attract Levantine workers. The best known of such attempts is that of the Lyonnais merchant turned cotton manufacturer Jean-Claude Flachat, one of the examples cited by Morellet as a successful producer of French cotton textiles. Flachat's case was emblematic both of the importance of the French state, of the extra-European or global dimension, and of the crucial role of embodied skills or workers' migration in the French acquisition of cotton technology. It was on the orders of Trudaine himself that Flachat went on an 'industrial espionage' mission to the Levant in 1755 which proved rather successful.[29] Not only did he gather valuable commercial information, much of which he published in 1766 under the title *Observations sur le commerce et les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie* (Observations on the commerce and arts of one part of Europe [and] of Asia) he also managed to attract to France Ottoman workers who specialised in textile production in general, and in that of cotton in particular: dyers mastering the process of dyeing cotton in Turkey red, and those who were versed in the preparation and spinning of cotton, whom he set up in Saint-Chaumont near Lyon, where he and his brother set up a 'Levantine' textile manufacture which spun and dyed cotton in red and printed flowered textiles for the Levant trade and in imitation of what was produced in the Levant itself. For this achievement and more importantly, for his undertaking to spread these skills and knowledge, Flachat was accorded several exemptions, gratifications, and privileges as well as the status as *manufacture royale*.[30]

Because of the state support he received, his case is particularly well documented. We thus know that, in cooperation with Pérétié, a merchant established in Smyrna, he brought back several 'Turks' or 'Greeks' (the men in question were Christian Ottomans, Greeks, and Armenians) in 1756, who were to be accorded a yearly gratification for ten years. Though the accounts vary on the details, certain difficulties became obvious right from the beginning: one worker disappeared early on in Paris, two returned to the Levant after two years, and another died.[31] Those who returned to the Levant, then demanded that Pérétié reimburse their travel expenses, which made him rather unhappy. He had been quite proud of his achievement of having 'with great trouble' managed to engage these 'dyers of renown in Smyrna' in the service of Mr Flachat, who then had to be smuggled to France via Marseille in

order to 'teach the workers of the Kingdom the excellent manner in which the Orientals dye in red'.[32] In 1768 Holker had to report that only one single 'Greek dyer' was left with Flachat. That one specialist was, however, according to Holker's report, extremely valuable, and should teach his skill of dyeing in cotton in Adrianople red, to transmit the knowledge of the *Rouge des Indes*.[33]

Overall, as Flachat was proud to stress, the workers who came had nevertheless made their mark. In a later memorandum, dating from the 1770s, he lists: (1) Jsai Clair, a cotton spinner, who, having trained several apprentices in the neighbouring villages and helped set up muslin production in Tarare, 50 km north-east of Lyon, had returned to Smyrna after 12 years to dye cotton there, only to return to set up his own cotton-dyeing business in Marseille in cooperation with Micali, another former Greek worker of Saint-Chaumond; 2) Bogos, another cotton spinner, who had also taught his craft in several towns and villages and who died after about 12 years of work there; (3) Platon, a weaver who worked in the Saint-Chaumond manufacture for 12 years and trained several apprentices there before leaving for Turin, where he died; (4) Georgi, a tinsmith and maker of caffetieres, who taught his craft in Lyon and later left to join the Controller General, Bertin, in Paris; (5) Dimitri, another tinsmith, who died in the hospice two months after his arrival; (6) Mathieu, who produced Cyprus Vitriol, a blue vitriol (vitriol, like alum, being a mordant and thus a crucial ingredient in fixing dyes on fabrics) and who not only taught various students but also set up several manufactures which, according to Flachat, continued to flourish: two in Lyon, one in the Dauphiné, near Lyon, and a fourth in Marseille where he settled after bringing over his son and wife from Constantinople; (7) Pedros, another vitriol maker who had helped Mathieu and had since returned to the Levant; (8) Alten, interpreter and general go-between who had since set up several madder plantations in the Comtat of Avignon, which continued to prosper and produced the madder for Turkey Red used by Wetter in his factory in Orange (see Plates 3.1 and 3.2);[34] (9) Jani, a master dyer from Adrianople who worked in the Saint-Chaumond factory for nine years prior to his death; (10) Iskav Gulgenti, another master dyer from Adrianople, who married a local woman with whom he was working in Saint-Chaumond for 15 years, specialising in cotton bleaching and red and blue dyes, and who, after Jani's death, took on several successful students. Both he and his wife were experts in whitening cottons and in dyeing them both red and blue; (11) another weaver, Avedi, who had come to Saint-Chaumond from the Levant by himself and who, with another worker, the German Veper or Weber,

had taken on an apprentice from the Lyonnais poorhouse; (12) Micalie, a dyer from Smyrna, who, together with Trianda the younger and Dimitri, only stayed seven months in Saint-Chaumond before returning to Smyrna and from thence returning to Marseille where he set up a dyeswork with the support of the Marquis Roux from Marseille and the Swiss Solicoffres; (13) Trianda the younger, now dyer in Marseille with Micali, where he had also brought his wife; (14) Dimitri, Trianda's adoptive son, also in Marseille; (15) two more dyers who had followed the former to Marseille. Flachat added to the list the several apprentices he had trained over time, stressing especially his charity cases, and his publications which he claims had led to the foundation of many more establishments.[35]

In terms of actual production, too, the manufacture at Saint-Chaumond also appeared to have been effective: it was one of the examples cited by Morellet in 1758 to prove that cotton spinning and weaving was already successfully taking place in France. In early January that year, Flachat had been able to send 36 samples of his production to the Paris administration of commerce, which were found to be of very good quality.[36] And in the 1770s memorandum, Flachat stated that his manufacture produced muslins, kerchiefs, siamoises, cotton velvets, and various cotton and linen fabrics. By then it consisted of 20 weavers as well as of a dyeing works specialising in madder dyeing, all of which, according to him, also gave work to several hundred spinners in the surrounding villages.[37]

Global Emulation

Cases like that of Flachat do not of course mean that England was not an important model emulated in France: it is undisputable that Britain played a significant role in the French administration's concerted effort to improve French production and manufacturing. Thus the fact that in the early 1760s, Holker's British dyer had managed to dye several hanks of cotton in a stronger blue than those of the Rouen dyers, was a subject of great interest to the administration, given that blue together with red was another area in which Europe had yet to catch up with Indian cotton manufacturing superiority.[38] The British dyers in question, by the name of Hope and Morris, had been brought to Rouen by Holker in 1762, and Hope was still there in 1788, when he presented a memorandum on cotton dyeing to the Controller General, which was examined in great detail by the Academician, chemist, and advisor to the Bureau of Commerce, Berthollet.[39] However, all of this was part of a wider European and global initiative by the French authorities,

manufactures, and entrepreneurs to gain useful knowledge and skills that could advance France's industries and contribute to national growth and development.

This wider global framework does not only apply to dyeing techniques: it also holds for other cotton technology. Britain undoubtedly was a model for the mechanisation of that industry, especially later in the eighteenth century, but other countries were equally cited and emulated in France. The case of Flachat and the process of dyeing in Turkey Red illustrates the enduring importance of the Levant, and India similarly continued to be exemplars throughout the century, especially when it came to the fineness of their muslins, which were invoked whenever petitioners or producers tried to convince their customers or the authorities of the high quality of their inventions, products, or processes.[40] The strongest testament to the enduring model status of Indian cotton manufacturing and the global dimension of the French project to attract skilled workers is the group referred to as 'the Indians of Thieux': a group of spinners and weavers from Pondicherry whom the French admiral Count Pierre André de Suffren had brought to Europe where they ultimately settled and set up a workshop in the Intendant of Commerce Michau de Montaran's castle in Thieux, near Paris in 1785.[41]

Other European nations were also important models, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland in particular. Switzerland was after all a major source for the cottons smuggled into France while the Netherlands provided the vast majority of those that France used for its slave trade, something of which the authorities in Paris were very well aware. Thus when Barolet, the inspector of manufactures for the Champagne region wrote about the local production of fine basins, a type of cotton cloth, he compared them favourably, not to those made in Britain but to those of the Netherlands,[42] and, as Morellet pointed out, the Swiss were similarly good examples to follow when it came to the spinning and weaving of cottons for printing.[43] The same was true when concerning the printing of those textiles: among the first to legally resist dye and later print in France were Swiss and German specialists, who made up the majority of entrepreneurs opening new workshops post-1759 and which notably included Oberkampf himself.[44] Hence the French authorities actively sought to attract Swiss and German specialists: following the request by the inspector of manufactures of the Lyon region, Brisson, the authorities decided to pay one year's rent, from January to December 1778, for a German by the name of Tschudi, who, together with his wife, worked in the above-mentioned muslin manufacture

at Tarare and was helping the local workers perfect their skills.[45] And nearly ten years later, in 1786, the inspectors from Alsace reported the arrival of several Swiss workers who had come to settle in Mulhouse to produce muslins and to set up a spinning and weaving school.[46]

Different local productions thus provided different types of models for France to emulate, imitate, and adapt. India continued as the benchmark for the highest qualities, but, as Morellet insisted, there was no need to surpass them in this immediately: to satisfy the demand of the largest section of the French market it was enough to be able to produce the low-cost European imitations that were made in Britain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. It was that technology that France had to be able to master in order to put an end to the ban and the smuggling.[47] Making the case for France's ability to do so was a broad coalition that centred on the Bureau of commerce itself.

The 'Coalition for Liberalisation' and Role of the Academic and Codified

France ultimately succeeded at closing the skills gap and at establishing its own cotton printing industry. The state played a significant role in achieving this, working hand in hand with entrepreneurs, scientists, inventors, travellers, and cotton specialists. The state's role was also significant in another respect. It was within its own administration that a coalition formed which eventually succeeded in abolishing the ban on the production of printed textiles, the sine qua non condition of establishing a French cotton printing industry in the first place. And this coalition, despite its very strong involvement in the practical side of production and its awareness of the key role of embodied skills, still had a very marked interest in also gathering codified knowledge about cotton printing and dyeing.

Trudaine, Gournay, and Their Allies

The 'coalition' in question centred around Vincent de Gournay and the administrator and reformer Daniel de Trudaine. As *intendant de finances*, Trudaine was Gournay's superior and his most important patron in the *Bureau du Commerce*. It was also Trudaine who supported Holker and Flachat, Trudaine who charged Morellet with the writing of his treatise in favour of the liberalisation of *toiles peintes*, and Trudaine who bought up Hellot's very detailed notebooks after his death.[48] Together, and with the help of successive 'liberal' ministers, these figures managed to orchestrate the repeal of the ban: Gournay and some members

of his circle, Morellet in particular, provided the intellectual backing and the public relations campaign. Gournay's 'Observations' inserted into Forbonnais's much more moderate *Examen des Avantages et des Désavantages de la Prohibition des Toiles Peintes* (1755), already set out the arguments in favour of liberalisation that would later be repeated and strengthened by Morellet in his *Réflexions*.

Hellot and Holker provided the practical expertise needed to lend weight to the claims that it was possible to produce such textiles profitably in France. Researching dyes himself, but also providing the expert judgement on the samples furnished by would-be producers of *toiles peintes* in France, Hellot provided the official scientific sanction. He was the authority who had proven that France was indeed capable of producing such textiles itself.[49] Holker on the other hand was the acknowledged authority on British production processes and the lengthy manuscript of 1756, 'General Observations on the Manufactures of France by Mr Holker Inspector General', left its mark.[50] It was a detailed comparison between conditions in Britain and in France, treating matters as varied as the availability of raw materials and their preparation, workers, state regulations of production, regimes of control and inspection, and import regulation of *toiles peintes*, to which was appended a 'Project for the introduction in France of printed textiles of France's own manufacture'. The whole was written very much in the spirit of Gournay: it opposed excessive regulation and barriers to free production and circulation of goods, and it made the case for France being able to profitably engage in the production of Asian-style printed textiles itself. Indeed, the link to Gournay is made particularly clear by the fact that a copy of the 'General Observations' and the 'Project' is among Gournay's papers, bound into his volume of manuscripts entitled *Mémoires de commerce*.[51]

Trudaine, as already mentioned, was an instigator and coordinator in this campaign. He was also at the centre of a global network that gathered knowledge on manufacturing processes and inventions in general, and on the production of Asian and Asian-style textiles in particular. He was behind Flachat's mission to the Levant, but also sponsored other, less well-known missions, one of which will be the subject here.

Global Textile Knowledge: Reports Sent from India

Even the best-known French cases of the collection of information on Indian and Chinese textile production have some links to the French central authorities. These oft-cited cases are those of Roques, Beaulieu, and Coeurdoux.[52] Georges Roques, whom we already encountered in Chapter 1, minutely described not only the commercial conditions

in the Gujarat, but as part of this also gave a very precise account of mordant block printing and dyeing as performed in later seventeenth-century Ahmedabad and nearby.[53] Antoine Georges Nicolas de Beaulieu was an officer of the French Indies Company who in circa 1734 wrote a manuscript detailing each step in the production process of Pondicherry chintzes, to which he appended a piece of cloth of each stage, 11 in total. The complete manuscript including the samples is preserved in the archives of the Paris Museum of Natural History.[54] The Jesuit Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux, who had left for south India in 1732 and became the superior of the Pondicherry mission, was a student of Indian languages, sciences, and culture, correspondent of the astronomer and academician Jean-Nicolas Delisle, and collaborator of the Indianologist Anquetil-Duperron. His letters on Indian textile technology were published between 1749 and 1758 in volumes 27 and 28 of the immensely popular *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, a publication of Jesuit Foreign Missions Correspondence across the world. His first letter on the south Indian techniques used in cotton printing and painting, dated January 1741, was followed by a reply by Pierre Poivre, the travel writer, naturalist, and later governor of the Islands of Mauritius and La Réunion, on his own experiments in textile painting and the importance of Coeurdoux's contribution to these, to which Coeurdoux wrote a response with further details. A further very lengthy letter, dated Pondicherry 13 October 1748, was to transmit what Coeurdoux claimed had originally been a memorandum by the late M. Paradis on the red dyeing of Indian cottons, which he had revised in light of Coeurdoux's additions and comments, and to which Coeurdoux had then added further comments.[55]

Of these three, Roques's and Coeurdoux's links to French central authorities are indirect, though they still reveal the overwhelming importance of institutional actors in early modern knowledge collection: McClellan and Regourd include both their institutions, the *Compagnies des Indes* and the Overseas Missions, among the ten most important 'sponsoring authorities' of the French enterprise of global knowledge gathering.[56] Beaulieu's link to the French state was the most direct and his work also proved the most influential. According to Schwartz, Beaulieu's work was commissioned by Hellot's predecessor, the chemist, dyes specialist, superintendent of the *Jardin du Roi*, member of the French Academy of Sciences and the Bureau du Commerce's commissioned expert, Charles François de Cisternay du Fay, or Dufay, who made immediate practical use of it in his collaboration with Monsieur Le Duc's manufacture of *toiles peintes* in the latter's Chateau at

Chantilly.[57] Beaulieu's manuscript also seems to have circulated widely in Europe and was used both by the chevalier de Quérelles, in what was the first published French treatise on calico printing, the 1760 *Traité sur les toiles peintes*, and by the influential Basel Swiss-German calico printer Jean Rhyner in his 1766 'Matériaux pour la coloration des étoffes'.[58]

To this 'trinity' of sources, I would like to add two new and important discoveries, namely two further figures whose observations on Indian textile printing and painting were either commissioned by or addressed to, and subsequently recorded by, the French central authorities. These figures are the abbé Walle and Nicolas L'Empereur.

L'Empereur

Nicolas L'Empereur, born around 1660 in Normandy and later employed as a surgeon to the French Indies Company, has recently received much attention – more, in all likelihood, than he ever received in his life – by figuring as a central character in Kapil Raj's *Relocating Modern Science*, which thereby also earned him a place in McClellan and Regourd's *The Colonial Machine*.[59] He worked as a surgeon first in Balasore and from 1706 onwards in Chandernagore, where he became both a private trader and a collector of indigenous books, plants, and all forms of codified and non-codified knowledge relating to medicine and botany. He achieved pride of place in Raj's book as the author of the encyclopaedic *Jardin de Lorixa*, the *Garden of Orixa* (the eighteenth-century spelling for modern-day Orissa) or to give the work its full title in English, 'Botanical Elements of the Plants of the Flora of Orixa, Their Virtues and Qualities, Both Known and Unknown, with Their Flowers, Fruits and Seeds', a manuscript of 14 volumes, with 725 paintings of 722 plant species. Having sent samples of his work to Paris as early as 1698, he finally completed his magnum opus in 1725, aged 65, and had it shipped to the Academy of Sciences in Paris in the hopes of fame – and perhaps above all – monetary recognition: L'Empereur had by then lost his employment with the French Indies Company and, having spent every last penny on the work, was now bankrupt. However, he never received any acknowledgement and, despite various intercessions on his behalf, Antoine de Jussieu, member of the Academy of Sciences, professor of botany at the *Jardin du Roi*, and the French Indies Company's expert on botany, refused to pay out any gratification even though he admitted that the work did contain effective remedies. In the end, as Raj concludes, Nicolas L'Empereur died aged 80 in anonymity and poverty in Chandanagore on 13 February 1742, 'cared for to the last by his Bengali doctor, to whom he left part of his meagre savings'.[60]

What Raj doesn't explain is why the formerly bankrupt L'Empereur had any savings to leave at all, meagre as they may have been. One explanation for this may have been that once it became clear that the *Jardin de Lorixa* would not get him any rewards, L'Empereur attempted to remedy his financial troubles by sending another type of potentially lucrative useful knowledge: he was shrewd enough to know that next to botany and medicine, which he had already tried, the most useful knowledge that he could send and be potentially rewarded for was that concerning global textiles. Thus between 1733 and 1740, he sent to the French authorities several memoranda on Indian trade in general and on Indian dyeing techniques in particular. The first one, dating on 1733 and sent back with the ship *Le Jupiter*, was a memorandum on silk and cotton dyeing. Beginning with an explanation on how to bleach fabrics and prepare them so as to make the results of the subsequent dyeing processes colourfast, it lists the necessary ingredients and steps to dye fabrics in 45 different colours, each designated by their original name and a French translation. These range from the colour of onions, grenadine flowers, Indian chestnuts, and 'a doe's belly' to linen grey, sky blue, pale blue, poppy red, gold, black, purple, pink, pale yellow, saffron yellow, and the yellow of French marigold, known in French as 'Oeillet d'Inde' or 'Indian Carnation'. Except for red, all of these, according to L'Empereur, applied to the dyeing of both silks and cottons. As a consequence, apart from several different ways of achieving reds on silks, he gives a separate entry on how to achieve a colourfast red dye on cottons, too – the trick, according to L'Empereur, was that after the bleaching and before the dyeing the cotton had to be soaked in a specific oil-bath several times.[61] He also includes a slightly longer comment on how to improve on indigo dyeing. The whole is prescriptive rather than descriptive and reads very much like a modern-day recipe or cookbook, giving, for each entry, a brief set of instructions on how to prepare the dyes and the textiles, how long to soak the fabric, and, depending on the type of dye, how to boil it, let it dry, re-dye it to fix the colours, apply various other treatments, which usually consisted of soaking it in an acidic solution, such as lemon juice, and finally on how to wash it and dry it.[62] A few years later, in January 1739, apparently after having received a favourable response from Paris, L'Empereur sent a second memorandum, on 101 different silk dyes as used in Dacca, with instructions very much along the lines of his earlier memorandum.[63] And, apparently because he judged that it would be similarly useful, he included a list of goods traded from Hooghly to Patna and another memorandum on the textiles produced in and around Patna with their precise dimensions.

L'Empereur's memoranda on Indian dyeing are important for several reasons. They reveal contemporaries' awareness of the potential profitability of useful knowledge, especially when it came to textile technology: in L'Empereur's case the profit motive was clear. They also once again reveal the important role played by institutional actors and the French state. For L'Empereur's reports were considered important and potentially useful: his own reference to letters from Paris that had encouraged him to pursue his information gathering on dyeing in India are not the only proof that the French administration considered such knowledge valuable. When the reports arrived in France on the French Indies Company ships, they were given to Orry de Fulvy, the Company's Royal Commissioner, for him to pass on to the then President of the Bureau of Commerce, Louis Fagon, in 1740.[64] And L'Empereur's observations didn't just gather dust there it would seem: together with details on cotton dyeing that another Jesuit, the Père d'Incarville, had detailed in a letter from Peking of 1755, Hellot records in his notebooks details from one of L'Empereur's memoranda on silk and cotton dyeing, including instructions for bleaching and for dyeing silks in bright and lively shades of red, yellow, green, and blue.[65] Thus L'Empereur left his mark: a vast compendium of useful knowledge, Hellot's notebooks were, according to Schwartz, open to the public and frequently consulted by experts.[66] They were certainly seen as of considerable importance by Trudaine whom Hellot advised throughout his life and who bought the notebooks after Hellot's death for the use of the *Bureau du Commerce*. Trudaine and his coalition played an even more central role in the second figure to be examined here who sent back a detailed report on Indian cotton printing and dyeing, the Abbé Walle.

The Abbé Walle

The Abbé Walle, also spelt Wale or Wall, is today much less known than L'Empereur. Linked to the influential Duval d'Eprémesnil family, which included Duval de Leyrit, governor first of Chandernagore then of Pondicherry and author of the memorandum discussed in Chapter 1, Walle was himself an employee of the French Indies Company.[67] Company records indicate that the Abbé Jean Wall was an Irishman who, in the 1740s and 1750s, served as an *aumonier* or chaplain on board Company ships. His age was generally given as 40. His last voyage was on board the *Utile*, which left Lorient for the Indian Ocean in May 1754, where Walle is noted as disembarking on the Ile de France (present-day Mauritius) from whence he must have made his way to India where he died four years later in December 1758.[68] In his work on the French

community in Pondicherry, Kévin Le Doudic has identified him as a substantial private trader: his after-death inventory lists, next to some obviously personal possessions such as a *robe de chambre*, a fairly large number of items of clothing, shaving equipment, an English dictionary, and a pair of pistols, also six bales and a box of merchandise containing over seven hundred pieces of different types of textiles which, as Le Doudic points out, could have been used, ultimately, to make more than seven thousand handkerchiefs. Of particular interest to us, however, is that his possessions also included a local loom ('métier de tisserand du pays').[69]

For in those years between his arrival in the Indian Ocean in 1754 and his death in 1758, Walle had done more than carry letters for his patrons and buy up substantial quantities of textiles. He also travelled to different production sites to gather as much information as possible about Indian cotton technology. The result was a very lengthy memorandum of 77 pages entitled 'Journal containing remarks on the different cotton fabrics of the East Indies by M. L'abbé Walle', dated Pondicherry 1 April 1756. Particularly significant for us is that it was apparently a commissioned work, commissioned by Trudaine himself, whom Walle thanks for his patronage. We do not know exactly why Trudaine chose him. We can only conjecture that his status as a chaplain meant that he had had a certain level of formal education, which, added to his extensive previous travel experience, and his possible scientific interest – his after-death inventory records the rather unusual possession of a pair of magnets – made him a particularly good candidate. And he certainly did what he could: his remarks offer perhaps the most extensive and most detailed description of these matters drawn up at the time.

Walle opens with some general remarks, on types of cotton shrubs, raw cotton sales, on different Indian weights and measures, and on various types of thread or yarn, their uses and qualities.[70] He then goes on to give detailed observations of the actual manufacturing processes involved. It is not clear whether he is able to understand the language – we do know that he is accompanied by his 'dubach or Indian servant', as he calls him – but he is certainly very meticulous in his transcriptions, which take the format of precise reports and observations, very dissimilar to L'Empereur's almost recipe-book style of writing. The first process that he observes and transcribes is that of dyeing cotton yarn. He divides his observation into 12 'operations', which are minutely described and range from '1st operation: Manner of bleaching the thread in skeins and preparing it for receiving the dye', '2nd operation: Manner of disentangling the thread and to conserve it so even during bleaching and dyeing', to '11th operation: Manner of knowing whether the thread

has received the degree or preparation necessary to receive the dye', and '12th Operation: Detail of the Ingredients which enter into cotton dyeing, their nature, type, and properties.' The last then lists the six most important ingredients, with a description of their plants, cultivation, harvesting, preparation, and other uses. They include 'huile de Gengely', gingelly oil, more commonly known as sesame oil, and chay (*oldenlandia umbellata*), a plant of the madder family whose roots were used for red dyes. Given the importance of red dyeing, Walle dwells on this in even greater detail. He divides his observations into that of cultivated and wild chay, giving details of their types, their harvesting (the wild ones, which according to him produced a finer red and grew in forests, were ripped out after the rains of June and July and after those of October and November until mid-January), the quantity of cultivated chay one could expect to harvest per day, and then the manner in which it was prepared for dyeing, making sure to give all possible details and weights. He then discusses the dyeing process proper, detailing eight different infusion stages and six stages of boiling, adding observations on how to judge whether the thread is ready and which sorts of red could be achieved.

Walle then turns to the red-dyeing of entire fabrics, again listing the different infusions step by step, minutely detailing his observations and explanations for them ('Fabrics are dried on the grass and yarn on poles, because the yarn would stick to the grass and one would break it when removing it which is not a problem when it comes to cloth'). In a brief final section he adds a description of how to prepare the cotton to be spun, before turning to his next set of observations, this time taken from the weavers of Mayapur in West Bengal. He begins with a precise description of a typical weaver's house, indicating materials, dimensions, set-up, and usual customs, such as the habit of regularly dampening the walls with water-diluted cow dung and noting that he was told the windows and doors were intentionally kept small as the yarn would break if exposed to too much dry air. What follows is another step-by-step description of Bengali weaving customs, which includes a precise account on how to produce the bamboo reels through which the warp threads were passed in the weaving frame, how these threads were prepared, passed through the reel, and finally woven into fabrics, whose precise description Walle includes, too. Appropriately, Walle ends his reporting with textile finishing practices, or, to be as precise as Walle himself, with 'The Manner of bleaching, polishing and giving shine to the red kerchiefs at Pendelapoly, a village belonging to a Raja which is 60 cosses south of Masulipatam [modern-day Machilipatnam on India's

south-east coast] and which does not pay tributes to the Company.' These processes of washing and beating the textile to remove leftover oil, bleaching it in the sun, adding *cange* to give the red its lustre and finally of folding and then polishing it with the aid of flat pebbles were described with the same attention to detail that characterises the whole of the document.

The form of Walle's memorandum is as interesting as the content itself and provides a rich source of material for any historian of early modern science and knowledge transfer: rather than instructions, Walle notes his observations, say, at what time of day the dyers go out to dig the holes that were to serve as stoves and how these were constructed. In doing so, Walle reveals detailed knowledge of European textile production practices, another reason why he might have been chosen for the reporting in the first place. Thus he notes that 'the wife of the weaver had started to warp at six o'clock in the morning and that she finished at 7 o'clock in the evening and that with one single thread, while in Europe the warping is done with several threads at once.' His statements, however, vary between the strictly technical, such as weights, measures, botanical descriptions, and so forth noted from a pose of neutral observation, and a proto-anthropological travel narrative in which Walle becomes a participant. The most remarkable example of this is his description of dyeing yarn ('3rd operation'), which opens,

> The weaver* [*: It has to be noted that it is the weaver who bleaches and dyes the yarn] weighs out seven *serres* of gingelly oil* [* I will give the description of gingelly oil and its effects elsewhere] which he prepares in the following way, but first of all I will give you the description of an amusing ceremony which is habitually performed before preparing the yarn for bleaching or for receiving the dye.

The ceremony in question is what Walle calls a 'gentile ceremony for their god Yuay which precedes every major operation'. A small statue of the God – or 'idol' as Walle calls it – is put at the bottom of the oil vat first, before being removed, put into a copper cup full of oil. Incense is burnt for it and Walle found it, in his own words, terribly difficult to witness such satanic doings, but was aware that interference would have ended his ability to observe, and thus 'the extreme zeal that I have to make myself useful to the state, to acquire the attention of the minister, and the goodness of M. Trudaine have made me overcome many difficulties and have armed me with an inexpressible patience.' Walle's self-praise aside, he was nevertheless right: the immense detail of personal

observations that he provided was unsurpassed by any of the other eighteenth-century French descriptions of Indian technology.[71]

While exceptional in their form, style, and detail, Walle's observations, like L'Empereur's, are, however, just two not previously discovered examples of the French administration's determined attempt to gather useful knowledge about Asian, in particular Indian, textile production. Such information took different forms and could be sent either by an interested individual like L'Empereur, by somebody especially commissioned, as Walle or Flachat, or indeed be answers to precise questionnaires, such as one sent to India and returned in 1754 with very detailed answers on cotton techniques as employed in and around Surat, ranging from cotton cultivation, planting, harvesting, types and qualities of cottons and their prices, to carding, spinning, preparing the yarns for weaving, bleaching, weaving, weaving patterns and looms, as well as – and this is where the answers become the most detailed and precise – dyes and dyeing.[72]

Why Collect Codified Knowledge?

Given that the French authorities seemed well aware of the much greater potential of embodied skills over codified knowledge, the question poses itself: why did those same authorities, that is, the same Trudaine who made such a concerted effort to get actual skilled foreign workers and the same Hellot who spent so much time as a practitioner working together with other practitioners in his laboratory, also make such an effort to gain seemingly useless codified knowledge? The answer is of course quite obvious: because they didn't think it was useless at all. Instead, I would suggest, three aspects made it very useful to those who sought to overturn the ban on printed textiles: first, the fact that apparently purely 'codified' or 'written' accounts came with baggage – quite literally – that made them potentially practically useful; second; the fact that even without such baggage the experts did believe that they could made practical use of such accounts by using them as the basis for their own experiments; and finally, because the ability to demonstrate 'ownership' of knowledge, global and otherwise, bestowed authority on those who could thereby claim expert status.

First of all, it should be noted that in their attempt to provide knowledge that was to be of practical use, both L'Empereur and Walle, like Beaulieu before them, sent more than just written pages. Their very detailed descriptions were meant to be reproduced and both enclosed whatever they thought was necessary for that to happen. Thus, L'Empereur's letter from Chandanagor of the 25 January 1737 came

with a small box of 101 skeins of silks 'of different colours of the most beautiful dyes of Dacca which were used for embroidery' and with his set of instructions on silk and cotton dyes also came all the drugs necessary to make them, 21 different ingredients individually packed into one box, all of which were given to Fulvy to pass on to the president of the Bureau of Commerce, Fagon, in March 1740.[73]

Walle, as one might expect from his text, was even more thorough. With his report he included a total of 107 drugs and tools, to which he alludes in his text, so as to make the whole of as much practical use as possible. Thus when discussing the different shades of red achieved, he remarks for instance, 'In order to best define the different degrees of colour that the yarn has acquired with each infusion and each boiling, I include a skein of each which I sent to Europe with a label that gives the degree of infusion and boiling so that one may distinguish between them.' And his inventory of items he sent does indeed include 13 such samples indicating the numbers of infusions and boiling. But Walle sent more than that. In fact he seems to have sent just about anything relating to the practices he described, ranging from the potentially very useful, such as the bamboo reels in use in India and the knives employed to produce them, various parts of Indian looms, Indian textiles, and textile tools, to items that would need to be analysed by specialist chemists, botanist, and dyers to make use of them, such as all the drugs, ingredients, and plants he referred to in their different states of preparation, and finally also the simply curious, such as the flat pebbles used to polish the textiles, and even the little idol or statue that had led Walle to extemporise on the trials and tribulations of a good Christian observer. All of this – apart, perhaps, from the statue – would have made Walle's report incredibly useful: Trudaine, and whoever he chose to pass the report on to, would have been able to make direct comparisons for instance between French and Indian shuttles, reels, and madder or sappan-wood solutions and dyes.

However, contemporaries in France seemed convinced that they would be able to make some practical use of similar reports even without their material accompaniments. Hellot did, after all, record L'Empereur's observations which may very well have served as a basis for his laboratory experiments in cooperation with the dyer who worked with him there. The French authorities certainly felt that they had the ability to teach and diffuse new textile technology, not only that which came from practitioners who were willing to pass their inventions on in exchange for some official recognition and rewards, but also that which came via the work of its own experts and

academicians. In the *Bureau du Commerce*'s mission to be *the* authority on French production and manufacturing, the liberal Enlightenment ideal, promoted by Gournay among others, to improve material welfare through science, innovation, and education took root. According to this ideal, outlined by Minard and encapsulated in Figure 4.1, the Bureau's inspectors would no longer be controllers imposing state regulation on recalcitrant producers, but educators and information gatherers, intermediaries between the Bureau and the producers, passing on best practices and ensuring success via a smooth flow of information.[74] In this effort, the French administration of commerce displayed, throughout the eighteenth century, a firm belief in the importance of information gathered and relayed by experts and in the possibility of applying this on the ground. Both the administration and Dufay himself were satisfied with inspectors' efforts to educate producers in the new dyeing regulations drawn up by Dufay and imposed in 1737.[75] Even without the active intervention of the inspectors, the administration seemed convinced of the usefulness of texts on dyeing technology, paying for the printing and distribution of several works on the topic, such as Berthollet's *Elements of the Art of Dyeing*, or indeed commissioning the scientist and academician Macquer to write a practical treatise that was to be accessible to all artists ('un traité pratique qui fut à la portée de tous les artistes') in 1781.[76] Several lists and receipts dated between 1789 and 1790 prove that the regional *intendants* did indeed distribute such works, for instance to, in the words of the Intendant at Rouen, 'the five most intelligent and most employed dyers of my department'.[77] Though undoubtedly less effective than the presence of experts, most usually skilled migrants, it is not impossible that such codified knowledge had been useful.

Despite Dufay's and other chemists' direct impact on legislation about dyeing practices, scholars disagree to what extent the Academician's research and, by extension, the Bureau's collection of codified knowledge, really did change what took place in the dyeing workshops around the country.[78] However, regardless of the precise extent, and even if it ultimately led to no practical implementations whatsoever, the codified knowledge gathered by Trudaine and his coalition was important: and that importance was strategic, political, and rhetorical, part of what, following Steven Kaplan, Hilaire-Pérez calls the 'politisation of technology' under Trudaine and Gournay's aegis in particular.[79] To be, and, perhaps more importantly to be *seen* to be, a centre of knowledge conferred, and confers to this day, a great degree of authority. Trudaine, Gournay, and their allies gathered knowledge not only to implement

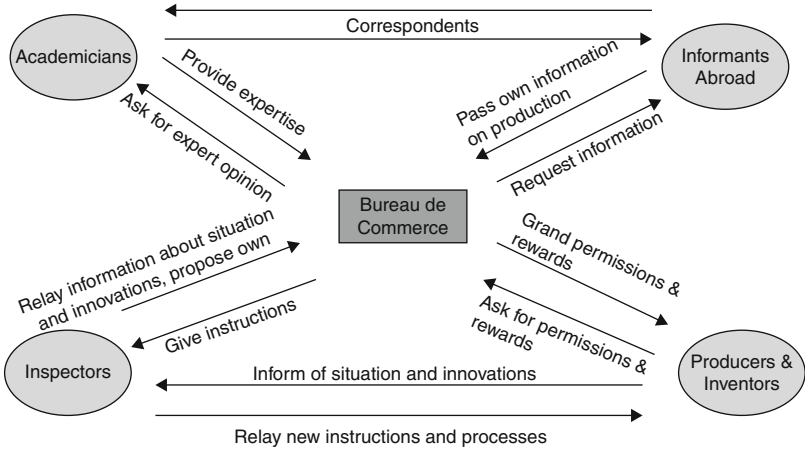


Figure 4.1 The Bureau du Commerce as a knowledge node[80]

it but also to exploit the status that the possession of such knowledge brought with it. Their activities, be these Hellot's membership and contributions to the publications of the Academy of Sciences; Gournay and his circle's involvement with the *Société d'agriculture, de commerce et des arts des États de Bretagne*, France's first improvement society, which, as Shovlin has demonstrated also was a response to ideas about global economic competitiveness and emulation;[81] Gournay's, Forbonnais's, and Morellet's economic treatises; or indeed the latter two's contributions to the *Encyclopédie*; all cemented their status not only as Enlightenment men of letters but also as experts who could speak with authority on such issues. And, as the following chapter will demonstrate, they would need all this clout when it came to winning the argument in favour of liberalisation and to actually changing existing legislation on the production of Asian-style textiles.

Conclusion

The historical focus on Britain as the cradle of the Industrial Revolution and the Whig narrative which plays down the role of the state has given the false impression that the state's role in these events was negligible. Historians have challenged this narrative in recent years and most strongly so when it comes to textiles, which were, after all, the mainspring of the Industrial Revolution.[82] In agreement with this recent

literature, this chapter has demonstrated the importance of the French state not as a block or hindrance to circulation as it acted when it came to Asian textile imports and retail, but as an active agent in the circulation and implementation of useful knowledge. And in that capacity it proved much more successful than it did when trying to regulate trade and consumption. In accordance with eighteenth-century ideals of emulation, the *Bureau du Commerce* in particular, especially Trudaine, Gournay, and their allies, played a crucial role in gathering information and in promoting invention, innovation, and the transfer of skills. Their framework for this was not one of a simple catch-up with Britain. Instead French reformers like Trudaine and Gournay were part of a wider effort to gather useful information and to attract skilled workers from around the world to emulate both foreign dyeing and printing as well as cotton spinning and weaving techniques.

As the cases of Armenian printers in Marseille, Flachat's enterprise near Lyon, Holker's near Rouen, and the many Swiss and German calico printers of the later eighteenth century demonstrate, it was the migration of skilled individuals that had the most immediate practical impact on production in France. However, the Bureau's and the reformers' concerted effort to gather codified knowledge also served its purpose, especially in cases where due to the vast distances and cultural differences involved the migration of workers was less common: the 'baggage' it came with made it potentially useful to experimentation and replication and thus to actual production, but it also cemented the *Bureau*'s and the coalition's role as experts. And it was the question of who was expert enough to speak authoritatively on the conditions of textile production in France that became the central issue in the heated public debates leading up to the repeal of the calico ban in 1759 – debates that will be the focus of the following chapter.

Plate 1.1 Petticoat. Painted and dyed cotton chintz, made on the Coromandel Coast, India for the Western market, *c*.1725. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Plate 1.2 Palimpore. Hand-painted, mordant-dyed, and resist-dyed on the Coromandel Coast, India, c.1725–50. Cotton. Made for the Western market. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Plate 1.3 Banyan or *Robe de chambre*. Man's informal robe. Cotton painted and dyed on the Coromandel Coast *c.*1750–75, tailored in Europe. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Plate 1.4 Caraco jacket and petticoat. Hand-drawn, resist and mordant dyed cotton from the Coromandel Coast for the Western market, tailored in Europe in the 1770s. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Plate 1.5 Fragment of Indian cotton. Simple, resist-dyed blue cotton made in India and exported to Egypt between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Plate 1.6 Banyan. Man's housecoat made from Chinese silk damask, woven for export to Europe, *c*.1720–50. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Plate 1.7 Chinese silk taffety. Hand-painted Chinese silk, *c.*1750. Reproduced by kind permission of Woburn Abbey and Lucy Johnson

Plate 1.8, 1.9 Chafarcanis. Eighteenth-century printed cottons from Diyabakir, traded to France. Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, coté C 3374. All rights reserved

Plate 1.10 Ajami. Imported Levantine cotton, printed in Marseille. Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, coté C 3374. All rights reserved

Plate 1.11, 1.12 Amams. Levantine cottons printed in Marseille. Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, coté C 3374. All rights reserved


Toilles de Cotton
peintes a Marsille
1786.
Il faut 4. Aunes 3/4 pour faire l'Aune de France
Indiennes ou Guinées
La Largeur de la toille en de 4. Aune et la longueur de la piece de 68. Aunes
196
127
128
129
130
131
132

Plate 1.13

Plate 1.13, 1.14 Samples of Marseille printed and painted cottons. Collected in 1736 for Richelieu's collection to showcase production taking place. © Bibliothèque nationale de France (Collection Richelieu – Estampes LH 45)

Plate 2.1 Carte des Traites. Map dated 1770 illustrating the French tax zones. © Bibliothèque nationale de France (Cartes et plans, GE D-15312)

Plate 3.1 Gabriel Maria Rossetti, *La Fabrique de Wetter*, 1764, detail: Wetter in his factory. Calico-printing tables in the background. © Philippe Gromelle, Musée d'art et d'histoire d'Orange

Plate 3.2 Gabriel Maria Rossetti, *La Fabrique de Wetter*, 1764, detail: *Pinceauteuses*. Hand-painting and finishing the printed textiles. © Philippe Gromelle, Musée d'art et d'histoire d'Orange

Plate 5.1 Samples sent out with the *Journal Oeconomique* (June 1755). Resist-dyed textiles produced by Cottin, Cabannes, and Co. in the Arsenal in Paris. © Bibliothèque nationale de France

5
Enlightenment Campaigning

John Robertson has demonstrated that political economy was a defining feature of the Enlightenment as a pan-European movement.[1] The reverse, however, was also true: 'Enlightenment' was central to the emergence of political economy as a discipline in France, which in turn was inextricably linked to the country's engagement in global trade. The interdependence of Enlightenment and political economy has partly been recognised by French scholars of the Gournay circle.[2] It is also studied by Anglo-American scholars who are now focusing on political economy's global and revolutionary aspects.[3] As this chapter demonstrates, the genesis of an early and very particular form of economic liberalism in eighteenth-century France was a direct result of its global connections and was inextricably linked to the cause of the French Enlightenment. Like their second *cause célèbre*, the abolition of the French Indies Company's monopoly in 1769, the first great public victory for Vincent de Gournay and his allies, had to do with global trade – with Asian textiles to be precise: it was the lifting of the French calico prohibition in 1759. The public relations campaign they fought for it was a battle of the French Enlightenment movement, both when it came to the principles underlying their cause, to the campaigning style, and to the actual personnel involved: even more than Gournay himself, Morellet, the polemic publicist who fronted the battle to sway public opinion in favour of liberalisation in both the French Indies Company monopoly controversy in 1769 and the *toiles peintes* debate ten years earlier, was as much a member of the political economists' circle as he was of the *philosophe* party.

In this controversy the would-be liberalisers had to face the combined weight of the French textile corporations and they did so in

the extremely charged climate of the 1750s. The decade was marked by the aftershocks from the lacklustre French performance in the War of Austrian Succession (1740–48); by the looming failure of the Seven Years' War (1756–63); the power struggle between king and the Paris Parlement, which led to the 1753 exiling of parliamentarians; the launch, in 1751, of the greatest of Enlightenment projects, Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*; and the venomous clashes between the *philosophes* and their opponents, intensifying with the publication of the series of articles ridiculing the *lumières* known as the affaire of the Cacouacs in 1757–58 and reaching boiling point with the production of Palissot's aggressively satirical play *Les Philosophes* in 1760. In an increasingly anxious political climate the royal assassination attempt by Damiens in 1757 marked the beginning of a ruthless clamp-down on any perceived opposition. Combined with the panic about the seeming spread of atheism which culminated in the 1759 condemnation of Helvétius's 1758 *De L'Esprit*, this led to the wider repression of the French Enlightenment movement, notably to the withdrawal of royal *privilège* from the *Encyclopédie* in same year.

Any campaign by sympathisers of the *philosophes* in this climate was bound to meet stiff opposition and the debate about calico liberalisation turned out to be an acrimonious one. It pitched the 'liberals' around Gournay and Trudaine against the assembled might of the established French textile interests. By the mid-1750s Gournay and his circle had built up an impressive arsenal with which to win any such debate and they had already scored a victory, albeit a smaller and less public one, in partly liberalising French textile exports to the Levant.[4] The circle had made a concerted effort to collect, translate, write, and publish texts on political economy which developed and supported their analytical stance.[5] With a similar effort in gathering information on production, trading conditions, and technology both in France and abroad outlined in the previous chapter, they now had sufficient evidence that France was capable of large-scale cotton spinning, weaving, and dyeing. They could also produce evidence both of the availability of knowledge about Asian dyeing and printing technology and of France's ability to imitate it. Moreover, by the mid-1750s the administration of commerce had realised that the ban clearly was not working and officials were now open to change. However, an administration open to change was one thing, winning over public opinion was quite another. The already established French textile manufactures, the *anciennes manufactures* as they were referred to in the ensuing debate, were not enthusiastic about

having a new branch of industry compete with them. And they proved a mighty adversary indeed.

The *anciennes manufactures*: Arguments and Strategy

The importance and support that Colbert had accorded to manufactures in general, and to textile manufactures in particular, remained a cornerstone of French economic policy, and the established manufacturing centres, especially Lyon's *Grande Fabrique de Soie*, its famous silk manufacturing guild, but equally Tours, Paris, and later also Rouen as a centre for cotton production, retained this prestige throughout our period.[6] And, throughout our period, the manufacturing guilds exploited that position to fight against Asian and Asian-style textiles. They did not leave it at the original prohibition of 1686: given the scale and pervasiveness of smuggling and consumption as well as the regular exceptions and exemptions granted to Marseilles and the French East India Companies, they kept up the pressure and by the 1750s they had built up quite a tradition of protest. This involved certain stock-in-trade arguments which would persist throughout the fierce public debate in the 1750s as would the institutions behind them, who collaborated closely in their campaigns: Lyon, Tours, and Paris, with the later and very important addition of Rouen, who were regularly supported by Nîmes, Reims, Troyes, and Amiens.[7]

The merchant-manufacturers had a long tradition of expressing their concerns in a variety of means: in printed memoranda, in letters to the authorities, mainly to the Controller General, and also via their deputies of commerce who voiced complaints to the Council and Bureau of Commerce on a regular basis, supporting and echoing the arguments made by the guilds.[8] The particular focus here will be on printed pamphlets, which became of crucial importance when the calico debate burst onto the public sphere in the 1750s. Both in terms of argument, rhetoric, and strategy, as well as in authorship, these tracts show a remarkable consistency over the decades. It is hence possible to give a systematic rather than chronological analysis of a sample of these interventions. The sample chosen here is comprehensive, covering the period 1701 to 1759 and comprising 23 printed tracts, which range in length from between 3 to 11 pages.[9] The pamphlets share a conservative outlook in which paternalist moral arguments are seamlessly blended with a protectionist and mercantilist rationale to demand that the royal administration reverse recent developments harmful to their industry.

The Moral Economy

The interventions follow the age-old model of petitioning the paternalist authority of the benevolent king as fount of justice and restorer of good order, a rhetoric characteristic of appeals to the authorities from the middle ages to the eighteenth century, be those individual requests for Royal pardons, official documents by institutional bodies such as the *parlements*, or expressions of the moral economy of the crowd during bread riots.[10] In this scenario the king as protector of his loyal and devoted subjects (read 'the manufacturers') will, once he is made aware of their unjust suffering, restore order and justice. Or as the merchant-manufacturers of Reims put it with masterful obsequiousness,

> deign, Sire, to cast a favourable eye on the miseries which threaten your dutiful subjects; you are their absolute Master, may you also be their Father. Their bread is being stolen from them [...] but you will not let that happen, and they shall doubly owe their lives to you which they are always ready to sacrifice for your glory and for the conservation of Your Majesty.[11]

In many of the tracts the king by divine right morphs into God the Father himself, and the supplicants' faith in his unlimited power is touching, if not perhaps quite genuine. Various memoranda from between 1701 and 1705 claim that it would take but one word from Louis XIV and the French would obey: his courtiers, and especially the ladies of the court, would cease to wear Asian fabrics, and since they set the fashion for the country and indeed for the whole of Europe, all consumption would cease.[12] Whether due to stubbornness, lack of imagination, or simple hypocrisy, their faith, at least on paper, remains unshaken and they still make the same claim over 50 years later under the sun king's successor.[13] Given this rhetorical stance, the memoranda contain an unfortunate amount of tears, groans and wailing, much undeserved suffering, trembling, and misery, ceaseless declarations of eternal devotion to the most tender, most paternal, and most beloved of all kings, and enough instances of desperate subjects throwing themselves at the feet of the throne that the metaphorical throne room must have been overflowing. This rhetoric was adaptable to different recipients. The Controller General could also be cast as the 'père du peuple' or the 'guardian angel' who would deliver them from their plight; and in a pinch the manufacturers prostrated themselves at the feet of the Royal Council quite as happily as at those of the king himself.[14]

To convince their interlocutors that intervention was indispensable, the pamphlets, much like any conservative discourse these days, relied on a double contrast: between an idealised past and a degenerate present on the one hand, and between the virtuous suffering majority and a wicked exploitative minority on the other. To establish the vision of the perfect past now lost, the pamphlets frequently invoked the figure of Colbert and his protectionist policies. When this period of perfection was to have happened was subject to impressive variation. Tracts from the early eighteenth century locate it in the years before Asian textiles became popular, according to them roughly thirty years previously, thus before the 1670s.[15] However, this prelapsarian paradise moved forward with time: in the tracts written in the 1730s and 1740s it had now lasted until 1720, when officials ceased automatically burning all seized textiles which thereby introduced pernicious tolerance for wearing and selling;[16] and by the 1750s the failure of the strict execution of the prohibition was said to be no older than one or two decades. Additionally the manufactures now claimed to have a worthy tradition to uphold: Already in the 1730s they pointed to the established tradition of royal protection via calico prohibitions,[17] and, with an astonishing disregard for arithmetic, by the mid- to late 1750s they variously refer to the series of prohibitions passed since 1686 as being 70 years, 80 years, or 'nearly a century' old. All in all the repeated legislation now amounted to an 'edifice' of over 78 laws, which the unnamed authors of the *Reflections on the Current State of the Silk Industry* helpfully attached as an appendix.[18]

Intent on restoring this imaginary golden age of the past, the conservatism of the pamphlets perceives any form of novelty as a threat: 'innovations', the Rouen mercers guild warned, 'are always dangerous'.[19] The Paris merchant-producers are particularly agitated in their denunciation of the terrible dangers of female desire, fashion, and novelty:

> It is the nature of such novelty to invade everything, & to destroy all other kinds of commerce; it is well-known what power fashion has: endorsed by a sex that is often too sensitive to its charms it exercises tyrannical powers to which everything else must cede. It is thus that the true commerce of the nation gives way to useless novelties, which tighten the boundaries, & which have no ties to the general good. It is thus that the old & solid merchants are shaken, while those vile insects of commerce, which have no other trade but to breach the laws with impunity and no other talent but to impose upon public incredulity, enrich themselves by ruining the State.[20]

The reference to insects reveals the second pillar of the conservative discourse of contrast. If a virtuous past is held up against the degenerate present, so is the virtuous – and suffering – majority contrasted to a wicked and profiteering minority who prefer their private interest to the common good. The precise identity of this minority can vary. It frequently includes smugglers, foreigners, women, and, at least in the early years, also a purported *cabale* of retailers who corrupted women's tastes in favour of *indiennes*. Most commonly, however, before the 1750s this group was made up of the agents and shareholders of the French Indies Company and the pamphlets' authors took pains to emphasise how small the number of those profiteering from the Company's imports was compared to those who suffered due to the unemployment this caused: the sterile self-interest of 56,000 shareholders, only one sixteenth of Paris' population, led, so the Troyes merchant-producers claimed, to the suffering and potential ruin of 'millions' of workers, whose industry contributed to the good of all.[21] When the problem no longer was importation but the spectre of production, this argument – still popular today to stigmatise any group, from refugees to benefit claimants – could easily be applied to would-be producers instead of Indies Company shareholders, and it became one of the favourite points to be made in the tracts: if permission to print was given, Nîmes' guild of silk merchants and producers warned, two or three individuals would buy their personal gain at the cost of the misery of 'thousands of families'.[22]

Mercantilism

These pleas for justice were inevitably accompanied by economic arguments which would later be termed 'mercantilist'.[23] The two cannot in fact be separated. The request to alleviate the suffering of textile workers is always supplemented with an association of the manufacturing industry with the general good of the nation according to Colbertist maxims. Manufactures are essential to national prosperity: they give employment, spread abundance, circulate wealth, make agriculture flourish, use the nation's raw materials, and by exporting finished high-quality goods bring in species reserves, which the importation of Asian textiles would drain. Should the manufactures thus be allowed to fail, the consequences would be dramatic. Mass unemployment would lead to misery, starvation, and beggary, and, even more harmful for the state, to the mass emigration of skilled workers, worse even than that caused by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Those workers would sell their

advanced textile knowledge to France's foreign competitors, permitting them to catch up with France's technical advances, which in turn meant that they could now compete with France internationally and would no longer need to buy its exports.

In a mindset in which foreign trade was considered a zero-sum-game and hence 'war by other means', the spectre of France's foreign rivals was a powerful argument and indeed one of the most frequently advanced. Foreign trading nations were invoked as a constant threat: lurking, ready to pounce and to flood the French market with their Asian and Asian-style fabrics, ruining all French textile manufactures in the process. In 1702 already, a jointly written memorandum of the major textile producing guilds purports to cite the Dutch ambassador who at the sight of the first French East India Company ship returning laden with Asian textiles was to have exclaimed that France would shortly be ruined.[24] A rather clumsy device perhaps, but one that nevertheless proved popular: in the more heated climate of the 1750s, the textile producers in Normandy would publish an alleged correspondence between a Dutch and British merchant, in which the former was congratulating himself on the opportunity to flood the French market with calicoes as soon as the ban was lifted, while the latter expressed due incredulity that a government as wise as that of the French would actually permit such a thing.[25] Smuggling was used both as a threat and as evidence throughout the period: if it was happening now, so the argument ran, imagine how bad it would be if tolerance continued or once printing was permitted. Indeed, French calico production, according to the *anciennes manufactures*, would be but a pretext for the illicit introduction of foreign-made textiles as France itself could not possibly compete. The impossibility of competition was an allegation repeated throughout the decades, whether it was based on the claim in the early years that the French East India Company could never beat the low prices achieved by its Dutch and English rivals, or on the assertion that France could not match either the quality of Indian colours or the low prices of Indian, Swiss, Dutch, or British producers.[26] The final clincher when it came to convincing the readership of the foreign threat was that France's worst rival, England, did not itself permit imports of the very same calicoes they smuggled into France. The example of Great Britain, which, according to the French manufactures, if contrary to actual fact, managed to implement a successful calico prohibition permeates the pamphlets from the early eighteenth century up to 1759.[27] Virtually all of them concluded their threats with another dire warning: the current suffering was but a prelude. If

nothing was done the French manufacturing sector would be utterly destroyed and worst of all, once it was lost it would be lost forever – it could never be revived.

Rhetoric and Strategy

While the pamphlets' style and rhetoric are consistent overall, certain changes in strategy occur when the manufactures faced their greatest threat yet, that of the possible lifting of the calico ban coupled with a permission to print textiles in France. As formidable lobbying and interest groups, the textile manufacturing guilds had always been well aware of who their opponents were and who in government supported them. In the 1750s they quickly realised that the game had changed – and who was to blame for that. According to a remarkable document from the *Grande Fabrique*'s archives in Lyon, dated from 1757 and entitled 'Plan of operations necessary to obtain a serious and solid prohibition of all foreign textiles in France', the perennial problem of the French obsession with foreign novelties had been compounded by the machinations of one single person: Gournay. The 'system of Mylord de Gournay' was 'a system destructive of the manufactures, but presented artfully and cleverly under the most specious and brilliant disguise'; and worst of all perhaps, it seemed to have convinced Trudaine, whom the guild officials were hoping to win back to their side.[28]

The answer to this threat was close cooperation between the different guilds. As their correspondence reveals, Rouen and Lyon collaborated closely during these years, and the 'Plan of operations', which insisted on the importance of the cooperation not only between the guilds but also between their deputies, was itself a set of instructions to the Parisian guilds on how to write and then present a pamphlet on the matter.[29] The usual way to deliver the tracts was to send them accompanied by a personal letter to various officials and high-ranking aristocrats or clergymen.[30] The 'Plan of operations' is a remarkable testimony to the lobbying power and savvy of the guilds. It is clear about whom to approach: the Indies Company, they pointed out, would take a financial hit if production in France was permitted and almost all the 'grand seigneurs' of the kingdom were shareholders. Most important of course would be to win over the king and they made several suggestions about who would be the right person to influence him. Furthermore they would need to get access to the Controller General, the Intendants of Commerce, and the Deputies of the French cities. And they were just as explicit in how to gain access to them:

> Everybody needs to make use of their acquaintances and protectors, nothing must be left undone, not even influencing servants. Such beneficially base acts [salutaires bassesses] often bring about happy results. One *écu* given to the porter will gain you entry, one *écu* to the lackey leads you to the valet, and one *louis* given to the latter opens the door to the master.

The whole lobbying strategy was laid out with the precision of a military campaign – and with the self-perception of being involved in one. Having outlined how the Parisian guild were to compose their piece and how and to whom to present it, the authors added that this move was only to be made 'once the artillery is in place, the plan of action is agreed upon and the moment well chosen'.

As the situation became more threatening to their interests, the manufacturing corporations also adapted their rhetoric somewhat. Facing the authority of the Bureau of Commerce – and the expertise gained by Gournay and his allies, they increasingly included detailed statistics and calculations to strengthen their own truth claims. Earlier pamphlets had also given some factual examples and numbers. In the jointly written 1702 memorandum for instance the producers claimed that 'the city of Lyon had, within its walls seen eight to nine thousand workers employed: presently there are not even six hundred'.[31] However, the use of – sometimes rather implausible – statistics increased dramatically during the 1750s, when pamphlets indicated wildly varying, but always very dramatic, statements of how many hundreds of thousands of workers were facing imminent unemployment and ruin. Tours claimed that one million would be ruined, Rouen was convinced that double that number would be made unemployed – rather bold claims given that this would amount to five to ten per cent of the total French population.[32]

Their second innovation was also outlined in the operations plan. Having explained how and where to insert the factual arguments in favour of prohibition, they then instructed, 'Now you must paint a touching picture of the present misery.' The unfortunate result was the constant hyperbole of all the desperately suffering subjects throwing themselves at the king's mercy. In the preceding decades, the manufacturers had made their demands with a sense of confidence if not entitlement. In the new more difficult climate they decided to try their hand at melodrama and literary flourish; and the panoply of stylistic devices they managed to cram into their pamphlets was certainly impressive, in terms of quantity if not perhaps in quality.

While we may cringe at some of their rhetoric, the textile guilds were undoubtedly right in their analysis of the situation. By the 1750s the climate had changed: the prohibition protecting their industry's interest was in serious danger of being repealed.

The *Affaire des toiles peintes* and the Bureau of Commerce

Several proposals for to permit textile printing in France had been made over the preceding decades.[33] However, they were always rejected without much ado by the *Bureau du Commerce*, usually by invoking the arguments of the manufactures above and by adding that it would be impossible to distinguish those of French make from foreign imitations, which would permit the latter to be smuggled in and consumed en masse.[34] The manufacturing cities, their deputies of commerce, and the members of the Bureau who supported them would thus have been justified in assuming that nothing had changed when several demands for permission to produce *indiennes* in France had been gathered together and were brought forward for discussion at the Bureau in 1749. But it had: Orry had been replaced by Machault d'Arnouville as Controller General in late 1745 and France's weak performance in the War of Austrian succession together with its dismal financial situation meant that the administration felt the need for reforms. This clearly also applied to the calico ban which, obvious to all and sundry, was not observed. When asked for their view on two proposals evaluated by Hellot, the deputies offered the usual dismissal: the danger of increased smuggling and of harm to the established manufactures meant that the demands should be refused; the same reasons that had led to the original prohibition still applied, now even more so as since then a cotton industry had sprung up in and around Rouen in Normandy which now needed protection, too. However, all of a sudden this was not enough: they were told that this time their justification was insufficient and they had to offer a more detailed argument. More surprisingly perhaps, the *rapporteur* in charge of the issue for the Bureau and who requested these details was Jacques-Marie Jérôme Michau de Montaran, most emphatically *not* a member of the Gournay circle nor in any way enamoured of liberalisation or deregulation per se. Unfortunately for the manufactures and their representatives, there was by now a consensus between both 'liberals' and the more conservative members of the Bureau that the prohibition was not working and that more beneficial alternative arrangements had to be made.

Thanks to their conscientious record-keeping the progress of the debate within the Bureau is well documented. The demands for permission to print calicoes by Julien, who had formerly run a calico workshop in Avignon before the Papal Concordat that had suppressed all printing there, and by Wetter, who had a similar enterprise in Marseille, were brought before the Bureau in June 1749.[35] Both producers had provided samples of their work and both promised safeguards to prevent their textiles from becoming a pretext for smuggling: Julien proposed to print only kerchiefs, tablecloths, and coffee napkins ('serviettes à Caffé') in sizes prescribed by the *privilège* that he hoped to receive, while Wetter promised to print only on linen of French manufacture and of similarly fixed dimensions to ensure no fraud could take place.[36] Both assured that they were able to produce more cheaply and of as good quality as their foreign competitors. Their demands were given weight by Hellot's official judgement. Having examined and tested their samples he found that on the fabrics sent by Julien 'the colours [were] as solid as all of those made in England, Holland, Switzerland, and even in India', while tests he ran on those by Wetter showed that, not counting black, the five colours printed, blue, green, red, violet, and yellow, were colourfast, with only the first two losing some of their brightness. Hellot spoke as an expert on textiles in France, not only as an academic chemist, and while he judged that permission to print in and near Marseille would be dangerous since the location would encourage smuggling, when it came to Julien's proposition he was more favourable. As, according to Hellot, the prohibition was ignored, especially when it came to furnishing, and as France itself produced no textile that would be the equivalent to calicoes for furnishing, he felt that permission ought to be granted for printing and painting fabrics in designs suitable for furnishing but not for clothing. This, he opined, would not be disadvantageous and would instead increase employment by taking it away from foreign competitors, while encouraging at the same time cotton production in France's colonies and the manufacture of white cottons in France itself.[37] A later claimant, Grimpel, who proposed printing on siamoises, cotton textiles produced mainly in and around Rouen, was added to the discussion subsequently and his demand was treated in tandem with those of Wetter and Julien.

The proof that France had the technological capability to produce Asian-style textiles of good quality and the clear evidence that the ban on consumption was not working, meant that a simple out-of-hand rejection was no longer acceptable. Montaran thus sought more detailed views both from the deputies, from the inspectors general of

manufacture, and a few other experts. He then relayed these to the Bureau. It took four sessions to hear them all.[38] Montaran divided the opinions he had gathered into three camps: the first, represented by Pradier, inspector general of manufactures, Gilly, a former deputy of commerce and now one of the directors of the French Indies Company, and one anonymous contributor, advocated a general permission to print and paint; the second by contrast opposed any permission at all and was made up of Bonneval, who like Pradier was inspector general of manufactures, and of the deputies for Paris and Rouen; the third position was a compromise between the two and espoused by the majority of deputies and, as we have seen, by Hellot.

The views are all characterised by a pragmatic Colbertism, in line with that of earlier decades. In their individual contributions Pradier, Gilly, and the anonymous commentator first of all pointed to the vast extent of consumption and smuggling both in France and in its colonies and to the amount of specie lost because of it. They then examined in detail which French-made textiles could suffer from a permission to produce calicoes and found that the damage would be limited. They agreed that the striped and chequered multi-coloured cottons currently produced in Rouen might indeed be partly replaced by calicoes but disagreed whether there would be much danger to cheap *petites étoffes*, and felt that there would be hardly any impact on tapestries and none at all on damasks and *brocatelles*, on any winter fabrics, *toiles peintes* being summer fabrics only, or indeed on taffetas, which were cheaper than calicoes and would continue to be used for lining. They concluded that producing in France would cut down on smuggling (the textiles would not bear the extra costs caused by the hazards of smuggling, would therefore be cheaper, and thus make smuggling cost-ineffective), gain France the labour currently employed in calico production abroad, and allow France itself to export due to its well-established superiority in textile design. Furthermore it would lead to increased weaving of white cotton textiles, which could give employment to those who might be made redundant should sales in traditional textiles fall; it would make use of the cotton now produced in the French colonies and brought back from the Levant; and it would be a way to make up for the losses suffered by the batistes manufacture in Saint-Quentin, which had suffered a blow due to the recent British import restrictions on their fine linens. Moreover, as Gilly pointed out, calicoes were indispensable for the slave trade and it would therefore be beneficial for France to produce them itself rather than having to import them. On a more general note he pointed out that the protection necessary to first establish France's

woollen and silk industries was no longer needed now that they were flourishing. Gilly and his allies therefore concluded that production in France should be permitted openly, not by special privilege, but that import bans should be kept in place.[39]

A similar cost–benefit analysis based on mercantilist assumptions was also offered by the second camp, but they came to the diametrically opposite conclusion. As may be expected, the most vehement was the deputy for Rouen, Pasquier, who offered a point-by-point refutation of Gilly's memorandum. Even when disagreeing with Gilly on the wider question of whether established industries needed state protection, his arguments were as much about conditions on the ground as their opponents' had been – diverging ideological considerations did not enter into them. Instead he argued in great detail about various types, prices, and qualities of silks, woollens, and linens and considered which of these would be suitable for printing and whether this would procure any advantages (it wouldn't). Both he and Bonneval found that calicoes would replace a great part of the established manufactures' outputs and particularly threaten the *petites étoffes*, silks, cottons, woollens of the lowest quality and price which could not be exported anyway. Pasquier pointed to the impact failing manufactures would then have on the production of raw materials, in particular on agriculture and sheep farming; and insisted that the loss of employment in silk manufacturing could not be made up for by printing as for the same size of finished piece a silk textile would require 10,000 workers where a printed one would only employ 100. Moreover, he claimed that France could never compete with India, where production cost three-quarters less; export would never be an option as other Europeans who printed on imported Indian or on home-made textiles would simply steal French designs as soon as they were produced; and printing would not be able to rescue Saint-Quentin's batiste production either as their linens were too expensive and much too prone to wrinkle to be of use as clothing, curtains, or bedspreads. All in all, Bonneval and Pasquier concluded, no permission of any kind should be given.[40]

Comparable considerations motivated the majority view, that of Hellot and the remaining deputies of commerce. They explicitly disagreed with Gilly and emphasised that they would prefer the prohibition to be imposed, but 'ceding to circumstances', they offered their alternative. The joint statement set out a general premise, one of the stock-in-trade tenets of Colbertist economics: it was harmful for a country to import manufactured goods that it was capable of producing itself. Since the prohibition was not being observed and printed textiles *were*

being introduced into France, it would be better to engage in some limited production itself. They proposed that the ban on usage and wearing be kept up but that three to four entrepreneurs be permitted to start printing: but only on French Indies Company-imported fabrics to give cotton textile producers in France time to catch up, only for export and the slave trade, and preferably situated either in free ports or in the frontier provinces.[41]

Montaran, in his own reflections, which set out and weighed all the previous arguments and their counter-arguments, more or less agreed with these proposals: he suggested that Wetter, Julien, and Grimpel be given permission for three to five years to print on French *siamoises* and French Indies Company-imported white cottons, which would be registered, marked, and taxed, with all possible safeguards applied. They were to establish their workshops in Marseille, Le Havre, and Lorient and be encouraged to export as much of their production as possible, which would, in France itself, be permitted for use as furnishing but not for clothing, a measure imposed via strengthened execution of the original prohibition on import and wearing.[42] In the last session on the topic, when all views were heard and Montaran had offered his own, four members of the Bureau, including Trudaine, rallied to his side, especially after they further reduced the permission and advocated permitting only one single manufacture to be situated in Lorient. However, the Bureau's president, Louis-Charles de Machault, disagreed: he and two other members wanted all demands rejected and the prohibition more strictly executed. Thus, no compromise was achieved and the question remained unresolved.[43]

An Alliance between 'Colbertists' and 'Liberals': Forbonnais and Montaran

As this last session revealed, in reality the division was between two camps: one that was utterly opposed to any changes to the prohibition, and another that, whether for more ideological or more pragmatic reasons, wanted some kind of reform and at least a limited permission to produce in France. This camp was made up of an alliance between the traditional Colbertists and those 'liberals' who would soon associate themselves with Gournay. Such an alliance was possible because, like the range of discourses and practices that make up what we now summarise as 'mercantilism', the debate at this stage remained completely pragmatic and focused solely on the issue at hand.[44] Nobody at this stage invoked any wider ideological principles. This dimension

would come later: in 1749 Gournay had not yet joined the Bureau of Commerce (his first session was in April 1751), nor had he and his circle yet produced the writings and translations that would shape his stance.

In his reflections on the debate Montaran reveals his own faith in the Colbertian system of production regulation, in which manufactures were to be encouraged, guided, and protected, but also strictly regulated so that the constantly high quality of its products would guarantee stable exports, a vision strongly opposed by Gournay who advocated the freedom to produce, with only the market and consumers as the arbiters of price and quality.[45] Nevertheless Montaran's stance on calico production in France was, at the time, endorsed both by Trudaine and, though without direct reference to him, also by one of the Gournay circle's most prominent members, François Véron Duverger de Forbonnais (1722–1800) in his 1755 *Consideration of the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Calico Prohibition*.

Forbonnais's contribution has puzzled both contemporary commentators and modern scholars due to its rather unexpected conservatism. His arguments are in fact more or less a resumé of those already summarised by Montaran, only perhaps set out a little more clearly. Like Montaran and the majority of the deputies of commerce, he concluded that the prohibition on usage and wearing had to be imposed more strictly, but that a few manufactures should be permitted in the free ports or frontier provinces (*provinces réputées étrangères*). If this worked out, such permissions could always be extended to the rest of the country: by then one would know for certain that this would be feasible and beneficial.[46] This apparent conservatism by one of the leading figures of a group that advocated the removal of the state from production regulation has perplexed modern scholars. It is perhaps one of the reasons that Catherine Larrère once classed him among the 'mercantilists'. However, contemporary scholars have since firmly associated him with the Gournay circle.[47] One of the first historians of the Gournay circle, Simone Meysonnier, has tried to explain this apparent contradiction by claiming that the *Examen* was a clever strategy to discredit Montaran's reactionary arguments expounded by Forbonnais through juxtaposing them with Gournay's *Observations sur l'Examen*, which were appended to Forbonnais's.[48] However, such an explanation is weakened by the fact that, as the third and final part of the book, Forbonnais included his *Reply to the Observation to the Examen*, in which he refuted Gournay's objections one by one – surely not the best way to invalidate one's claims. Moreover his position is perfectly consistent with that he expressed in his article on smuggling for the *Encyclopédie*.[49] At the time, Grimm discovered no

such clever ruse either. He simply thought the *Examen* was badly done, by an author he otherwise admired: badly written and badly thought out, leaning towards despotism rather than enlightenment.[50]

However, Forbonnais's position is in fact not problematic at all. There are two reasons for this. First of all, the so-called Gournay circle was not a bloc or a rigid 'school' in the way the later Physiocrats were.[51] Second, his stance only poses difficulties if the reader operates under the false impression of a binary opposition between 'mercantilism' and the 'liberalism' advocated by Gournay. For Gournay's brand of economic liberalism was not per se 'anti-mercantilist'. Indeed, mercantilism itself was far from a rigid doctrine and even as a loose set of discourses and practices it had developed significantly by the mid-eighteenth century. It was by no means a unified economic ideology in the way Mirabeau and Adam Smith later portrayed it, the first to even coin the term 'mercantile system'.[52] Hence, Gournay and his allies did not perceive themselves as a new versus an old 'school' of thought. In their mind they simply proposed a better way of achieving the same goal: the common good of the nation, internal prosperity, and external strength. This is evident in the fact that one of Gournay's most important written works was the translation and annotation of the classic mercantilist author Child, and that he was quite happy to use what we would now think of as the 'mercantilist' arsenal: he was strongly in favour of instituting a French equivalent of the British Navigation Acts.

As a consequence, the 'liberals', including Forbonnais, were not very liberal by modern standards. Meysonnier termed Gournay's stance 'egalitarian liberalism', which she defines as more akin to Keynesian interventionism than to modern economic liberalism, and whose tenets were both 'equity and justice', and 'liberty and protection'.[53] Gournay's three main goals in economic policy were the liberalisation of work (for instance through the abolition or at least reduction of guild powers), the liberation of trade and productive activity nationally (through the abolition of internal trade barriers and state regulation of production, through a lowering of interest rates, and the reduction of the number of unproductive members of society), and – quite contrary to more modern doctrines of liberalism – the implementation of a French equivalent for the British Navigation Acts. While Gournay's and his circle's economic experience and framework were global, their philosophy and political economy European, with a markedly British influence, their objectives were purely national or even nationalist: what they sought to achieve was economic growth and regeneration of France in direct competition with their neighbours across the Channel and elsewhere.[54]

Economic liberalisation was invoked first of all as a means to these ends, not as an end in itself. Hence Gournay and his collaborators advocated several profoundly 'illiberal policies', such as navigation acts or indeed the subordination of the colonies and their economies to the needs of the metropolis as Forbonnais upheld in his article 'Colonies' for the *Encyclopédie*.[55] Forbonnais's position in the calico debate is therefore consistent with that of other members of the Gournay circle, even if it situates him at the more conservative end. It is also worth remembering that at this point Forbonnais was echoing not only Montaran's but also Trudaine's vision of the way forward and that between the two camps in the Bureau, Montaran actually represented the middle ground at that point, not the reactionary conservative wing.

Moreover, if Gournay and his circle were not economic liberals in the modern sense of the word, Colbert – and many of his successors – were not quite as 'Colbertist' as they were later made out to be: Colbert, who had himself asserted that 'liberty was the soul of commerce', had always believed in competition as a motor of productivity, but, as a pragmatist, he had first wanted to build up the nascent French manufactures to a level where they could actually sustain such competition.[56] This aspect of Colbert's economic policy inspires Minard to link him directly to the later Gournay circle.[57] It was also precisely the point that Gilly had made when arguing for the permission to produce in France. Gournay himself was well aware of this. In one of his better-known memoranda on commerce, he drove home that point: Colbert, he wrote, had never had the intention to protect any industry beyond its infancy. When industries were well established, any restrictions on trade should be lifted.[58] Colbert's 'liberal legacy' was thus an angle of attack to which the manufacturers pleading for protectionism in his name were particularly vulnerable, which explains why many of their later pamphlets tried to reappropriate Colbert's legacy.

A more emphatic assertion of liberal principles came slightly later and was then not expressed by Forbonnais but by the more 'radical' members of the Gournay circle and by the 'philosophe' spectrum of the public sphere. Including as it does Gournay's observations, Forbonnais's text is in fact situated precisely at the turning point from pragmatic cooperation to a more forceful intellectual differentiation and ideological repositioning and represents thus both a temporal shift and a division or at least gradation within the circle: though both are more 'Colbertist' than the conventional shorthand of 'economic liberals' would imply, Gournay was nevertheless more radical in his proposed reforms than Forbonnais.

Gournay and the Emergence of the Ideological Dimension

If Forbonnais adheres to the tone of the debate as it had been played out in the Bureau, Gournay innovates in that he, for the first time, inserts a wider philosophical perspective into his contribution to Forbonnais's *Examen*. It is only with the advent of this ideological dimension that it makes sense even to begin to use the term 'liberal' in earnest. His intervention corresponds to earlier remarks he had made on the topic and plainly sets out the liberal principles of free enterprise and individual liberty. He posits the general interest or common good found in material progress as the goal of politics, without, however, moving away from empirical cost–benefit calculations, which set out in detail which manufactures would be harmed (none) and how the cost of production in France would be able to compete with that of its European neighbours. His conclusion was the same as Gilly's who had reached it by solely relying on 'Colbertist' arguments without referring to any wider philosophical principles: that production in France should be freely permitted, but that taxation should encourage exports of French-made printed textiles and discourage the importation of foreign white or printed cottons. Like Gilly before him, he could have made all of these arguments without reference to a wider economic and philosophical framework, but he chose not to: his claims that industry was to serve men and their well-being, rather than vice versa, that laws must permit men to act according to their self-interest, and that it would be wrong to 'employ one part of the nation to watch over the other' are all excellent examples of his particular brand of liberalism or, as Clark calls, it of the 'democratizing assumption' of individual responsibility that went hand in hand with the 'far-reaching social critique' which underlay Gournay's economic thought.[59]

By opting to include these wider observations on political economy, Gournay, unlike Forbonnais, inserted the problem of the *toiles peintes* into the wider context of his liberalising agenda. They are a further development of the arguments to be found in his unpublished 1753 *Memorandum for the Lyon Chamber of Commerce* and his *Reflections on Smuggling* of the same year. The memorandum addressed to the chamber took the typical format of the 'histories of commerce' or philosophical histories, which trace the development of economic institutions (in this case guilds), usually in comparison with their pendants abroad (in this case England and Holland), in order to offer both analysis and evaluation.[60] Gournay squarely lays all problems experienced by Lyon's silk industry at the door of its guild structure and the ensuing lack

of free competition, which raised prices while lowering quality and employment, and which contrasted unfavourably with the unrestricted liberty that, he claimed, made similar industries in Britain and the Netherlands prosper. The solution was obvious to Gournay: 'What is the regime that has brought about such a good state of affairs in Holland and in England? Liberty and competition; and they will certainly bring about the same thing at home.' Though not entirely accurate, his and the general Enlightenment critique of guilds proved influential.[61]

Liberty and free trade were also the solution Gournay offered to the linked problem of smuggling. Written in 1753 when during his tour of the provinces he stayed in Grenoble, one of the hotspots of smuggling, he made no bones about the fact that the prohibition was pointless:

> It is delusional to think that one can make several million people constantly act against their self-interest; the more considerable that interest, the more difficult the thing becomes. The self-interest of any inhabitant of the Dauphiné and our border regions will lead him to engage in smuggling, especially in tobacco and *toiles peintes*, because he will make a great profit in taking *toiles peintes* from Geneva and Savoy and bringing them into France.[62]

The only solution was to remove the motive, that is, the profits, and that was to offer an exact equivalent at the same low price. What follows is a coherent economic case for production in France, which culminates in his famous maxim, 'laisser faire et laisser passer', or indeed, the true motto of the Gournay circle: 'liberty and protection'; that is, free trade and competition nationally, and protection both internationally (for the nation as a whole) and nationally (to safeguard the liberty of the individual, and to encourage progress and invention).[63] Crucially, however, economics remain subject to ethics. The economic case for liberalisation is inseparable from Gournay's moral objections to the harsh punishments doled out to smugglers:

> Will our nephews be able to believe that we were really as polite and enlightened a nation as we pride ourselves in being, when they will read that in the middle of the eighteenth century, a man would still be hanged in France because he bought in Geneva for 22 sous what he could sell in Grenoble for 58?

With this statement Gournay 'ideologised' the debate, imposing questions of ethics onto what in the Bureau du Commerce had been

discussed from a purely pragmatic point of view. Gournay's *Reflections on Smuggling* used the question of the calico ban for wider considerations about the purpose of government and society. He turned it into a broader vindication of his brand of liberalism. His intervention moves the debate from a pragmatic policy discussion into the realm of Enlightenment liberalism. And while his *Reflections* only do so for the limited circle of manuscript readership, his *Observations* on Forbonnais's *Examen* of the calico prohibition made these arguments to the broader public.

The deliberate opening of a his *Obervations* to wider questions of political and economic thought does not mean that Gournay neglects the empirical nitty-gritty of a debate which centred on the material characteristics of textiles and their production conditions. As a member of the Bureau of Commerce he was better informed than most about the usual objections to liberalising calico production in France and refuted these in detail. To a thorough investigation of which types of French textiles would be threatened by French calico production, he adds considerations of the role and example of France's foreign rivals, who also managed to combine both silk, wool, linen, cotton, and calico production, and makes the same points about the ubiquity of smuggling and the impossibility of stopping it as in his slightly earlier *Reflections*. Indeed, he goes out of his way to offer empirical proof that production in France could sustain international competition: not only does he list the places in which France already successfully spun and wove cottons, he also calculates the costs of the finer type (muslins produced in Lyon in imitation of those of Zurich) and of the coarser type (garas woven in Puy-en-Velay) and compares these to the prices at which these textiles sold at the French Indies Company auctions of 1751–54, finding the French-produced ones to be cheaper and thus competitive.[64]

In terms of his desired outcome, the permission to produce freely in France, and to import, albeit with high taxes, Gournay was thus not more 'radical' than Gilly and his supporters had been. The novelty of his approach lay in the clearly ideological dimension that he added. His call for the liberty of production is based not only on the clear economic benefits that he set out, but also on a point of principle. The premise for the argument is the same as in the *Reflections on Smuggling*: it was ludicrous to keep trying to force men to act against their self-interest. The ban did so on two levels. First, by prohibiting the use of a good without offering an equivalent, it forced 'twenty million men to act against their inclinations'. This in turn entailed the daily loss of lives of both smugglers and border guards. Not only did it mean that

currently one part of the nation was employed to keep watch over the other, thereby preventing an 'infinite number' of men from engaging in much more useful pursuits such as manufacture or agriculture; even worse, the attempts to combat smuggling resulted in 'a constant war on all our borders which leaves an infinite number to perish arms in hand, in prisons, in the galleys, and on the executioner's block'. This claim permits Gournay to reverse the moral argument of the manufactures: representing but one branch of industry and concentrated largely in one single province (Gournay maintains that the cotton industry in Normandy would be the only one to face some losses were the ban to be reversed), it is now the *manufactures* which represent the self-interested minority that consciously seeks to impede the common good: they do not represent the nation, but a small *cabale* which forces the entirety of the population to act against their inclination and a significant number of people to die, reversing their very purpose which is to serve the common good and man's convenience. In this reversal the fault no longer lies with those who break the law, but with the law itself. Arguing that they cannot be expected to obey a law that is contrary to human nature, Gournay turns smugglers and illicit consumers from offenders into victims:

> it suffices to know mankind a little to understand that the greatest risks will never force men to act in any other way than in conformity with their interest. This knowledge should make us take an interest in our fellow men and commit us to try and prevent, with the help of laws that are mild ['doux'] and in accordance with their inclinations, the harm that they may do us and that which may be done to them.

Gournay was not the first to make these points, but by making them he firmly inserted himself into the Enlightenment tradition. The rehabilitation of self-interest as both inevitable motivator for all human actions and as capable of being channelled for the benefit of all has, since the publication of Alfred Hirschman's *The Passions and the Interests* at the very latest, been recognised as one of the commonplaces of eighteenth-century political economy.[65] Similarly, the view that the purpose of society in general was to advance the general happiness of its constituents was not novel, nor was the inference that therefore economic growth was not solely to enhance either the fiscal-military state or narrow manufacturing interests, but the material welfare of the population as a whole. Such commitment to human betterment through political economy was pervasive enough to make it, for John Robertson, one of

the defining features of the Enlightenment as an intellectually coherent pan-European movement.[66] Again, the belief that liberty was both a means and a condition of such progress – economic, political, and social or intellectual – was generally accepted among the European *philosophes*, and firmly established among the French *lumières* since Montesquieu's and Voltaire's eulogies of an idealised English system of liberty. The quarrel lay in the definition of such liberty and whether for instance it required estates and intermediary bodies, which Montesquieu would consider indispensable for maintaining political liberty, but which were the antithesis of the kind of liberty based on free and unhindered competition that Gournay advocated.

What makes Gournay's contribution distinctive is that he pairs his call for liberty, or the freedom to follow one's individual self-interest, with a concomitant commitment to equity. On the one hand, individual liberty ought to be inviolable. People have a *right* to enjoy all the available amenities of life. Significantly, Gournay uses the term 'injuste', 'unjust', to describe any opposition to an individual's acquisition of a good unless he or she be offered an exactly equivalent replacement instead. On the other hand, inequality is unacceptable, and the very unevenness of the application of the ban is itself one of the strongest reasons against its continued imposition. It is this double emphasis on both freedom *and* equity that makes his brand of political economy both 'liberal' (in maintaining the individual's freedom to choose both for economic and ethical reasons) and 'egalitarian', in that it strongly opposes both privileges and exemptions, be those of institutions such as guilds, or of individuals who due to their social status could circumvent the law.

With Gournay's contribution the debate about whether or not production should be permitted in France was now no longer simply a pragmatic cost–benefit calculation as it had been viewed in the Bureau du Commerce and proposed by Montaran and Forbonnais. Instead it became part of the wider campaign for the nascent 'liberalism' proposed by Gournay and his associates. It became about the freedom for each individual to choose, be that the choice of a career or of a consumptive regime, about economic growth through the implementation of useful knowledge and through the competition of free agents, whose freedom was to be guaranteed and protected by the state; in short it turned into a debate about Enlightenment values. From the late 1740s onwards political economy became central both to the *philosophe* movement and to the wider public and political sphere in France. It rallied those concerned with bad French performance in the War of Austrian

Succession (1740–48), and it preoccupied the *lumières*, especially when, after Montesquieu's death in 1755, Voltaire took over as figurehead of French Enlightenment and made the 'new science' of political economy one of his, and his movement's, central concerns.[67] And Voltaire was clear in his admiration for Gournay.[68] As such this 'liberal' political economy formed part of the wider *philosophe* movement and was clearly recognised as such at the time, notably so by Grimm, whose review considered Gournay's contribution in this light and used it as pretext to launch into an unabashed apology for universal economic liberty.[69] Thus, long before the more famous debates about the liberalisation of the grain trade, about taxation, or even about the monopoly of the French Indies Company, *philosophes* and Enlightenment political economists saw the calico debate as their first important battleground. Morellet, associate of Gournay and disciple of Voltaire, would be the most trenchant exponent of this 'philosophical' or ideological approach. However, his contribution came only at the end of several further developments which moved the debate forward and which will have to be considered first.

Paving the Way for Liberalisation

The eventual change in legislation was supported by a double development: incremental practical change and a public relations campaign, notably sponsored by those supporting liberalisation within the administration itself. The incremental changes went hand in hand with the slackening in prosecutions for wearing and usage noted in Chapter 3. Together with this the authorities also decided to allow a compromise solution when it came to production in France: *teinture à la reserve* or 'resist dyeing' as the process is known in English. A type of batik technique, it consists of applying liquid wax to a textile before dyeing it, which results in white shapes on both sides the dyed textile. The first demand for an exclusive permission ('privilège') to produce textiles thus patterned and coloured was made to the Bureau by the brothers Danton. When the case was brought before the Bureau in January 1752, the reporter was Gournay himself. The Dantons proposed to limit themselves to dyeing only in blue and only on linens, not on cottons. Hellot found that their products were indeed colourfast when washed, but he felt that they should be classed as *toiles peintes* and, given the damage they might do to Rouennais cottons and even to low-quality silks, an exclusive privilege was not warranted. However, a simple permission to produce would be. This was very much in the spirit of the liberals, who

were opposed to exclusive privileges, anathema to free competition. Both the deputies and the Bureau members agreed with Hellot, judging that these easily distinguishable textiles might replace the smuggled calicoes.[70]

Resist Dyeing

The Dantons received permission and by 1753 had established themselves near the town of Angers, about 90 km north-east of Nantes and 100 km west of Tours. Their business flourished and several others followed their example in short order.[71] These manufactures soon extended their remit and started to dye and reserve in several colours, to the dismay of the *anciennes manufactures*, who felt that this amounted to a back-door permission to produce calicoes. However, neither their protestations nor their attempts to seize any such textiles proved effective. The Bureau sided with the resist-dyers whom they had authorised.[72]

The *anciennes manufactures* did have a point, however: in a way resist dyeing was permission by stealth and in all likelihood made the wearing and smuggling of foreign textiles easier. For while the Bureau was right in that the resist-dyed textiles were easily distinguished from the higher- and middling-quality Indian chintzes which, for the European market, consisted of colourful motifs printed or painted onto *white* backgrounds, the cheaper types of Indian textiles and those imported via the Levant trade, did, as illustrated by the samples of Plates 1.8–1.12, frequently consist of simple white repeat patterns on monochrome or two-coloured backgrounds – just as were now being produced in France (see Plate 5.1). And the *anciennes manufactures* were right in their worries in another respect, too: change was apace. Within the space of a few years, the Bureau was now also considering permitting printing on woollens and silks.[73]

Campaigning in the Press

Worse for the *anciennes manufactures*, this slackening in the total prohibition was accompanied by a forceful media campaign in favour of liberalisation. In the spring and summer of 1755, the same year that Holker circulated his project for the introduction of calicoes and that Gournay and Forbonnais published their *Examen* and *Observations*, the *Journal Oeconomique* printed a series of articles in favour of permitting calico production in France. The articles came as a response to the question posed by the journal in February of that year: Was the prohibition of *toiles peintes* useful for the commerce of the country in which it took place? The answer of all four responses, published in April, May, June,

and July respectively, was an emphatic no. This came as little surprise given the leanings of the journal in question, which consciously associated with the wider Enlightenment improvement movement whose adherents, like many members of the Gournay circle, were engaged at the same time in the high administration, in the vast project of gathering useful knowledge that was the *Encyclopédie*, and in setting up the first improvement or agricultural societies.[74]

The four articles by unnamed authors all took the same stance as Gournay, and they justified their call for a repeal of the ban with the same double argument, one that was at once pragmatically empirical and philosophical. Like all serious contributors to the debate, they were aware of the need to provide proof of their expertise, since only familiarity with the commercial conditions on the ground could give them the authority to pronounce on the matter – and to dismiss their opponents as ignorant *demi-savants*. The knowledge they had to demonstrate was once again double. First of all, it involved establishing their familiarity with production and consumption both in France and in its commercial rivals abroad. This was the precondition for being able to argue that calico production in France would not hurt its existing manufactures. The contributors did so: they discussed different markets, consumers, and qualities; showed awareness of the current situation of French manufactures, such as those in Saint Quentin, but also of production abroad, in England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the German states, Silesia, and of course, India; and whenever possible they indicated numbers or calculations.[75]

Having made the point that production would not be harmful to French trade but instead lead to a diminution of smuggling, they still had to make a second case: that France was actually capable of producing its own calicoes. In other words, they needed to demonstrate precisely the kind of authority gained by the collection of useful knowledge discussed in the previous chapter. In this they played two trumps. On the one hand, in the following year, the journal serialised a very lengthy memorandum on Indian dyes and dye-stuffs, which proved to all and sundry that the French had observed and gathered all the secrets of production in India.[76] On the other, the third contribution in 1755 contained something even more convincing than a reasoned argument or scientific observation: material proof. The first article had praised the invention of resist dyeing and cited the example of Cabannes. The third referred to this earlier argument and included, in each copy, a set of samples of resist-dyed textiles as they were being currently produced in the Arsenal in Paris by Cabannes, Cottin, and Co. (see Plate 5.1).[77]

Like Gournay, the authors of the articles appropriated the arguments of the *anciennes manufactures*, and turned them against them. This time they did so by reclaiming the historical precedent argument. This is particularly noticeable in their recuperation of the figure of Colbert. They managed to do so by arguing, quite rightly as it happens, that Colbert himself only ever recommended protection for industries when in their infancy, that for mature industries he advocated competition, and that he, more than anybody, was very aware of the importance of innovation, especially that gained by global emulation.[78]

Again like Gournay, the anonymous authors are very much aware of, and insist on, the wider philosophical an ideological dimension of the debate. They also reclaim and reverse the public interest argument, depicting the situation as one in which the private interest of a group of merchants impedes the common good of the nation, citing notably the casualties of smuggling. Their adherence to the liberal and egalitarian agenda, with its disdain for privilege, is quite explicit. As the May contribution puts it, the ban was not so much a proper law, which serves to protect the majority from harm by any minority, but a privilege, which only benefits and protects a small minority, in this case the manufacturers, and hence it was patently unjust. All of the contributions show a distinct sympathy for the Enlightenment faction. Not only do they, in what is already a Montesquiean cliché, call for the legislator to conform to the 'genius' or character of a nation (April), but even more progressively, they define the task of good governance as ensuring for its people peace, abundance, and the free enjoyment of the fruits of one's labour (July). This freedom to produce and to trade is based on 'natural liberty' (April) and would engender an increasingly enlightened population ('un peuple qui s'éclaircit', July).

With these contributions the wider Republic of Letters was made aware of what was at stake in the quarrel about liberalisation. More than just a simple permission to print textiles, the debate had become about the fundamental values not only of nascent economic liberalism but of the wider Enlightenment movement of which it formed a part: liberty, equity, and progress both in terms of material betterment, scientific innovation and invention, and intellectual 'enlightenment'.

The Backlash

All of this meant that the *anciennes manufactures* were now on the back foot and, for the first time, found themselves in a position of defence, rather than offence. Their response both to the public relations campaign of the liberals and to the permission to resist dye was, as seen

above, a concerted campaign of their own which this time deliberately targeted public opinion, too – with some success it would seem. It is difficult to judge how far their focused lobbying swayed figures in the aristocracy, at court, and in the high administration, but it seems likely that it had at least some impact. The outpouring of their pamphlets certainly did. One treatise which circulated particularly widely was authored by the manufacturers of Tours, the *Reflections on the Situation of the Principal Manufactures of France and Particularly That of Tours*, which was reprinted in different cities and considered important enough to merit a review in the *Mercure de France*, which was entirely favourable.[79] The pamphlet, the review found, was profound and earnest, inspired by the suffering, zeal, and patriotism of the manufacturers, and proved that production in Tours was indeed being ruined.[80]

Given the strength of the manufacturers' campaign, those in the high administration who had already decided in favour of liberalisation began to fear that they might lose the argument. So they decided to bring out the big guns. The big gun in question was at that point in time still small fry, but small fry with a very caustic pen, a proven talent for polemics, a love of quarrels, and a strong allegiance to Gournay and his circle: the abbé André Morellet. As he notes with pride in his Memoirs,

> Mr. Trudaine, the grand-father [Daniel de Trudaine], instructed me to treat the matter [of calicoes] in opposition to the merchants and producers and to the Kingdom's chambers of commerce, who had nearly all voted against liberty. In March 1758 I published a work entitled *Reflections on the advantages of the free production and usage of* toiles peintes *in France*. A ruling by the Council, which established this liberty, which has never been violated since, was in large part the fruit of my work.[81]

It is doubtful that Morellet's work really had an impact on the actual legislation. At this point, it would seem, the legislators themselves had already decided that the ban was not working and that France was indeed capable of successfully engaging in calico production. In a well-established tradition Morellet was thus commissioned to sway public opinion in favour of a decision already taken but hotly contested by the *anciennes manufactures*.[82] If he had little influence over the legislation, he did have an impact on public opinion, for his treatise was the clearest statement yet of the close links between Enlightenment and liberal campaigning.

Morellet and Enlightenment Political Economy

By the late 1750s Morellet was not only a member of the Gournay circle, he had also firmly allied himself with the *philosophe* party. In 1756 he had enlisted with the *Encyclopédie*, 'no easy, innocent step', at this point in time, as Robert Darnton points out.[83] In the same year he further proved his commitment by publishing the caustic *Petit écrit sur une matière intéressante*, a condemnation of the persecution of Protestants in the south of France. By publishing the *Manuel des Inquisiteurs* (1762), a satirical condemnation of the practices of the Catholic Inquisition, and a counter-attack to Palissot's abuse of the *philosophe* party (*Préface de la Comédie des Philosophes*, 1760), he was shortly to gain the two badges of honour that made him a true *philosophe* member of the inner circle: the approbation and friendship of Voltaire, doyen of the party, and a stay in the Bastille.[84] Voltaire appreciated in Morellet somebody of similarly biting wit to his own, and, in a play on his name referred to him by the homonym of 'l'abbé Mords-les' ('the abbé Bite-them').[85] The *Réflexions* do indeed display some of his mordant satirical skills, but they are above all a strong and coherent argument which makes the case for the liberalisation of the calico ban as part of a wider statement of Gournay's brand of liberalism, of the type of Enlightenment political economy that Voltaire had introduced in France, and promoted and refined since the 1730s.[86]

The work, whose mission according to its subtitle was 'to serve as a reply to the diverse memoranda by the Manufacturers of Paris, Lyon, Tours, Rouen, etc.', has a clear structure and argument. The introduction sets out the debate in Morellet's terms: on the one hand there were the producers and merchants, on the other everybody else, namely,

> the citizens who have thought about the principles of commerce, the magistrates who have studied these all their lives, the farmers, the people, the burghers of the towns and the aristocrats, in short, all those who do not make or sell silk, wool or cotton cloth (which is to say the greatest part of the nation).[87]

Just in case this was not clear enough, Morellet continues: what was really at stake for the manufacturers was not the general good but their private interest, so the debate really pitted against each other the 'general will of the nation, supported by the vote of many enlightened men' and the interests of a collection of self-interested bodies, the guilds and corporations, which Gournay and his circle lobbied to have abolished.

Morellet could really have stopped there, but he didn't. He only just got started. He dedicated the second chapter to proving that the languor of France's economy had been wrongly attributed to the illicit use of printed textiles. Instead it was largely the fault of the manufacturers' guilds themselves and of the type of policies they were again lobbying for. Admittedly war had been a large part of the current problem, but the more structural causes were that other countries, like Spain and the Habsburg lands, were catching up, while France was putting obstacles into the path of free enterprise and development by over-regulating production through urban guilds with exclusive privileges and prescribed manufacturing standards.

Chapter 3 demonstrated the impossibility of ever stopping the smuggling and wearing of calicoes: the prohibition had never at any point in time been successful, and regardless of the new penalties proposed by the manufacturers never would. Chapter 4 argued that France could very well produce these textiles itself, after all printing was already taking place elsewhere in Europe and France, and spinning and weaving in France was similarly successful. Thus if France would perhaps not rival the highest Indian qualities, it could compete both in price and quality with the lower Indian qualities and certainly with the rest of Europe. Chapter 5 then proved that in reality there would only be very limited damage to France's existing manufactures and that neither mass unemployment nor mass emigration were to be expected. This out of the way, Morellet turned to the advantages France could derive from production: it would profit from the labour thus gained (chapter 6), and the savings workers could make by buying the new cheaper textiles would either lead to lower wages and thereby to increased international competitiveness or to the greater wealth of the population, which would be equally desirable (chapter 7). Most importantly of all, it would free the country from the evils of smuggling, which led to the loss of its people and their potentially useful labour (chapter 8). If that wasn't yet enough, chapter 9 gave a whole list of further advantages: less species would be exported; the superiority of French taste and design would soon make it an industry leader internationally; France would employ its calicoes for its slave trade and sugar islands; and production in France would help both make use of colonial raw cotton and to establish manufactures in the countryside, especially in those provinces that were as yet underdeveloped. Before sharing his more general observations and concluding, Morellet added a chapter outlining how a well-thought-out import tax would stem the flow of smuggling (legal imports being cheaper) and nevertheless avoid the

influx of foreign-produced calicoes (production in France would still be cheaper than both legal and smuggled imports).

Just as instructed, Morellet had thus invalidated all the objections made by the manufactures. What makes his text interesting is that it is even more explicit than its predecessors in its wider ideological adherence. Morellet makes it clear that on a point of principle alone, the calico ban ought to be lifted: 'The system of free trade ['de la liberté du commerce'] is connected in all its parts' – you cannot just pick and choose. His work is a perfect statement of the economic liberalism which Morellet and Gournay advocated. 'The force of evidence and of truth', Morellet wrote, had proven the 'great principle of administration': 'that the industry of a multitude of men animated by competition and liberty, leads to the general good more surely than when led and directed by the most sublime speculations'. 'Hence', Morellet concludes, 'the necessity of letting industry act on its own': 'Laissons-donc agir l'industrie.'[88]

Liberty is not only important as a means to economic gain, but as a value in and of itself. With his emphasis both on 'civil liberty' ('liberté civile') and on natural rights ('droit naturel'), on the freedom each individual ought to have to choose his or her own lifestyle, Morellet squarely situates his work in the wider Enlightenment defence of liberty. He embraces the Voltairian apology for consumption and its link to women, ridiculing merchants who castigate fashion, the very principle that gives them employment. For Morellet, as for the author of the *Mondain* and for the rest of the Gournay circle, progress itself, be it economic, scientific, or social, is something to encourage, embrace, and celebrate.[89]

The *Réflexions* are Voltairian also in other regards. Sometimes they are so in style. Like Forbonnais before him but unlike the majority of the contributions to the debate, Morellet includes small vignettes of individuals to make the problems come to life: the duchess in her coach, or the wife of a farmer general. Like Voltaire, Morellet seems to relish the absurdity and hypocrisy of the situations he depicts. 'I wouldn't be surprised to see the ministers deliberate on the matter that I am discussing here, in an apartment furnished with [chintzes from] Persia or England.' And wasn't it strange, he asks innocently, to see an otherwise perfectly respectable order of citizens clamour for the blood of their fellow Frenchmen, and that solely for reasons of self-interest?[90] For the most part, however, Morellet eschews the playfulness and literary flourish of the arch-*philosophe*, preferring instead the serious tone of the expert at work. However, the work is very Voltairian in

another respect: like Voltaire in his treatises on Newtonian physics, British economics, or religious tolerance, Morellet popularises but does not invent. His work is better argued, clearer, and more extensive, but both its argument and its evidence are Gournay's. There are changes to the wording, which sharpen the argument – Gournay's 'part of the nation' that watches over the other, becomes 'half of the nation' for instance – but the facts and calculations about prices, production costs, and qualities are those of Gournay's 'Observations'. What was important to Enlightenment polemicists such as Voltaire and Morellet was not originality, it was persuasiveness and impact. And they certainly achieved those.

All in all, Morellet's *Réflexions* accomplished two things. First of all, they provided a powerful, clear, and very comprehensive case in favour of liberalising the calico legislation that was difficult to counter. Second, however, they very clearly made the debate one about principles as much as about practicalities. More than any of his predecessors Morellet turned the question of calicoes into one about economic liberalism as a whole and associated it squarely with the wider Enlightenment cause, something his reviewers and supporters in the press clearly understood.[91]

Moreau and the Manufactures

With Gournay's and Morellet's interventions and the campaign in the *Journal Oeconomique*, the link between calico liberalisation, economic liberalism, and the Enlightenment movement would have been obvious to all observers. The *anciennes manufactures* now only had two options open to counter these arguments. The first was to endorse the Enlightenment rhetoric but use it to argue against calicoes; the second was to do the very opposite: given that their opponents had made the calico debate one about the principle of liberty, they could attack that very principle. They could go to what they would consider the root of the problem and combat the wider Enlightenment defence of liberty.

The *anciennes manufactures* Respond

Whichever option they would choose, from the mid-1750s onwards the guilds set out to combat the view that *they* were the narrow-minded, ignorant interest group. They continued to emphasise their industries' importance to the general good of the nation and tried to portray themselves as educated and enlightened, supporting their arguments by citing acknowledged authorities. None matched a particularly

thorough attempt by the Lyon guild in 1759, which on its nine pages included 27 footnotes, but several other pamphlets cited texts as varied as the Christian *Insitutions d'un Prince*; Horace; the *Histoire des Chinois*; the medieval *Coustumes de Beauvoisis*; the abbé Le Blanc's *Letters on the English*; Montesquieu; and the philosopher and spinozist Boulainvilliers.[92] Despite all of this, none of the pamphlets made any serious attempts to jump on the Enlightenment bandwagon.

When the pamphlets adopted the vocabulary of their adversaries, referring to the 'laws' or 'principles' of commerce, it was only in order to attack the Enlightenment economists on their home turf.[93] They did so from two angles. Their first move was to correct their opponents as to the 'true' nature of liberty: Lyon's footnote-heavy tract, a direct response to Morellet, sought to prove that just as civil society transformed 'primitive and unbridled' natural liberty into 'civil liberty', circumscribed by the imperative not to do harm, so in this civilised state 'the laws of commerce' had to set certain limits to free trade. Or as Normandy's Chamber of Commerce put it, in civilised societies ('dans un état policié') liberty 'does not consist in doing whatever one wants, but in doing freely everything that is good and useful to society and the state'. Civil society being circumscribed by laws, 'civilised trade' would also have to be conducted in accordance with certain laws and principles – which included, unsurprisingly, the protection of existing manufactures.

Their second angle of attack lay in underscoring their own expertise gained from experience and to contrast this to the liberals' 'system'. While a logical classification system derived from empirical observation was not a taboo for the *philosophes* – think of d'Holbach's *Système de la Nature* or the 'Systême figuré des connaissances humaines' in d'Alemberts *Discours préliminaire* to the *Encyclopédie* – the idea of a dogmatic, a priori system certainly was anathema. It was precisely in that spirit that the April article in the *Journal Oeconomique* had warned, 'tout système est dangereux'.[94] So the guilds attacked the call for liberty as exactly that. It was a 'système du jour', a passing fashion but at the same time a 'system furthest from the general good'.[95] It had no foundation in actual experience, in short it was a set of 'speculations de cabinet', 'armchair speculations', which as everybody knows are 'always dangerous when not supported by experience'.[96] Take that, Enlightenment empiricists! The manufactures were so pleased with this argument that in a short seven-page tract of 1758 they repeated the hated word 'system' three times and in another even shorter one of only three pages, they managed to bring it up as often as five times.[97]

Their own experience taught them that the 'system' of the Enlightenment economists was quite wrong: 'liberté du commerce' was but 'a fashionable phrase', and liberty itself a 'vain word' with an unfortunate power over people's imaginations.[98] Statements such as this show the fundamental hostility that underlay all of the tracts' engagements with the Enlightenment liberal agenda. For what connected the demands for the lifting of the calico ban with the wider agenda of economic liberalism and Enlightenment political economy was their insistence on liberty and the freedom of individuals to compete economically and to consume and produce as they wished. The openly acknowledged consequence of that would ultimately be the abolition of all guilds and manufacturing regulations, and it is of little surprise that the guilds themselves were not enthusiastic. Their better option was thus to combat the problem at the root, to attack the Enlightenment apology for progress and liberty, commercial and otherwise. The inherently conservative position the guilds adopted in this debate made it a logical choice to engage a conservative polemicist who would tackle the problem at the root; and Moreau was precisely the right man for that.

Moreau and the Rejection of Enlightenment and Liberty

If the manufactures wanted to win the calico debate by attacking the underlying philosophical precepts of their opponents, Jacob-Nicolas Moreau (1717–1803) was an obvious choice. That they did choose him shows how much the debate about calicoes had become a wider debate about economic liberalism and the values of the Enlightenment movement in France. Moreau was ideally suited for the role as he was Morellet's counterpart in a number of ways. Having taken the decision to become professional writers and intellectuals, both decided early on in their careers on their attitude towards the *philosophe* party and soon proved their allegiance by publishing virulently polemic tracts. Both, later in life, were employed as writers, researchers, and publicists for the French administration, and both received high honours, Morellet being received in the Académie Française and Moreau accepting the position of Historiographer Royal.[99] However, while Morellet was a *philosophe* and member of the Gournay circle, Moreau was, and would be throughout all his life, a conservative *anti-philosophe*, an ardent defender of absolute monarchy, established religion, and a strict society of ranks. When asked by the guilds to represent them, Moreau had already made his name in the protracted public quarrel that came to be known as the affair of the Cacouacs, a public relations campaign ridiculing the *philosophes*, thinly disguised as the tribe of 'cacouacs',

via a series of three articles published between 1757 and 1758 of which Moreau had authored at least one if not two.[100] He was also the editor of the *Observateur hollandais*, which he used from 1755 to 1759 to attack both the *philosophes* and the parliamentarians and to spread what Keith Michael Baker summarises as 'ministerial propaganda in support of the war'.[101] It is thus clear why the manufactures picked Moreau. Just as Morellet was, and would be for decades, one of the strong voices in favour of Enlightenment reforms, Moreau was, and also would be for decades, the voice of the 'ideological counteroffensive' which Baker analysed so convincingly.[102] What neither Baker nor Darnton discuss, however, was that both for the 'Enlightenment offensive' and for the conservative 'counteroffensive', political economy played as fundamental and central a role as debates about religion and the role of the nobility, about legislative authority, or control over the historical narrative.

Just as Morellet's work was what it announced itself to be in subtitle, Moreau's also did what it promised on the cover: respond to Morellet's *Réflexions*. Both works take the same two-pronged approach: they argue about the empirical realities of manufacturing and consumption in France, but they also, and perhaps with even greater emphasis, discuss the wider philosophical framework of the calico debate. With the addition of one further chapter after the introduction, Moreau gives a chapter-by-chapter refutation of Morellet's work. Like him he begins with an introduction outlining the debate and the position of the two camps, and like his opponent, he leaves his readers in no doubt which camp is right on the question of principle alone. He then adds his own thoughts on liberty of trade and the damage that it causes, offering his own vision of the origin of society and the role of trade and commerce within it. The chapter gives one of the clearest possible statements of the rationale behind mercantilist production regulation as enforced by the guilds, outlining the need to guarantee stable high qualities in the export sector of luxury manufactured goods to ensure the continued influx of foreign species, the sole possible means of enriching the state in a competitive international climate in which foreign trade is a zero-sum game.

The general observations in the introduction and first chapter are followed by a more direct response to Morellet's argument, which tackles each of the *Réflexions*' chapters in turn. Moreau agrees that the decision on calicoes needs to be made in accordance with the national interest and not the private interests of traders which, he also agrees, is not the same as the interests of trade in general. However, he proves that the arguments made by the manufacturers, ardent and selfless patriots one

and all, are not about self-interest at all, but that these good subjects are solely worried about the good of the nation: 'they consent to be sacrificed if it can be proven that the establishment of calicoes in France must produce a superior profit for the general trade of the kingdom'.[103] The next chapters pursue this refutation, with their heading ensuring that nobody could miss the point: 'That the languor of the economy ['du Commerce'] has to be attributed, at least in part, to the introduction of foreign textiles, particularly of calicoes'; 'That it is easy to execute the prohibition on calicoes [and] ways to achieve this'; 'It is impossible to establish in France calico manufactures which can rival foreign ones'; 'The lowered consumption of silk and cotton fabrics will be a great ill for the kingdom [and] the usage of calicoes will inevitably diminish the advantages of our internal trade'; 'The usage of calicoes will harm our exports.' This is followed by two chapters attacking Morellet's argument about the advantages of calico production and consumption, by one chapter refuting Morellet's suggested system of taxes and import duties designed to encourage production and eradicate smuggling, and finally by a triumphant conclusion, which, just like its opponent's, summarises the argument and gives a list of actions that should now be taken.

Moreau reflects Morellet not only in structure. Like the work he attacks, Morellet engages in a very detailed discussion of types of textiles, markets, consumers, and prices. He also gives precise calculations of production costs, but, as he insists, of the *real* costs involved, not the ones Morellet had invented: the Lyon and Rouen guilds had sent observers to the garas manufacture in Puy-en-Velay and found that the directors were 'revolted and indignant at the falsity of the allegation that they have read in the work that we were refuting'.[104] The real production costs, both in Puy and in the other manufactures cited by Morellet (and Gournay), were, Moreau argues, much higher and could never sustain the competition with either India or Holland, Switzerland or England.

Authority over fact – especially over the fact whether or not production was possible in France – thus proved vital and undoubtedly justified the efforts Trudaine, Gournay, and their allies had made to gather such proof. However, perhaps even more important than the veracity of empirical claims was winning the ideological debate. Moreau clearly understood what was at stake. For both Moreau and Morellet their engagement in the dispute was only an extension of their involvement in the wider debate about the power and values of the Enlightenment in France. And both clearly use their contributions to fight their corner in that wider struggle. Moreau's first and foremost concern was the

Enlightenment's apology for liberty, progress, and innovation, which underpins their argument for ending the calico prohibition and which he detests in all its forms:

> It is this dissatisfaction with old values ['l'ennui d'un vieux *bien*'] that we have had for centuries, which has caused in France all kinds of ills. It seems that all these abuses are related: for the word *liberty*, which is misused in commercial matters in order to destroy all that our fathers have built, is precisely the same word that is incessantly repeated by the authors of new systems of all kinds: and God knows if their productions have done any good for the Fatherland, for Religion, and for Government.[105]

While this beautifully encapsulates not only Moreau's but in fact centuries of conservative critique, Morellet's opponent does not leave it at that. In defending the type of luxury that underpins mercantilist export policies and the kind of stratified society of ranks that Mirabeau outlines in his *L'Ami des hommes*, a work Moreau references, he also manages to take the anti-*philosophe* and anti-Gournay-circle position in two further debates that shaped Enlightenment political economy in France: the luxury debate and the debate about the *noblesse commerçante*.[106] Thus Moreau leaves no doubt that political economy and Enlightenment are inextricably intertwined at this point.

If the structure of, and approach to, their arguments are in keeping with each other, Morellet and Moreau differ in tone. Both undoubtedly are polemical works, but leaving aside any sympathy with their respective political views, it is hard not to admit that Moreau is simply not quite as good a satirist and polemicist as his opponent. His attacks are often clumsy and frequently ad hominem, his arguments remarkably pedantic, and his writing lacks any kind of wit or verve. Most grating perhaps is his extremely pious and deferential tone, which, while it mirrors the passive-aggressive stance of the manufactures, stands in sharp contrast to the writings of the liberal economists. In addressing a putative enlightened reader rather than a paternalist saviour figure, those writings do not adopt the faux-subservient tone that a modern audience will find hard to stomach. And, even in the context of the other conservative pamphlets, the baroquely fawning attitude that Moreau takes to the French monarchy and nobility combined with his rather petty and personal attacks on his opponents make for unpleasant reading.

The reactions to such a text were predictable. The Enlightenment camp who had reviewed Morellet's work very favourably from the

beginning, quickly rallied to his defence and utterly condemned Moreau's work. But even more moderate journals who did not disagree with his overall position took exception at Moreau's tone. While they would not judge on the arguments themselves but dutifully claimed to leave the verification of the calculations up to the ministers in charge, when it came to the tone of the two polemics, they saw Morellet as clearly superior: Moreau, the *Journal des Sçavans* found in its very detailed review, was overly exclamatory, too aggressive, and ought to have shown more respect to his opponent. 'We do not, by the way, deny that he may be right concerning the substance of the question', they concluded, 'but it would have been worthy of him to also have been right in form.'[107]

Conclusion

Ultimately it was of little importance whether or not the public finally agreed with Morellet or with Moreau. The practical outcome of the debate was at this stage a forgone conclusion. While they had been sensitive enough to public opinion to engage Morellet to try to win it over, the administration had already decided in favour of liberalisation and they imposed it. Having already passed separate laws to permit printing on woollens and silks, the Council of State legislated to permit calico production in France in September 1759.

All in all, the decision proved to be a good one. Neither mass unemployment, mass emigration, nor the fall of the *anciennes manufactures* ensued and, after a period of intense speculation during which fortunes were made and lost with the boom and bust of many printing establishments, France gained a successful calico manufacturing industry with a long legacy. Both the Dantons and Wetter set up successful enterprises; the latter, established in 1757 and employing over 500 workers before its final closure in 1802, can still be admired in a series of paintings preserved at Orange's municipal museum (see Plates 3.1 and 3.2). Oberkampf's establishment in Jouy near Paris became one of the European sector leaders in high-quality printed cottons still today famous as *Toiles de Jouy*, and later in the century northern French manufactures would produce elegant monochromes in a similar style and with fashionable designs, such as *chinoiserie* motifs, like the one that graces this book's cover. *Indiennes* remain to this day characteristic of many of Brittany's regional costumes, and with their bright and cheerful colours continue to be a symbol of the Provence, one avidly bought by innumerable visitors.[108]

However, the liberals had not been entirely right in their predictions, either. Smuggling did not stop. If only to save on tax, the smuggling of Asian and Asian-style textiles, both of printed and painted cottons and of white muslins, continued, albeit probably to a lesser extent. It followed the same routes and employed the same techniques as before, and textiles came in via the French Indies Company ships and auctions, with fake seals via France's eastern land borders, and could still be found all over the Provence, where many 'manufacturers' did indeed, as the *anciennes manufactures* had predicted, set up workshops only as a front for smuggling in textiles, which they then sold under their own name, thus saving on the import tax.[109]

If he had not affected the actual legislation, Morellet had, however, managed to give his and his allies' views on liberty and liberalisation wide publicity. This was significant and constituted one of the defining moments of what this book calls 'the making of economic liberalism'. But given all the caveats that this chapter has put forward concerning the 'mercantilist' aspects of Gournay and his circles' political economy, how appropriate is the term 'economic liberalism' really? Both 'liberals' and 'mercantilists' clearly differentiated between national and international commercial spheres which needed to be subject to different rules, and both agreed on the desirability of protectionism as vital for economic growth – a view borne out by modern scholarship.[110] Even Morellet did not argue against interventionism or protectionism per se: he and Gournay advocated the retreat of the state from production regulation but not from the protection of trade and industry internationally nor indeed from encouraging innovation and improvement nationally. Morellet, who after all received state funding himself to write a commercial dictionary, advocated an import tax on calicoes precisely to protect France's nascent calico industry.[111]

Calling Gournay and Morellet 'liberals' is nevertheless justified, even if it brings the danger of wrongly implying a rigid opposition between 'liberals' and 'mercantilists'. Despite incorporating important elements of what we would now consider 'mercantilism', Gournay and his allies differed from traditional mercantilism in important respects, both ideologically and economically. First, unlike for the more traditional members of the Bureau of Commerce, for the liberals their campaign was part of the wider Enlightenment and improvement movement and linked to the ideal of personal freedom and the fight for moderation in punishments. Second, while they would agree with the traditionalists on the importance of protectionism when it came to international trade, they opposed monopoly as an instrument towards this and in

the national sphere advocated complete deregulation. That was a crucial difference, since corporations, which Gournay and his associates so ardently opposed, were essential to mercantilist thinking, which was characterised by disbelief in any natural balance and instead insisted on the need for state intervention to establish economic harmony.[112] The Enlightenment liberals on the other hand would share this pessimistic view of economic activity only when it came to international trade and the rivalries between nation-states. Their view of the market on a national level was resolutely optimist: left to their own devices, economic actors, guided by the laws of free competition and enlightened self-interest, would always achieve the best possible outcome for all concerned. That this did not often work in practice would become obvious about 15 years later, with Turgot's spectacularly failed attempt to free the grain trade. To some extent the *anciennes manufactures* had been right: the liberals' call for deregulation, while ultimately successful in the case of French calico production, was based on ideology and theory more than on actual empirical evidence.

Conclusion

As Sven Beckert recently argued, the adoption of national perspectives has led historians to confine themselves to national explanations, neglecting international and even global connections and causations.[1] Just like the Industrial Revolution, 'liberalism' is traditionally celebrated or denounced, if not as a solely British, then at least as an indigenously European achievement. Both, however, were the result of Europe's – not just one nation's – rivalries and global connections. As this book has shown, one of the first attempts to put the doctrine of economic liberalism into practice was as a direct response to the effects of global trade, namely to the damage done by the smuggling of one of the most global of products, Asian and Asian-style textiles. Smuggled across France's eastern land borders, through the Provence, or via the North Sea, these textiles' very visibility made them, more than the perhaps more commonly smuggled goods of salt and tobacco, a daily reminder of the state's inability to enforce its own import and consumption regulations. The 1759 lifting of the calico ban was as much a victory for the Gournay's brand of liberalism as the pragmatic acknowledgement that the authorities were powerless to curtail the consumers' desire for global goods.

However, this early type of liberalism, intimately connected to the values of the French Enlightenment, was very different from its twentieth- and twenty-first-century namesake. It was close to the original vision of Colbert who, while promoting the protection of infant industries, such as that of silk manufacturing, perceived liberty and competition as the best means to improve production once the industry had matured. Consequently the 'liberals' never underestimated the importance of the state. They were aware that state support played a crucial role both in Europe's global colonial and commercial expansion and in nascent

industrialisation, a truth amply borne out by recent scholarship.[2] While they advocated the withdrawal of the state and of corporations from production regulation, their insistence that calico printing be permitted in France was partially so that France would have an additional industry to encourage and protect, permitting her to compete more successfully on the global economic stage. And indeed, as in the earlier example of silk manufacturing, state intervention was crucial to the establishment of the new industries imitating Asian cottons. Government agencies supported entrepreneurs, inventors, scientists, and travellers, encouraged the gathering of useful knowledge and the immigration of skilled workers. And this state support was spearheaded by the same 'liberals' who sought to abolish the calico ban.

Was this then really the 'Making of Economic Liberalism' or were Gournay and his allies mercantilists in new clothes, 'mercantilist liberals' as Jean-Yves Grenier has called them?[3] There was a fundamental difference that set Gournay and his allies apart from their predecessors. This difference is best understood with reference to Grenier's differentiation of an internal and an external economic space in mercantilist thinking.[4] Gournay and allies also made this distinction. Externally they perceived the same 'jealousy of trade' and necessity for emulation as traditional mercantilist thinkers.[5] Internally, however, they advocated deregulation of both production and consumption. For in their 'liberal' or optimistic view of economic self-regulation, Gournay's famous 'laissez-faire' would automatically produce the best outcome. This is what radically set them apart from a mercantilist vision in which state regulation of economic activity was considered indispensable.[6] Externally, Gournay and his liberal allies were mercantilists, but internally they were liberals who sought to put into practice the Enlightenment ideals of liberty, self-determination, progress, and material betterment through science, emulation, and the inborn human desire to improve one's condition.

In the case of calico production the liberals were proved right. Even if the permission to produce did at first lead to a spectacular boom and bust of manufactures, a successful calico printing and cotton industry emerged in France in the medium and long term. But was their economic vision successful more broadly? Developments in the twenty-first century cast some doubts on this, but even in the eighteenth century their success was questionable. Building on work by Patrick O'Brien among others, Prasannan Parthasarathi has convincingly shown that a crucial factor for British industrialisation was the state's conscious interference in the market, a conclusion shared by numerous other scholars of the Industrial Revolution, the Scientific

Revolution, or indeed the Great Divergence.[7] Conversely, Jeff Horn has found that French economic performance was better in the first half of the eighteenth century when Colbertist policies were the norm, than in the second half marked by liberal experiments. At least when it came to the Levant trade these had a decidedly detrimental impact and were, as Horn puts it, unconsciously echoing the *anciennes manufactures*' arguments of the 1750s, the 'triumph of philosophy over expertise'.[8] All in all it appears that Britain's hard-nosed protectionist and mercantilist policies, despite the vast amount of smuggling they, too, facilitated, were ultimately more successful. The reason that France's mercantilist policy of banning calico imports failed was that it was a little too hard-nosed. Britain had reached a compromise, forbidding imports but permitting production, a type of protectionism that was crucial to building up the English cotton sector, soon to become the mainstay of the first Industrial Revolution. In France by contrast, the complete ban on all trade, production, and consumption was a failure and another example of how the state's aspirations to regulate consumption were unequal to its means. The encouragement that the French state gave its manufacturing sector on the other hand did turn out a success, which leads one to think that a more nuanced protectionism, such as its neighbour across the Channel had practised it, might have saved France many decades of textile trouble.

Economic liberalism was not alone in having a long legacy, however: the very textiles that form the thread running through this book did so as well. The crucial role played by the developing cotton spinning, weaving, and printing industry for the industrialisation of Europe, the fate of countless black captives forced to labour as slaves on American plantations, and the ultimate displacement of India as centre of world production has received much scholarly and popular attention.[9] It took a very long period of 'apprenticeship' for Europe to catch up with, and develop alternatives to, Asian textile technology, but ultimately it did. This happened both through industrial espionage, scientific and artisanal experimentation and innovation, and, most importantly in the French case, the migration of skilled foreign workers. Just as the very first printing workshops in seventeenth-century Marseille had benefitted from the knowledge of Levantine Armenian textile printers, and as the enforcement of the prohibition had led to the emigration of the next generation of French printers who carried their skills and knowledge throughout Europe, the establishment of a French cotton-spinning, weaving, and printing industry benefitted from the influx of foreigners, including, most famously perhaps, the Swiss printers

Wetter and Oberkampf. With the innovations in printing technology such as copper-plate printing, new aesthetics came to dominate and at that point the textiles lost the last vestiges of their Asian heritage. The monochrome pastoral scenes that made Oberkampf's *toiles de Jouy* so famous, or indeed the playful *chinoiserie* design on the late eighteenth-century northern French printed cotton (on this book's cover), had changed beyond recognition from both the original Indian printed cottons, those produced in India specifically for the European market, or indeed those imported from Persia and the Levant. Even where more traditional motifs persisted, such as in the colourful Provençal printed cottons, these became fully indigenised, their global origins obscured and only traceable in their name: *indiennes*.

Some continuities persisted, however: India still remained the benchmark for the highest quality of muslins, so popular for women's dresses in the later eighteenth century, the Napoleonic Era and Restoration in France, and the Regency period in Britain. And the smuggling of Asian and Asian-style textiles into France continued, too. In the second half of the eighteenth century this was for tax reasons, rather than because of a complete ban. While the overall quantity of smuggling may have diminished, the producers' fears were in part justified, at least early on in the process and on a reduced scale: some of the newly set-up printers did indeed use their enterprises as a smokescreen for, or in combination with, the secret importation and reselling of foreign-made printed textiles.

The tradition of state support for innovation, translation, technology transfer, and enterprise also continued in France. In the international and global gathering of useful knowledge organised and encouraged by the French administration, Asian cotton technology was only one facet, even though, given the importance of the textile sector to the early modern French economy overall, an important one. The role of the state continued to be of undoubted importance for French economic development, a topic that deserves much further exploration.

What also continued unabated throughout the eighteenth century was the immense resentment towards the *fermes*. Together with salt, the 'global goods' tobacco and Asian textiles left a long legacy in the culture of resistance they fostered. Instances of rebellions against the *fermes* did not diminish after the abolition of the textile ban. Instead they increased over time: from 346 in the period 1661–1700, to 799 for 1701–30, 765 for 1731–60, and 1233 for 1761–89.[10] And, as Michael Kwass duly points out, resentment towards the *fermes* was one of the sparks in the powder keg of 1789: the attack on the *fermes*' Parisian tax

wall was the French Revolution's first mass uprising, preceding the more famous storming of the Bastille by two days, while fiscal rebellions in the provinces abounded.[11]

Smuggling and international trade are just two factors in the wider global context for the French Revolution that has recently become a focus of attention for historians.[12] This is part of a broader historiographical trend towards the global contextualisation of developments traditionally considered in a national or at the most European context, such as the rise of consumer cultures, or the scientific and industrial revolutions. This book is a contribution towards this. In telling the story of Asian textiles in early modern France, it has sought to bring to the fore not only the *grands hommes* of French history, such as Colbert who founded the first French East India Company and reorganised Marseille's Levant trade, or the various politicians, administrators, scientists, entrepreneurs, and public intellectuals who shaped their fate and that of the regulation of production and consumption of the textiles these imported. Instead, the story of these fabrics is also the story of a myriad of otherwise anonymous characters, in France and across the globe, who permitted their popularisation in spite of the ban, with all the consequences outlined in the preceding chapters. Rather than passive consumers, these were active agents who shaped the course of French, European, and global history. They included marginal and marginalised figures, such as middle- and working-class women: the illicit retailers in Aix, those who instigated revolts there, the shopkeeping sisters in Nantes, poor Rose Barbosse, or Madame Chanelle, the lady on the horse near Lyon who took arms against the troublesome *fermes* agents. These rather resourceful ladies were joined by a veritable army of mostly male smugglers, made up, next to some large-scale entrepreneurs, of simple sailors, peddlers, and local working men. And yet, opposition to the Asian textile ban, as to the *fermes* more generally, was not class-based: there existed a broad if usually tacit alliance with the highest echelons of nobility, ranging from southern parliamentarians to the Duke of Orleans himself. Together, as this book as shown, these consumers, producers, and smugglers had a remarkable impact and legacy.

Appendix I

French East India Company Textile Imports

	Muslins	Finer cottons	Coarser cottons	Coarse cottons	Mixture cotton-silk	Silk	Totals
1687	8340	63,744	50,717	45,113	10,043	6084	**184,041**
1691	11,463	4697	17,528	17,617	2126	3816	**57,247**
1699	11,360	35,549	32,104	22,362	12,332	5488	**119,195**
1704	10,616	1218	12,073	1814	200	0	**25,921**
1710	21,766	7148	19,717	298	2766	280	**51,975**
1712	40,219	17,577	66,771	7320	2341	13,050	**147,278**
1714	54,582	24,117	61,827	599	4622	0	**145,747**
1715	23,799	11,621	47,031	20	380	0	**82,851**
1716	29,971	6034	26,995	976	3504	333	**67,813**
1720	42,881	11,678	99,021	8039	5585	0	**167,204**
1721	48,305	9440	56,460	6940	8740	2640	**132,525**
1722	3198	1020	690	0	0	4006	**8914**
1723	2004	1539	1599	0	101	266	**5509**
1724	54,316	21,642	82,038	4746	5735	418	**168,895**
1725	32,645	13,416	69,952	6926	3500	1375	**127,814**
1726	57,627	14,050	106,685	961	4482	387	**184,192**
1728	40,970	6509	111,547	1440	4103	0	**164,569**
1729	38,778	10,960	83,677	11,062	3883	1272	**149,632**
1731	76,594	12,759	134,017	15,369	13,663	5970	**258,372**
1732	144,300	14,742	130,648	17,830	16,233	3461	**327,214**
1733	145,792	20,463	231,128	38,584	26,957	5315	**468,239**
1734	96,030	20,462	194,964	47,360	23,209	6189	**388,214**
1737	70,706	2571	179,504	44,160	13,457	3500	**313,898**
1738	107,807	2721	242,658	47,710	20,926	3514	**425,336**
1739	53,240	7143	211,604	22,470	7200	3130	**304,787**
1740	81,412	8475	207,545	60,215	22,281	4656	**384,584**
1741	83,141	6869	188,564	83,675	18,349	5190	**385,788**
1749	43,791	4651	46,457	1165	6010	0	**102,074**
1750	12,900	340	37,383	10,680	2880	0	**64,183**
1756	15,579	2277	43,322	490	5677	496	**67,841**
1761	19,012	8257	32,743	9841	2184	3571	**75,608**
1766	21,538	2645	45,867	40,409	8056	574	**119,089**
1767	12,199	1167	53,715	33,139	3200	5621	**109,041**
1769	18,823	6165	69,839	17,456	5910	3053	**121,246**

Source: Donald C. Wellington, *French East India Companies: A Historical Account and Record of Trade* (Lanham: Hamilton, 2006), pp. 188–9

Appendix II

French Levant Trade Textile Imports

	Calicoes				
	Chafracany	**Indienne and toile peinte**	**Calankar**	**Tapis d'indienne**	**Total calicoes**
1725		246	86	95	**427**
1726					**0**
1727					**0**
1728		10	320		**330**
1729		18,634			**18,634**
1730		5212	800	316	**6328**
1731	7947	4629			**12,576**
1732	19,181	1530	1331		**22,042**
1733	12,334	760	1413	40	**14,547**
1734	1862		2290		**4152**
1735	1437		325		**1762**
1736	7093				**7093**
1737	4430				**4430**
1738	6535		30		**6565**
1739	3740	106	3		**3849**
1740	983				**983**
1741	1548	145			**1693**
1742	5412				**5412**
1743	9575	4107			**13,682**
1744	7257	109			**7366**
1745	3666			548	**4214**
1746	1281	150			**1431**
1747	3859	2191			**6050**
1748	9136	633			**9769**
1749		2254			**2254**
1750	15,998	627			**16,625**
1751	18,603				**18,603**
1752	17,252	291	100		**17,643**
1753	10,258				**10,258**
1754	29,504	189			**29,693**
1755	15,436	1555			**16,991**
1756	25,611			2022	**27,633**
1757	12,909	39		147	**13,095**
1758	12,946				**12,946**
1759	4559				**4559**
Total	**270,352**	**43,417**	**6698**	**3168**	**323,635**

(*continued*)

(Continued)

	Cottons for dyeing and printing						
	Ajami	**Amam and Toile large d'Aintab**	**Aza**	**Toile d'Antioche**	**Auquilli**	**Boucassin**	**Total dyed and printed cottons**
1725						260	**260**
1726							**0**
1727							**0**
1728							**0**
1729							**0**
1730							**0**
1731	69,332	1044		6960	420	2761	**80,517**
1732	79,637	3253		12,179	900	11,940	**107,909**
1733	75,880	761		2991	2402	3335	**85,369**
1734	90,591	365		1580	9031	615	**102,182**
1735	52,976	334		128	240		**53,678**
1736	73,994	470		860	3632		**78,956**
1737	64,977	2139		3599	7343		**78,058**
1738	107,057	3800		5322	4050		**120,229**
1739	138,697	679		6862	1337	948	**148,523**
1740	138,259	565		14,682	4167		**157,673**
1741	111,871			2896	1545		**116,312**
1742	108,640	1005	685	12,707	4097	1643	**128,777**
1743	49,738	1062	305	640	4712	1427	**57,884**
1744	102,101	1798	1184	5307	1513	861	**112,764**
1745	59,630	1205		4193	2824		**67,852**
1746	36,293	700		4425	1071		**42,489**
1747	76,203	3267	3310	13,119	934		**96,833**
1748	13,477	4604	320	7596	456		**26,453**
1749	144,278	22,910	140	33,237	12,706	308	**213,579**
1750	91,418	4658	6133	11,479	3372		**117,060**
1751	36,633	18,031	788	10,041		76	**65,569**
1752	69,631	39,642	2800	14,296	1559	800	**128,728**
1753	71,769	18,408	2160	14,444	1188		**107,969**
1754	143,833	26,281	6679	11,138	4620	549	**193,100**
1755	58,128	67,639	5026	21,965	2155		**154,913**
1756	61,819	34,319	6263	10,428	4717	200	**117,746**
1757	68,920	15,847		7125	150	779	**92,821**
1758	42,673	16,389		190	43	213	**59,508**
1759	15,468	21,687		580		100	**37,835**
Total	**2,253,923**	**312,862**	**35,793**	**240,969**	**81,184**	**26,815**	**2,951,546**

(*continued*)

(Continued)

	Muslins and white cottons					
	Mousselines	**Cambraisine, and cambraisine fleurie**	**Lizat**	**Demittes**	**Escarmittes**	**Total muslins and white cottons**
1725	253	846	130	6681	0	**7910**
1726	93	4		2034		**2131**
1727		135		1878		**2013**
1728	47			1446		**1493**
1729		60			308	**368**
1730	516	23				**539**
1731	205			193,205		**193,410**
1732		18		165,219	1338	**166,575**
1733				236,632		**236,632**
1734				213,997	3331	**217,328**
1735				130,755	646	**131,401**
1736				43,193	3859	**47,052**
1737				127,343	6283	**133,626**
1738	200	199	25	131,632	988	**133,044**
1739		266		145,633	1066	**146,965**
1740	45			103,018	10,698	**113,761**
1741				51,111	6761	**57,872**
1742	94			19,273	1689	**21,056**
1743				71,296	2699	**73,995**
1744				35,750		**35,750**
1745				11,898	4085	**15,983**
1746				7666	1931	**9597**
1747				3050	121	**3171**
1748				6645	974	**7619**
1749				17,132	1562	**18,694**
1750				7470	912	**8382**
1751				8183		**8183**
1752				1857	223	**2080**
1753	18			16,904	1147	**18,069**
1754				18,854	3851	**22,705**
1755	75			26,191	4449	**30,715**
1756				6426	2485	**8911**
1757				5611	340	**5951**
1758	20			3138	567	**3725**
1759				6813		**6813**
Total	**1566**	**1551**	**155**	**1,827,934**	**62,313**	**1,893,519**

(*continued*)

(Continued)

	Other cottons and cotton mixes								
	Allaya	**Bourre de Magnesie and similar**	**Bourre de coton, Toile de Coton**	**Bourre d'Alep**	**Toile de Montagne and similar**	**Toile de Jerusalem**	**Herbages**	**Mouchoirs**	**Total other cottons and cotton mixes**
1725		0						40	**40**
1726									**0**
1727		473							**473**
1728		1154							**1154**
1729		3992							**3992**
1730		163		402			126		**691**
1731	4324	1092				661			**6077**
1732	4828	467	3414		9780			1606	**20,095**
1733	3977	8260			11,863			2485	**26,585**
1734	2299	2881	354		3315			2054	**10,903**
1735	646				200			810	**1656**
1736	3858								**3858**
1737	6282			1825				1008	**9115**
1738	4565	3117		3281	499	240		1662	**13,364**
1739	1233	1852		1593	480			415	**5573**
1740	586	11,073	1000	6213	80			100	**19,052**
1741	2371	8118		2806				637	**13,932**
1742	3011	10,863		815	1395	460		248	**16,792**
1743	4166	1782	500		500			887	**7835**
1744	330	3644						369	**4343**
1745	1340	738						960	**3038**
1746	902	1806	290	1129	1132	100		860	**6219**
1747	1814	3372		1366				865	**7417**
1748	500	779				60		292	**1631**
1749	2359	5600	970		1282			3124	**13,335**
1750	1214	5840	100			825		1578	**9557**
1751	577	5297	3462		46	193		3965	**13,540**
1752	568	1293	1195			40		2363	**5459**
1753	462	1892			599			527	**3480**
1754	752	3391	14,671		2248			1322	**22,384**
1755	565	4363	664		10,429			5984	**22,005**
1756	2128	3737			6648			8303	**20,816**
1757	432	1158	3446		5657		5	6847	**17,545**
1758		1388	50		370			4402	**6210**
1759	1336	4970			3784			1944	**12,034**
Total	**57,425**	**104,555**	**30,116**	**19,430**	**60,307**	**2579**	**131**	**55,657**	**330,200**

(*continued*)

(Continued)

	Silks							
	Bourre de Damas	**Bourre de soye**	**Bourre Satiné**	**Satin or Etoffe satinée**	**Etoffe de soye**	**Etoffes d'or ou d'argent**	**Mouchoirs de soye**	**Total silks**
1725	5629	227	129	135	0	12	24	**6156**
1726	2588	942				6	182	**3718**
1727	1249				18	479		**1746**
1728							84	**84**
1729						8		**8**
1730	1643				104		694	**2441**
1731	619	1924					484	**3027**
1732	945				40		200	**1185**
1733	1059		832					**1891**
1734	130		65					**195**
1735	566		281					**847**
1736	1349		721					**2070**
1737	1034							**1034**
1738	1100			120	16			**1236**
1739	1004		93	82				**1179**
1740	1607	79	149	603	120			**2558**
1741	853		604					**1457**
1742	972							**972**
1743	1948			61				**2009**
1744	1059			465				**1524**
1745	266							**266**
1746	153							**153**
1747	667							**667**
1748	1182					8		**1190**
1749	2625			99				**2724**
1750	1622			338			250	**2210**
1751								**0**
1752	1507			196				**1703**
1753	728			127				**855**
1754								**0**
1755	682			118				**800**
1756	365			773				**1138**
1757				337				**337**
1758				735				**735**
1759				145				**145**
Total	**35,151**	**3172**	**2874**	**4334**	**298**	**513**	**1918**	**48,260**

(*continued*)

(Continued)

	Linens								
	Bourre/ Bours de fil	**Toiles Manouf**	**Toiles Batanonis**	**Toiles Caissies**	**Toiles tananis and chimounis and other linens**	**Toile maugarbine**	**Foutes**	**Bours d'embabe and Bours de damiette**	**Total linens**
1725									**103,027**
1726									**63,578**
1727									**49,226**
1728									**87,030**
1729									**138,347**
1730									**184,355**
1731	8299	10,348	63,038	21,301					**102,986**
1732	7270	5885	51,402	13,650				190	**78,397**
1733	8899	4451	63,172	10,086				135	**86,743**
1734		9767	44,359	12,231					**66,357**
1735	2925	4936	49,292	8219					**65,372**
1736	1271	6827	33,112	4768		707			**46,685**
1737	1542	7329	37,023	7417		1498		341	**55,150**
1738	2504	9331	47,530	6674	880	571		132	**67,622**
1739	20	3260	48,070	6541	820	64			**58,775**
1740		15,208	56,303	15,448					**86,959**
1741		9631	177,759	11,040	434	54		30	**198,948**
1742		8380	76,015	12,826	100	98		80	**97,499**
1743		1200	34,749	12,472	434			100	**48,955**
1744			1428						**1428**
1745		9459	1150			75		12	**10,696**
1746		800	1810						**2610**
1747		3080	850	300				10	**4240**
1748	72	4960	3680	3850			276	926	**13,764**
1749		3871	11,950	6962					**22,783**
1750	788	4723	12,400	6000				50	**23,961**
1751	1047	12,790	8452	10,040	690				**33,019**
1752		15,600	3500	9920					**29,020**
1753		13,739	14,360	23,600					**51,699**
1754	1385	23,478		32,720					**57,583**
1755	600	18,873	22,281	19,980					**61,734**
1756	229	7803	13,781	2910				36	**24,759**
1757	987	3655	9003					14	**13,659**
1758		4822	11,795			200			**16,817**
1759		3090	3550	1500					**8140**
Total									**2,061,923**

(*continued*)

	Other and non-specified			
	Camelots and Camelots d'angora	**Toiles, Etoffes and toileries Diverses**	**Other**	**Total other and non-specified**
1725	298	126,722		**127,020**
1726	76	28,956		**29,032**
1727	4	72,575		**72,579**
1728		20,241		**20,241**
1729		64,064	32	**64,096**
1730		38,765	5	**38,770**
1731			410	**410**
1732		10,413	197	**10,610**
1733		1238		**1238**
1734		4780		**4780**
1735		1020	136	**1156**
1736		280		**280**
1737				**0**
1738	38	981	322	**1341**
1739		470	46	**516**
1740		4200		**4200**
1741		3330		**3330**
1742		7007	451	**7458**
1743		6077		**6077**
1744		450	780	**1230**
1745		925	190	**1115**
1746		217	50	**267**
1747	3	1742	1438	**3183**
1748		2460		**2460**
1749		2200	2192	**4392**
1750		3700	696	**4396**
1751		2003	658	**2661**
1752		640	338	**978**
1753		3550	215	**3765**
1754	4	6852	188	**7044**
1755		2820	46	**2866**
1756		661	452	**1113**
1757		175	12	**187**
1758		556	96	**652**
1759		170	96	**266**
Total	**423**	**420,240**	**9046**	**429,709**

Total calicoes	**323,635**
Total dyed and printed cottons	**2,951,546**
Total muslins and white cottons	**1,893,519**
Total other cottons and cotton mixes	**330,200**
Total silks	**48,260**
Total linens	**1,436,360**
Total other and non-specified	**429,709**
Total cottons	**3,667,694**
Total linens	**1,436,360**
Total silks	**48,260**
Total other	**429,709**

Source: CCI Marseille I 27

NB: The above table is adjusted to the fact that before 1730, linen textiles were not listed by name. Hence for the purposes of this table all 'toilerie diverse' from Egypt before 1731 is counted as linens here.

Appendix III

A Comparison of French Textile Imports via the Levant and via the East India Companies

	Levant trade	Compagnie des Indes
1725	245,033	127,814
1726	99,009	184,192
1728	110,389	164,569
1729	225,445	149,632
1731	399,003	258,372
1732	407,294	327,214
1733	453,005	468,239
1734	405,897	388,214
1737	281,413	313,898
1738	345,094	425,336
1739	365,380	304,787
1740	385,186	384,584
1741	393,603	385,788
1749	277,761	102,074
1750	182,506	64,183
1756	202,155	67,841
Totals	**4,778,173**	**4,116,737**

Sources: see Appendices I and II

Appendix IV

Convictions by the *Commission de Valence*

	Tobacco			Salt			Calicoes and muslins			
	Armed	*Unarmed*	*Aid*	*Armed*	*Unarmed*	*Aid*	*Armed*	*Unarmed*	*Aid*	*Armed*
1733	3	10								
1734	6	5		4						
1735	3	1								
1736	3	5	4		2					
1737	7									
1738	6	15	3							1
1739	11	18	6	1		1				4
1740	8	25	6			2		2		
1741	1	36	7					1		
1742	2	44	3		3				1	4
1743	8	27	5	2	9	7		3	2	2
1744	3	2	5		6	14			3	2
1745	4	16	4		11	10		4	3	1
1746	2	16	1	1	13	2		5		
1747		12	2		13	6		1	1	
1748	2	6			1	1		1		
1749	3	4			4			6		1
1750	6	8			4	1			2	
1751	1	12	5		3			2	1	
1752	1				3			4	2	
1753	3	12	3		13			1	1	
1754	2	20	3		3			3	1	
1755	13	8	2	4	12	2		7	1	2
1756	11	15			11			2		
1757	4	27			3	3				
1758	5	13			4					
1759	4	4								
Totals	**122**	**361**	**59**	**12**	**118**	49	**0**	**42**	**18**	**17**

Source: AD Drome B1304 fols 1-323

NB: The table does not include instances, such as in 1743 and 1744, when entire villages were convicted and fined, because in such cases no precise numbers are indicated.

Tobacco and salt		Tobacco and fabrics			All 3	Corrupt Fermiers	No details / other				Total
Unarmed	*Aid*	*Armed*	*Unarmed*	*Aid*	*Armed*		*Armed*	*Unarmed*	*Aid*	*Other*	
											13
			4				1				**20**
											4
		1				1			2	1	**19**
			1				6			1	**15**
							3	2			**30**
						2			2	4	**49**
			2			2		5	3	2	**57**
4			2				1		4	2	**58**
3								1			**61**
2			1			2	1	1	3	1	**76**
5			3			15	5		3	5	**71**
2						4			1	2	**62**
4	1			1		1	1	3	5		**56**
		2		1	1	1					**40**
					1	3					**15**
			1			4		2	2		**27**
		1	2			2					**26**
								1	3		**28**
			9			4		4	3	5	**35**
			4			2		2	8	1	**50**
			2			2	2	2	3		**43**
		1	6				2	1	3	1	**65**
		1	2			6	3	8	2	4	**65**
2				1		2	1	1	3	6	**53**
			1			3		15	1		**42**
			1			8	2	7		7	**33**
22	**1**	**6**	**41**	**3**	**2**	**64**	**28**	**55**	**51**	**42**	**1113**

Notes

Introduction

1 On Morellet and the Gournay circle as liberals see Clark and Meysonnier in the next note. Morellet's statements much exceed Montesquieu's position, who is still most commonly hailed as the founding figure of French liberalism, despite recent caveats by Céline Spector. See Raf Geenens and Helena Rosenblatt (eds), *French Liberalism from Montesquieu to the Present Day* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), especially ibid., Céline Spector, 'Was Montesquieu Liberal? The Spirit of the Laws in the History of Liberalism', pp. 57–72.

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3 Daniel Roche, *Histoire des choses banales. Naissance de la consommation dans les sociétés traditionnelles (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), and idem, *La culture des apparences: une histoire du vêtement, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1989). Madeleine Ferrières, *Le Bien des Pauvres. La Consommation populaire en Avignon (1600–1800)* (Seyssel: champ Vallon, 2004). Natacha Coquery, *Tenir boutique à Paris au XVIIIe siècle. Luxe et demi-luxe* (Paris: CTHS, 2011). On the link between the 'empire of fashion', productivity increases, and the development of capitalism in France see Michael Sonenscher, 'New Preface' to *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades* (Cambridge University Press, 2011, new paperback edn), pp. vii–xx; William H. Sewell, 'The Empire of Fashion and the Rise of Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France', *Past and Present* 206 (2010), 81–120; Sonenscher and Sewell, 'Debate: The Empire of Fashion and the Rise of Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France', *Past and Present* 216 (2012), 247–67. On fashion and innovation in the Lyonnais silk industry see especially Carlo Poni, 'Fashion as Flexible Production: The Strategies of the Lyons Silk Merchants in the Eighteenth Century', in *World of Possibilities: Flexibility and Mass Production in Western Industrialization*, ed. Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 37–74; idem, 'Mode et innovation: les stratégies des marchands en soie de Lyon au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 45 (1998), 589–625; Lesley Miller, 'Paris–Lyon–Paris: Dialogue in the Design and Distribution of Patterned Silks in the 18th Century', in *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris: Studies in the History of the Skilled Workforce*, ed. Robert Fox and Anthony Turner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 139–67; and idem, 'Material Marketing: How Lyonnais Silk

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4 Cissie Fairchilds, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 228–48; Colin Jones and Rebecca Spang, '*Sans-Culottes, Sans Café, Sans Tabac*: Shifting Realms of Necessity and Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France', in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850*, ed. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 37–62; Michael Kwass, 'Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France', *The American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 631–59; Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996); and Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

5 On the importance of international trade for the early modern French economy see especially Guillaume Daudin, *Commerce et prospérité: la France au XVIIIe siècle* (Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), and Patrick Verley, *L'échelle du monde. Essai sur l'industrialisation de l'Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997 and 2013). See also Richard Drayton, 'The Globalisation of France: Provincial Cities and French Expansion c. 1500–1800', *History of European Ideas* 34 (2008), 424–30; and Emma Rothschild, 'Isolation and Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century France', *American Historical Review* 119 (2014), 1055–82. More broadly see the special issue *The French Atlantic and the Caribbean (1600–1800)* of *French History* 25.1 (2011), ed. Trevor Burnard and Allan Potofsky.

6 Recent examples include Jean-Claude Daumas (ed.), *L'Histoire économique en mouvement. Entre héritages et renouvellements* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2012); Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire and Pierrick Pourchasse (eds), *Les Circulations internationales en Europe annés 1680–annés 1780* (Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010); Jean-Philippe Genet and François Ruggiu (eds), *Les idées passent-elles la Manche? Savoirs, Représentations, Pratiques (France–Angleterre, Xe–XXe siècle)* (Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2007); and Denis Woronoff, *La circulation des marchandises dans la France de l'Ancien Régime* (Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière, 1998).

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8 However, see Jean-Yves Grenier, '"Travailler plus pour consommer plus" Désir de consommer et essor du capitalisme du XVIIe siècle à nos jours', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 65 (2010), 787–98; and idem, 'Temps de travail et fêtes religieuses au XVIIe siècle', *Revue historique* 663 (2012), 609–41.

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10 On this see notably the works by O'Brien, Beckert, and Parthasarathi above. All in all, the literature on this topic is too vast to reference. The debate, which arguably reignited with Pomeranz and Frank's disagreement with David Landes, especially his *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1998) can be found summarised in Peer Vries, *State, Economy and the Great Divergence. Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). Cf. Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence* and Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

11 Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985). Riello, *Cotton* and Lemire, *Cotton*. Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). Kris Lane, *The Colour of Paradise: Emeralds in the Age of the Gunpowder Empires* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). Iain Gately, *La diva nicotina: The Story of How Tobacco Seduced the World* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2002). Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World* (London: Cape, 1998); Laura Martin, *Tea: The Drink That Changed the World* (Rutland: Tuttle, 2007). Larry Zuckerman, *The Potato:*

From the Andes in the Sixteenth Century to Fish and Chips, the Story of How a Vegetable Changed History (London: Macmillan, 1999). The best overview of the field can be found in recent edited collections: see especially Jonathan Curry-Machado (ed.), *Global Histories, Imperial Commodities, Local Interactions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013) for the modern period; and Maxine Berg, Felicia Gottmann, Hanna Hodacs, and Chris Nierstrasz (eds), *Goods from the East: Trading Eurasia 1600–1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) for the early modern.

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14 Francesco Boldizzoni, *The Poverty of Clio: Resurrecting Economic History* (Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 136.

15 Sonenscher, 'New Preface', *Work and Wages*, p. xix.

16 See for instance: Étiemble, *L'Europe chinoise*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1988–89), Donald F. Lach's magisterial, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3 vols in 9 books (University of Chicago Press, 1965–93) and more recently Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008); Madeleine Dobie, *Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010); Sara E. Melzer, *Colonizer or Colonized: The Hidden Stories of Early Modern French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); and Charles W.J. Withers, 'Space Geography and the Global French Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Enlightenment*, ed. Daniel Brewer (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 214–32. Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2011), and Anoush Fraser Terjanian, *Commerce and Its Discontents in Eighteenth-Century French Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

17 Michael Kwass, *Contraband. Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 9. See also his essay on the topic in Desan, Hunt, and Nelson (eds), *The French Revolution in Global Perspective*, pp. 15–31.

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20 Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*; Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not*; and Riello, *Cotton*. Cf. the essays in the volumes co-edited by Riello: Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (eds), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford University Press, 2009), and Riello and Tirthankar Roy (eds), *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

21 For the French case in particular, see Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce*; Reinert, *Translating Empire*; and Terjanian, *Commerce and Its Discontents*.

22 Gournay himself was a member of a Saint-Malo-based international merchant family and spent over 15 years as their company's agent in the global port of Cadiz. Loïc Charles, 'Le cercle de Gournay: usages culturels et pratiques savantes', in *Le cercle de Vincent de Gournay. Savoirs économiques et pratiques administratives en France au milieu du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Loïc Charles, Frédéric Lefebvre, and Christine Théré (Paris: INED, 2011), pp. 63–87. Meysonnier, *La Balance et l'Horloge*, pp. 168–74.

23 On public opinion at this juncture see Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution. Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 167–99. On political economy as a focus for public interest from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, see John Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Christine Théré, 'Economic Publishing and Authors, 1566–1789', in *Studies in the History of French Political Economy: From Bodin to Walras*, ed. Gilbert Faccarello (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 1–56. On political economy as the science of Enlightenment see John Robertson, *The Case for The Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

24 Donald C. Wellington, *French East India Companies: A Historical Account and Record of Trade* (Lanham: Hamilton, 2006).

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Prologue: Three French Women and Their Troublesome Textiles

1 AD Rhône: 5C12 (Procès-verbal dated 27 February 1756).
2 BNF: FR 21 780, Ordonnance dated 2 July 1738.
3 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C2711, 'Etat des personnes sur lesquelles il a eté saisi des vetemens et etoffes prohibées' [*sic*].

1 Global Fabrics: The French Trade in Asian and Asian-Style Textiles

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2 On this and other Indian textiles found during these excavations see Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
3 Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 33–4, 95–8. Serge Chassagne, 'Calico Printing in Europe before 1780', *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins, 2 vols, (Cambridge University Press, 2003), I, 513–27. Giorgio Riello, 'Asian Knowledge and the Development of Calico Printing in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010), 1–28.

4 Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*, pp. 33–4, 95–8. Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 73, 151–9.
5 Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 98–102; Chassagne, 'Calico Printing in Europe'; Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons Asian Trade, Domestic Industry and Consumer Demand, 1660–1780', in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, I, 493–512.
6 Molière, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, i.2.
7 *Le Mercure galant*, issues 2 (1673), 3 (1673), 4 (1673), 7 (July 1677), reprinted in *L'esprit des modes au Grand Siècle*, ed. Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset (Paris: CTHS, 2010), pp. 45, 59, 62, 77.
8 Ibid., issues 49 and 44 (October 1699 and September 1693), pp. 180, 172.
9 On the town of Lorient see Claude Nières (ed.), *Histoire de Lorient* (Toulouse: Privat, 1989) and Gérard Le Bouëdec, 'La culture océan Indien dans le pays de Lorient au xviii^{e} siècle', in *Les relations entre la France et l'Inde de 1673 à nos jours*, ed. Jacques Weber (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2002).
10 Philippe Haudrère, *La Compagnie française des Indes au XVIIIe siècle*, second revised and corrected edition, 2 vols (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2005) and Wellington above. See also Felicia Gottmann, 'French–Asian Connections: The Compagnies des Indes, France's Eastern Trade, and New Directions in Historical Scholarship', *The Historical Journal* 56 (2013), 537–52.
11 Haudrère, *La Compagnie Française*, II, pp. 840–1.
12 Donald C. Wellington, *French East India Companies: A Historical Account and Record of Trade* (Lanham, MD: Hamilton, 2006), pp. 114–22.
13 Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt*, I, i.
14 Georges Roques, *La manière de négocier aux Indes 1676–1691 – La compagnie des Indes et l'art du commerce*, ed. Valérie Bérinstain (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1996). See also Indrani Ray, 'Of Trade and Traders in the Seventeenth-Century India: An Unpublished French Memoir by Georges Roques' and 'The Trade and Traders in Ahmedabad in Late Seventeenth Century: Extracts from Georges Roques' MSS.', in *The French East India Company and the Trade of the Indian Ocean: A Collection of Essays by Indrani Ray*, ed. Lakshimi Subramanian (Calcutta: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999), pp. 1–62, 63–76.
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16 Roques, *La manière*, pp. 31–6, 46–8 (10–21 and 43–8) (page numbers in parenthesis refer to the original manuscript page numbers).

17 Ibid., pp. 40 and 80 (29 and 108–9).
18 Ibid., p. 120 (193–5).
19 Ibid. pp. 85–100 (119–24). On panes, also spelt 'pannes', see Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, Bernard Berthod, and Martine Chavent-Fusaro, *Les Etoffes – Dictionnaire histoirque* (Paris: Les Editions de l'Amateur, 1994), pp. 293–4.
20 ANOM, C2 56 ff8: 'Estat des Etoffes soye et Cotton apportées de Suratte en France par les Navires et pour Compte de la Compagnie des Indes'. On such fabrics see the best contemporary source for all matters relating to textiles in Europe, Jacques Savary des Brûlons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce: contenant tout ce qui concerne le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde. L'explication de tous les termes qui ont rapport au negoce* […], 2 vols (Amsterdam: Chez les Jansons à Waesberge, 1726), I, 1838–9.
21 ANOM: C2 279, ff63–6 'Réponses du Comptoir de Surate à la lettre des Directeurs généraux de 1698'.
22 Haudrère, *La Compagnie française*, I, 226.
23 Ibid., pp. 224–5.
24 Jean Deloche, *Origins of the Urban Development of Pondicherry according to Seventeenth Century Dutch Plan* (Pondicherry: French Institute of Pondicherry, Publications Hors Serie 3, Royal Netherland Ambassy, New Delhi, Institut Français de Pondichéry, 2004); idem, *Le vieux Pondichéry (1673–1824) revisité d'après les plans anciens* (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005); Marguerite Labernadie, *Le vieux Pondichéry, 1673–1815. Histoire d'une ville coloniale française* (Pondicherry: Société d'Histoire de l'Inde Française, Imprimerie Moderne, 1936).
25 J. Frederick Price and K. Rangachari (eds and trans), *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix* [...] (Madras: Superintendent Government Press, 1904–07), 2 vols.
26 Ananda Ranga Pillai, I, pp. 3–4 (October 1736), 38–40 (May 1738), 89–90 (April 1739), 117 (April 1740), etc. Cf. Catherine Manning, *Fortunes à faire: The French in Asian Trade 1719–48* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 132–4.
27 Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 103–7. The best primary source remains Ananda Ranga Pillai's private diary.
28 Prasannan Parthasarathi, 'Cotton Textiles in the Indian Subcontinent', in *The Spinning World*, pp. 17–41 (20–1).
29 On the customisation for non-European markets see Mattiebelle Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World* (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1982) and the essays by Om Prakash, Pedro Machado, and Kayoko Fujita in Riello and Roy (eds), *The Spinning World*.
30 Duval de Leyrit, Director of the Council of Chandernagor was particularly unhappy with Pondicherry's role: AN 158AP 2, Dossier 2 and 158AP 13, Dossier 5. Such discontent was reflected both in private and in public correspondences. See the private correspondence of the Renaults, active in Chandernagor: René Vallée (ed.), *Au service de la Compagnie des Indes: Lettres inédites d'une famille du Poitou au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001), p. 46 and the Council's official correspondence: *Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry avec le Conseil de Chandernagor*, ed. Alfred Martineau, 3 vols (Pondichéry: Société de l'histoire de l'Inde, 1915–27).
31 Indrani Ray, 'The French Company and the Merchants of Bengal (1680–1730)', in Indrani Ray, *The French East India Company and the Trade of*

the Indian Ocean, ed. Lakashmi Subramanian (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999), pp. 77–89.

32 ANOM: F3 46 fol. 68, 'Manière dont le commerce se fait au Bengale', MS s.d. but dating from after Plassey.

33 Ibid.

34 Cf. AN 138 AP 13, dossier 5: 'Mémoire pour le Comptoir de Chandernagor et ses dépendances', chapter 1. MS s.d. though almost certainly by the former director Duval de Leyrit himself and dating from the 1750s.

35 Duval de Leyrit, of the Duval-d'Eprémesnil family which was represented in the upper echelons of the French East India Company both in France and in India throughout the first part of the eighteenth century, was director of Chandanagor from 1746 until he became governor of Pondicherry in 1756: Haudrère, *La Compagnie des Indes*, I, 240–1.

36 AN 138 AP 13, dossier 5: 'Mémoire pour le Comptoir de Chandernagor', chapter 4.

37 Jean Sgard, 'L'Echelle des Revenus', *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 14 (1982), 425–33, and Jean-Pierre Poussou, 'Salaires', in *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris: PUF, 1996), pp. 1118–19.

38 AN 138 AP 13, dossier 5: 'Mémoire pour le Comptoir de Chandernagor', chapter 1.

39 ANOM, C2 284 fols 77–90: 'Mémoire avec Observations sur les Marchandises Blanches', s.d. but after 1754 (the last date mentioned) and pre-1769.

40 Ibid. This is typical of such reports and also holds for non-textiles such as porcelains and lacquerware from China. For an example of this from 1738 see: ANOM C2 284, fol. 95.

41 This was a constant bone of contention between French India and the metropolis: Alfred Martineau (ed.), *Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry et de la Compagnie* (Pondichéry: Sociéte de l'histoire de l'Inde français, 1720–31), 6 vols. See also Duval de Leyrit's annoyance at this: AN 138 AP 13, dossier 5: 'Mémoire pour le Comptoir de Chandernagor', chapter 1.

42 Haudrère, *La Compagnie Française*, II, 840–1.

43 Claudius Madrolle, *Les premiers voyages français à la Chine 1698–1719* (Paris: Challamel, 1901). Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: le commerce à Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719–1833*, 4 vols (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), I, 147–51. Haudrère, 'L'ouverture du commerce maritime entre la France et la Chine', in *La soie & le canon: France–Chine, 1700–1860*, ed. Bertrand Guillet (Paris: Gallimard and Nantes: Musée d'histoire de Nantes, 2010), pp. 24–49; and Jean-Paul Desroches, 'Le Voyage de l'Amphitrite', ibid., pp. 50–1. On early projects see ANOM, C^1 8, 2–5: 'Calcul et mémoire' (1658); 7–10: 'Articles pour la Compagnie pour le voyage de la Chine, du Tonkin et de la Cochinchine' (1660); 28–39: Hermeysteyn's proposals from about 1664.

44 A convention in 1705 united the two groups more firmly into a *Compagnie royale de la Chine* whose privilege would be conferred in 1712 to a *Nouvelle Compagnie royale de la Chine*. Quarrels never ceased, however, and legal proceedings continued until the mid-eighteenth century. ANOM C^1 8, 75–110; C^1 9, 3–56, 132–50; C^1 10, 3–8; C^1 17, 4–5, 181–94, 231–2; C^1 18–20.

45 Dermigny, *La Chine*, I, 152–4.

46 However, no French ships were sent in 1737, 1739, and during times of war in 1746–47, 1756–57, and 1759–62. Haudrère, *La Compagnie française* II, Annexe Statistique p. 850.
47 Dermigny, *La Chine* I, 276–369. Paul van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005) and idem, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong University Press, 2011). On the eighteenth-century French in Canton in particular see also Haudrère, *La Compagnie française*, I, 230–4.
48 However, it should be noted that against the traditional point of view that tea made up the largest part of the East India Companies' China trade, van Dyke has recently argued for the importance of silk, not in terms of quantity but in terms of value: Paul van Dyke, 'Weaver Suckin and the Canton Silk Trade, 1750–1781', *Revista de Cultura / Review of Culture International Edition* 29 (2009), 104–19. On the contents of the French China trade specifically see Haudrère, 'L'ouverture du commerce maritime entre la France et la Chine', in *La soie & le canon* and especially Brigitte Nicolas, 'Cargaisons de Chine', ibid., pp. 52–3.
49 On early modern Chinese cotton fabrics and their export, see: Billy K.L. So, Vincent W.K. Ho, and K.C. Tam, 'Overseas Trade and Local Economy in Ming and Qing China: Cotton Textile Exports from the Jiangnan Region', in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *Trade and Transfer across the East Asian 'Mediterranean'* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), pp. 163–84; and Harriet T. Zurndorfer, 'The Resistant Fibre: Cotton Textiles in Imperial China', in Riello and Parthasarathi (eds), *The Spinning World*, pp. 43–62.
50 'Observations sur les moeurs et les Coutumes des Chinois, leur commerce et leur navigation […]', 1735: BNF: NAF 9347, fols 12–48, pp. 20–31. On types and quantities of Chinese silks imported by the European Companies see Leanna Lee-Whitman, 'The Silk Trade: Chinese Silks and the British East India Company', *Winterhur Portfolio* 17 (1982), 21–41; and Christiaan Jörg, 'Chinese Export Silks for the Dutch in the 18th Century', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 73 (2008–09), 1–24. I would like to thank Hanna Hodacs for these and other references on the topic.
51 They were still known in the 1760s for their willingness to pay more in order to receive the best-quality merchandise: see *The Canton–Macao Dagregisters, 1763*, trans. Paul Van Dyke, revised Cynthia Viallé (Macau: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2008), p. 39 (11 April 1763).
52 Private commissions which specifically included fine textiles are in ANOM, C^1 10 fols 82–3 (1752) and fol. 110 (1756), when the order by the wife of a French aristocrat specifically included the type of painted and figured satins and *furie*, which was illegal in France. See Part II.
53 ANOM: C^1 17 fols 17–19: sales notice and itemised bill.
54 ANOM, C^1 18, fol. 104, extract from letter by Pechberti, 1703.
55 ANOM, C^1 10 fols 13–42.
56 ANOM, C^1 10 fols 26–61.
57 AM Nantes, HH 226, fol. 53: 'Cargaison des Vaisseaux le *Mercure* & la *Diane*'.
58 Wellington, *French East India Companies*, pp. 188–9.
59 AD Loire-Atlantique: C750 (Affiche de Vente 6 October 1704).

60 AM Nantes HH 224 fol. 54. Cf. Sgard, 'L'Echelle des Revenus' and Poussou, 'Salaires'.
61 See AM Nantes HH 200–2, and 218–26 for the sales in Nantes, and SHD Lorient, 1P 257–62 for those held in Lorient. Cf. Haudrère, *La Compagnie française*, I, pp. 176–80.
62 Editions of August 1684, September 1687 and 1688, April and September 1696 and 1701 in Thépaut-Cabasset (ed.), *Esprit des modes au Grand Siècle*, p. 107, n. 65. Examples survive in AM Nantes HH 200–2, and 218–26.
63 Affiches de Vente: AD Loire-Atlantique C 750 (1704 and 1737); AM Nantes: HH 200 (1710, 1712), 201 (1715), 202 (1716), 219 (1720), 220 (1721), 221 (1721), 222 (1722), 223 (1723, 1724) 224 (1725, 1726), 225 (1728, 1729), 226 (1731, 1732, 1733); BNF: FR 21 779 (1732). Dispositions de la Vente (sales catalogues): AM Nantes: HH 202 (1716), 219 (1719, 1720) 220 (1720, 1721), and 221 (1721), 222 (1722), 223 (1723), and 226 (1730s). Articles et Conditions de Vente: AD Loire-Atlantique: C750 (1715, 1734, 1737, and 1738); AM Nantes, HH 202(1716, 1718), 219 (1719), 220 (1721), 221 (1721), 222 (1722), 223 (1723, 1724), 224 (1725, 1726), 225 (1728, 1729), and 226 (1730, 1731, 1732, 1733). Samples could also be sent out to merchants prior to the auction. Cf. SHD Lorient: 1P 279, fol. 102.
64 AM Nantes: HH 226 and Haudrère, *La Compagnie des Indes*, I, p. 179 n. 493.
65 Arrangements in Nantes as described in HH 226 seem to have remained the same once the auctions had moved to Lorient: Haudrère, *La Compagnie des Indes*, I, 308.
66 For fabrics specifically see the examples of errors from the textile sale of 1758: SHD Lorient: 1P 257, fols 1–38. For cases from 1751 see also SHD Lorient 1P 279 fols 35–9.
67 Haudrère, *La Compagnie française*, II, 844.
68 For just one example from the period Haudrère surveys see AN: H1 610, fol. 37.
69 [Forbonnais], *Examen des Avantages et des Desavantages de la Prohibition des Toiles Peintes* [Marseille: Carapatria, 1755], pp. 5–9. [André Morellet], *Réflexions sur les Avantages de la Libre Fabrication et de l'Usage des Toiles Peintes en France* […] (Geneva & Paris: Damonneville, 1758), pp. 182–4. On the opinions in the Bureau du Commerce in 1749 see: AN: AE BIII 461 'Extrait de l'affaire des toilles peintes en France' and 'Opinion de M de Montaran au Bureau du Commerce sur les Toiles peintes'.
70 Brigitte Nicolas, 'De la côte de Coromandel aux côtes du Sénégal, les tribulations des indiennes de traite', *Cahiers de la Compagnie des indes* 9/10 (2006), 97–111. African buyers were knowledgeable and quality conscious and did not receive inferior European imitations of Indian originals well. See Machado, *Ocean of Trade*. Cf. Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*, pp. 95–8.
71 René Estienne, 'Les archives des compagnies commerciales et la traite: l'exemple de la Compagnie des Indes', Lorient, Service historique de la Défense, 2009. See also the special issue *Lorient, la Bretagne et la traite (XVII^{e}–XIX siècles), Cahiers de la Compagnie des Indes* 9/10 (2006). Françoise Got, 'Lorient et la traite des noirs au XVIIIe siècle', *Cahiers du Faouédic* 6 (1993), 5–30. On the profits the company made from this see Haudrère, *La*

Compagnie française II, Annexe statistique: pp. 832–3 (Guinea trade) and 834 (Senegal trade).

72 See for instance the *Arrest du Conseil d'Estat* dated 9 May 1733 which recalls the previous legislation on the topic: AD Loire-Atlantique C749.

73 On this see the following chapter.

74 On this practice see the Arêt du Conseil d'Etat dated 8 February 1687: BNF, Ms fr 21 780.

75 SHD 1P 279 fols 7, 15, 17 for 1749 (acquisitions from the British and Dutch, and a Copenhagen merchant by the name of Fabricius), fol. 34 (British in 1750) and fol. 82 (Dutch in 1758). On the success of Doreas acquired by the French from the British in 1749 and sold at auction, see also the above-cited memorandum on white goods: ANOM, C2 284.

76 SHD Lorient, 1P 279, liasse 18 fols 25–7.

77 SHD 1P257 liasse 1 fol. 36.

78 Giorgio Riello, 'The Indian Apprenticeship: The Trade of Indian Textiles and the Making of European Cottons', in Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (eds), *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 309–46.

79 Gaston Rambert (ed.), *Histoire du Commerce de Marseille*, 6 vols (Paris: Plon, 1966), vols V and VI, 511–30. It is only fairly recently that historians have begun to reject the assumption that the Mediterranean lost its importance for early modern France as that of the Atlantic increased. On this see especially the special issue of *French History* edited by Megan C. Armstrong and Gillian Weiss (29.1 – 2015) and Horn, *Economic Development*, chapter 5.

80 Katsumi Fukasawa, *Toilerie et commerce du Levant: d'Alep à Marseille* (Paris: CNRS, 1987), pp. 15–17. Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square. English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 26–41.

81 See especially the holdings in AN: BI and BIII and the very rich archives of the Marseille Chamber of Commerce.

82 Gaston Rambert (ed.), *Histoire du Commerce de Marseille*, 6 vols (Paris: Plon, 1966), vol. V: Robert Paris, *De 1660 à 1789: le Levant*, pp. 231–69. For Aleppo in particular: Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, pp. 71–85. For the second largest European grouping there, the British see Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square* and Christine Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant: trade and perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century* (London: Tauris, 2010).

83 BM Saint-Brieuc: Papiers Gournay 84, 88 Commerce du Levant; AN: BIII 235–40 Mémoires et Lettres 1665–1766; AMAE: Fonds Mémoires et Documents 1997. Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, pp. 85–94; Paris, *Le Levant*, pp. 319–584. In terms of the share of textiles Fukasawa indicates a rise from 4 to 9.4 per cent and counts only cottons while Paris who gives 3.7–7 per cent also includes silks and mixed fabrics in his calculations. Paris, *Le Levant*, pp. 532–5. Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, pp. 21–6.

84 See Appendix II. On the different types of textiles traded and their usages see also Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, pp. 19–21.

85 AM Saint-Brieuc, Papiers Gournay 88 no. 9, 'Mémoire sur le commerce de Smyrne'. Fukasawa also finds that Persian muslins and chintzes completely disappear between 1723–40 and that from then on all cottons traded from the Levant to Marseille were of Ottoman origin: Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, p. 24.

86 On the importance of Armenian merchants in disseminating Indian and later Levantine cotton printing techniques see especially Olivier Raveux's work, such as 'Les Arméniens et la Méditerranée, médiateurs techniques entre Orient et Occident dans l'indiennage au XVIIe siècle', in Gérard Le Bouëdec and Brigitte Nicolas (eds), *Le goût de L'Inde* (Lorient and Rennes: Musée de la Compagnie des Indes and Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), pp. 44–51; and idem, 'Du commerce à la production: l'indiennage européen et l'acquisition des techniques asiatiques au XVIIe siècle', in Jacqueline Jacqué and Brigitte Nicolas (eds), *Féérie indienne Les toiles peintes des rivages de l'Inde au royaume de France* (Paris: Somogy, 2008), pp. 22–5. See also Fukasawa, 'De l'Inde au Levant: routes du commerce, routes des indiennes', in *Le goût de L'Inde*, pp. 34–43.

87 See Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, pp. 19–21 and 175–89.

88 CCI Marseille: H 198 (Arrests du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 2 July 1686 and Ordonnance by Lebret dated 26 October 1693; cf. Arrests du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 23 March, 20 May, and 7 September 1720).

89 CCI Marseille: H 199 ('Tableau des Toilles').

90 CCI Marseille: H199 ('Tableau des Toilles' and 'Tableau de comparaisons du Prix des Toiles du Levant').

91 On the importance of fashion for the popularity of calicos, see especially Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 127–33 and Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*, pp. 27–37. On the importance of the second-hand market generally see Bruno Blondé, Natacha Coquery, Jon Stobart, and Ilja Van Damme (eds), *Fashioning Old and New: Changing Consumer Patterns in Europe (1650–1900)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). On textiles in particular see Laurence Fontaine, 'The Circulation of Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris: Social Redistribution and an Alternative Currency', in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Books*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 89–102, and for the similar situation in Britain, Beverly Lemire, 'Peddling Fashion: Salesmen, Pawnbrokers, Thieves and the Second-hand Clothes Trade in England', *Textile History* 22.1 (1991), 67–82; *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford University Press, 1991), chapters 2 and 3; and John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007). For the south of France especially see Madeleine Ferrières, *Le Bien des Pauvres. La Consommation populaire en Avignon (1600–1800)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2004).

92 On Marseille's exceptions from the ban, see Chapter 2, as well as Fukasawa, *Toilerie*, pp. 158–66. On its calico printing industry, see Chapters 2 and 4 as well as Olivier Raveux's work, especially 'The Birth of a New European Industry: l'indiennage in Seventeenth-Century Marseilles', in Riello and Parthasarathi (eds), *The Spinning World*, pp. 291–306.

93 On popular consumption and the wide availability of East Indian cottons in Brittany during this period see especially Eugénie Margoline-Plot, 'Les Pacotilles, la Boutique et la Mer. Organisation, structures et logiques d'une économie parallèle en Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle' (doctoral thesis, Université de Bretagne-Sud, 2014).

2 Smuggling Textiles into France

1 [Forbonnais], *Examen des Avantages et des Désavantages de la Prohibition des Toiles Peintes* (Marseille: Carapatria, 1755), pp. 5–9.
2 On consumption and consumer groups see Chapter 3; on the Bureau's analysis see Chapter 5.
3 CCI Marseille H203: 'Arrest du Conseil d'Estat du Roi' dated 26 October 1686, cf. ibid., rulings and orders dated 14 May 1689 and 4 July 1691.
4 In *La Toile peinte en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles: Industrie, commerce, prohibitions* (Paris: Librairie des sciences politiques et sociales, Marcel Rivière et Cie, 1912) Edgard Depitre counts 80 *arrêts* and 2 edicts, but there are in fact several dozen more. The most extensive collection of the repeated rulings are in the collection Delamare (BNF: Ms FR 21780) and in AN F12 1403.
5 For another example see Martyn J. Powell, 'Consumption: Commercial Demand and the Challenges to Regulatory Power in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 282–301. See also the essays by Anne L. Murphy and Regina Grafe in the same volume.
6 See especially Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire and Pierrick Pourchasse (eds), *Les circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680–années 1780* (Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010) and Dennis Woronoff (ed.), *La circulation des marchandises dans la France de l'Ancien régime: journée d'études tenue à Bercy, le 12 décembre 1997* (Paris: Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, 1998). As so often the tone for this was set by Daniel Roche: *Humeurs vagabondes. De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages* (Paris: Fayard, 2003). As a concept circulation has been particularly important in the field of ideas and knowledge: Lise Andries, Frédéric Ogée, John Dunkley, and Darach Sanfey (eds), *Intellectual Journeys: The Translation of Ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland*, SVEC 2013:12; Jean-Philippe Genet and François-Joseph Ruggiu (eds), *Les idées passent-elles la Manche?: savoirs, représentations, pratiques (France-Angleterre, X^{e}–XX^{e} siècles)* (Paris: PUPS, 2007). For notable recent studies on global smuggling see Alan L. Karras, *Smuggling. Contraband and Corruption in World History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010) and Niclas Frykman, 'Pirates and Smugglers: Political Economy in the Red Atlantic', in *Mercantilism*, ed. Stern and Wennerlind, pp. 218–38.
7 Marguerite Figeac-Monthus, Christophe Lastécouères (eds), *Territoires de l'illicite et identités portuaires et insulaires: du XVIe siècle au XXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2012); Gérard Béaur, Hubert Bonin, and Claire Lemercier (eds), *Fraude, contrefaçon et contrebande, de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Geneva: Drosz, 2006); Gilbert Larguier (ed.), *Douanes, Etats et Frontières dans l'Est des Pyrénées de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Perpignan and Neuilly-sur-Seine: PUP and AHAD, 2005). Of particular note is the work of André Ferrer: *Tabac, sel, indiennes: douane et contrebande en Franche-Comte au XVIIIe siècle* (Besançon: Presses universitaires franc-comtoises, 2002) and his 'La circulation des marchandises de contrebande dans l'Est de la France au XVIIIe siècle', in *La circulation des marchandises*, pp. 85–101. Specifically on the smuggling

of Asian-style printed and painted textiles see Eugénie Margoline-Plot, 'Les pacotilles et les circuits parallèles de distribution des cotonnades en Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle', in *Le goût de l'Inde*, ed. Gérard Le Bouëdec and Brigitte Nicolas (Lorient and Rennes: Musée de la Compagnie des Indes and Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), pp. 64–73, and 'Les circuits parallèles des toiles de l'océan Indien. Lorient au XVIIIe siècle', *Histoire urbaine* 30 (2011), 109–26; Olivier Le Gouic, 'La contrebande des indiennes à Lyon au temps de la prohibition (1686–1759)', in *Territoires de l'illicite*, pp. 55–93; Katsumi Fukasawa, 'Commerce et contrebande des indiennes en Provence dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII[e] siècle', *Annales du Midi* 178 (1987), 175–92; Sophie Debrel, 'Prohibition et liberté dans le commerce des toiles peintes: l'exemple de la généralité de Bordeaux au XVIII[e] siècle', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 86 (2008), 539–56; Philippe Haudrère, 'La contrebande des toiles indiennes à Paris au XVIII[e] siècle', in *Tisser l'histoire: l'industrie et ses patrons, XVIe–XXe siècles: mélanges offerts à Serge Chassagne*, ed. René Favier et al. (Presses universitaires de Valenciennes, 2009), pp. 169–82; and Anne Montenach, 'Gender and Luxury in Eighteenth-Century Grenoble: From Legal Exchanges to Shadow Economy', in *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700–1914*, ed. Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen, and Anne Montenach (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 39–56.

8 However, see Michael Kwass, *Contraband. Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). Another exception is Olivier Nantois, 'Le commerce des toiles peintes et imprimées "indiennes" en France au temps de la prohibition (octobre 1686–septembre 1759)' (doctoral thesis, Sorbonne, 2006); however, again the approach here is cumulative and narrative rather than analytical.

9 Philippe Minard, *La Fortune du colbertisme: état et industrie dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1998). Gaston Rambert (ed.), *Histoire du Commerce de Marseille*, 6 vols (Paris: Plon, 1966), vol. V: Robert Paris, *De 1660 à 1789: le Levant*, pp. 9–78. Philippe Haudrère, *La Compagnie française des Indes au XVIIIe siècle*, second revised and corrected edition, 2 vols (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2005), I, 11–93, 106–52.

10 AN F12 1403 fols 256ff. and F12 51 fols 144ff. (Minutes of the Council of Commerce, session of 10 November 1702). The newly established Council of Commerce was strongly in favour of the ban from the beginning.

11 *Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi*, dated 26 October 1686; 8 February 1687; 6 April, 17 May 1688; 1 February, 15 March, 10 May 1689; 10 and 24 February 1691; 3 March 1693; 6 February, 3 and 14 December 1697; 13 July, 31 August, 7 September 1700; 12 April, 6 September, 24 December 1701; 9 May, 22 August, 18 September, 18 November, 12 December 1702; 17 February, 26 May 1705; 23 March, and 24 August 1706 in BNF, Ms fr. 21 778 and 21 780; AN, F12 1403 and AN AD XI 52 and 41; AD Loire-Atlantique C 22 and C 750. The best overview is still to be found in Depitre, *La Toile Peinte*, pp. 1–101.

12 On both see below. On aristocratic consumption and their private orders see also the following chapter.

13 Merchant-producers from Rennes, Lyon, and Tours complained via their deputies to the Bureau of Commerce in 1726 (AN, F12 73, p. 98, session of

31 January 1726); similar complaints came in April 1732 from Rouen, Tours, Nantes, and Angers (AN F12 1405B). The call for more severe punishments became commonplace in the 1750s debate about liberalisation and was attacked by Morellet. See Chapter 5.

14 On exclaves in general see Paul Delsalle and André Ferrer (eds), *Les enclaves territoriales aux temps modernes, 16e–18e siècles* (Besançon: Presses universitaires franc-comtoises, 2000). For a recent evaluation of the economic importance of exclaves and privileged enclaves, see Jeff Horn, *Economic Development in Early Modern France: The Privilege of Liberty, 1650*–1820 (Cambridge University Press, 2015), chapter 2.

15 AM Orange BB 38: fol. 481 (1731: Remonstrances of the Consuls and people of Orange to the King concerning the establishment of Tax and Customs offices in the Principality); BB 39: fols 34 and 70 (idem 1732 and 1733 to the Controller General and the Intendant).

16 AN: F12 78, p. 677 (Bureau of Commerce, Session of 30 August 1731).

17 AN: F12 79, p. 174 (idem, Session of 21 February 1732).

18 Renée Lefranc, *Soies, indiennes, blue-jeans. Une saga du textile entre Provence et Cévennes* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 2009), pp. 74–81; Jeanne Rampaud, 'Heures et malheurs de l'indiennage à Avignon et en France', *Etudes Vauclusiennes* 38 (1987), 11–22; Hyacinthe Chobaud, *L'industrie des indiennes à Avignon et à Orange de 1677 à 1884* (Avignon: Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse, 1938).

19 See for instance the letter from the Intendant of the Languedoc to the Controller General dated 21 November 1710 in *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux des Finances avec les Intendants des Provinces*, ed. A.M. de Boislisle, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874–97), III, 331.

20 See the correspondance of the Avignon Consuls: AM Avignon: AA 24 fols 143, 146, 182,188, 209, 212, 218, and 222 and AA 25 fols 3, 8, 16, 23, 29, and 41 as well as the deliberations of the Etats du Comtat: AD Vaucluse C35 fols 532–6, 562, 635, 655, 709, 729, and 787. For an overview see also Pierre Léon, 'Un épisode de la main-mise de la France sur le Comtat Venaissin: la guerre économique franco-comtadine 1730–1734', in *Actes du 77e congrès des sociétés savantes, Grenoble 1952* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953), pp. 349–60.

21 AM Avignon: HH 13 ('Déclaration des marchands des toilles peintes ou indiennes d'Avignon', dated 10 October 1735).

22 AM Avignon: HH 138. Received brothers Julien 1200 lt (May 1736); Jacqueline Reyne 100 lt (April 1736); Demoiselle Ricard 600 lt (April 1736); Joseph Tardon 500 lt (March 1736); Balthasard Antoin 1000 lt (March 1736); Demoiselle Clemens 300 lt (March 1736); Lange Moreau 750 lt (April 1739); Claude Perroy 250 lt (April 1739, rescinded May 1738 because of his move to Marseille, reinstated June 1739 due to his residency); Etienne Bourdin, ongoing demands from 1740 onwards.

23 The move was not always successful, however: both Claude Perroy and Etienne Bourdin relocated back to Avignon having found conditions in Marseille too difficult, the competition with already established workshops unmanageable: AM Avignon HH 138.

24 See Fukasawa, 'Commerce et contrebande des indiennes', as well as his *Toilerie et Commerce du Levant*, pp. 189–202.

25 On the development of calico printing in Mulhouse see Isabelle Bernier, *Négoce et Industrie à Mulhouse au XVIII^e siècle (1696–1798)* (Toulouse: CNRS and Université de Toulouse le Mirail, 2008). On the links to Neuchâtel and Swiss models, see especially pp. 104–21. For a shorter and older overview in English see Elisabeth Albrecht-Mathey, *The Fabrics of Mulhouse and Alsace (1750–1800)* (Leigh-On-Sea: F. Lewis, 1968).

26 AN: AD XI 52: 'Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi', 22 June 1768. For earlier examples, see for instance the letter from the Controller General to the subdelegate in Sarrelouis dated 21 December 1710, in *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, III, 336 as well as the ruling dated 2 December 1713 in AD Loire-Atlantique C750.

27 ANOM: C2 285 fols 128–35 ('Mémoire: Introduction frauduleuse des Indiennes, Mousselines et Caffés par M. Roussel, Juillet 1757').

28 Letters of David, inspecteur des manufactures à Grenoble, in the minutes of the Council of Commerce: AN: F^12 55 fols 136 and 218 (Conseil et Bureau du commerce: procès-verbaux, journal, délibérations, 1700–91).

29 AD Loire-Atlantique: C750, Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 10 Juillet 1714. Cf. AN: F^12 58, fols 260–3 (Conseil du commerce: meeting of 27 April 1714). On smuggling across the Flemish borders see also Harald Deceulaer, 'Violence, magie populaire et contrats transfrontaliers. L'environnement économique, social, politique et culturel d'une contrebandier flamand au XVIII^e siècle', in *Fraude, contrefaçon et contrebande*, pp. 61–89.

30 See below as well as AN: F^12 62 fol. 81 (Conseil et Bureau du commerce: meeting of 17 June 1717) and AN: F^12 83, p. 553 (Conseil et Bureau du commerce: meeting of 13 September 1736). Le Sieur de Villehay, marchand à Morlaix to the Controller General dated 3 July 1688, in *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, I, p. 157 (no. 601); AN: F12 73, p. 93 (Bureau du Commerce, 31 January 1726): 'Remonstrances des marchands-merciers de la ville de Rennes'; AD Loire-Atlantique: C750 ('Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi', dated 31 January 1741).

31 Emmanuel Hepp, 'La contrebande du Tabac au XVIIIe siècle', in Emmanuel Hepp and Marie-Hélène Bourquin, *Aspects de la Contrebande au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: PUF, 1969), pp. 39–93 (60–7). For land borders only see also Ferrer, *Tabac, sel, indiennes*, pp. 36–9.

32 Jean Clinquart, 'Le Dédouanement des Marchandises sous l'Ancien Régime', in *La circulation des marchandises*, pp. 103–44.

33 AM Nantes: HH 214 fol. 25, Letter from the Controller General to Mellier, dated 11 October 1728. On the regulation of the payment for informers whose information led to the seizure of Asian textiles see also the rulings of 27 August 1709 and 22 February 1716 in AD Loire-Atlantique C22 fols 4 and 10.

34 Cited in Clinquart, 'Le Dédouanement des Marchandises', p. 114.

35 For recent discussions of mercantilism's relationship to international trade see John Shovlin, 'War and Peace: Trade, International Competition, and Political Economy', in *Mercantilism Reimagined*, ed. Stern and Wennerlind, pp. 305–27; Sophus Reinert, 'Rivalry: Greatness in Early Modern Political Economy', in ibid., pp. 348–70; Jean-Yves Grenier, 'Ordre et désordre. Échane et marches dans le mercantilisme anglais et français (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècle)', in *Merkantilismus: Wiederaufnahme einer Debatte*, ed. Moritz Isenmann (Stuttgard: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), pp. 83–111.

36 See for instance André Morellet, *Mémoire sur la situation actuelle de la Compagnie des Indes* (Paris: Desaint, 1769), pp. 174–75 which resumes several other pamphlets all of which agree the Company's tea smuggling into Britain.
37 AMAE: Mémoires et Documents, 1998 (France: Commerce 1701–39), document 15 (Mémoire du Député du Commerce de Lyon).
38 Jean Nicolas, *La rébellion française. Mouvements populaires et conscience sociale 1661–1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), pp. 52–69.
39 Famous in its own time, his reputation even made it across the Chanel where he was notably portrayed in Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy*. See Kwass, *Contraband*; Marie-Hélène Bourquin, 'Le Procès de Mandrin et la contrebande au XVIII[e] siècle', in Hepp, Bourquin, *Aspects de la Contrebande*, pp. 1–37; Ferrer, *Tabac, Sel, Indiennes*, pp. 219–36; Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Mandrin Capitaine Général des Contrebandiers de France*, 2nd edition (Paris: Hachette, 1908). See also Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, 'Images et représentations sociales de la criminalité au XVIII[e] siècle: l'exemple de Mandrin', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 26 (1979), 345–64.
40 AD Bouches-du-Rhône C2300: 'Mémoire au sujet des personnes qui vendent les indiennes dans la ville d'Aix', 7 September 1739.
41 Next to Kwass, *Contraband* see also Niklas Frykman, 'Pirates and Smugglers: Political Economy in the Red Atlantic', in *Mercantilism Reimagined*, ed. Stern and Wennerlin, pp. 218–38.
42 SHD: 2P 38-II.4 (Rôle au désarmement – long cours: rôle de la Diligente).
43 Alfred Albert Martineau (ed.), *Correspondance Du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry*, 6 vols (Pondichery and Paris: Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française and Leroux, 1720–31), V, 238 and 142–245.
44 AN: H1 610, fol. 34.
45 AN: H1 610, fol. 36 ('Mémoire sur les malversations du Sr Dessain Controleur general à Vannes').
46 Legendre, Fermier Général à Lyon to the Controller General dated 10 December 1701, in *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux* II, 96 (no 346).
47 See Table 1.2.
48 AN: AD XI 51 Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 10 February 1691 banned Indian white cottons and muslins. This was immediately followed by permissions for their sale that year: BNF Ms fr 21778: Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy dated 24 February 1691.
49 AN: AD XI 52, Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 30 November 1709.
50 AN: AD XI 41, Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 29 March 1712. Other sales included that of 5797 pieces of white cottons and muslins in Paris in 1717: AN: AD XI 52 Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 24 July 1717.
51 See BNF: Ms fr 21 778: Arrests du Conseil d'Etat dated 24 February 1691; 6 September 1701; 13 August 1719 and 27 September 1719.
52 See for instance the Arrests du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 29 March 1712 (AN: AD XI 41 – on the seals and marks); 13 November 1725 (AN: AE BIII 284 – on the signature of the parchments which had to be attached to both ends of the textiles). For a while two lead seals were used at once, but this was abandoned: Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 11 June 1732 in AD Loire-Atlantique C 750.
53 ANOM: C2 285 fols 128–35 ('Mémoire par M. Roussel, Juillet 1757').

54 ANOM: C2 285, ibid.
55 AN: F12 1403 fols 72, 78, and 137–40. For cases in the 1740s see AD Loire-Atlantique C 750: Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 7 May 1741 and idem, dated 15 March 1746.
56 On Genevan calico production, see Anne-Marie Piuz, 'Note sur l'industrie des indiennes à Genève au XVIIIe siècle', in Pierre Léon, François Crouzet, and Richard Gascon (eds), *L'industrialisation en Europe au XIXe siècle. Cartographie et typologie* (Paris: CNRS, 1972), pp. 533–45, republished in *À Genève et autour de Genève aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Études d'histoire économique* (Lausanne: Payot, 1985), pp. 232–43; and Liliane Mottu-Weber, 'L'industrie des indiennes à Genève', in *L'esprit de l'Inde dans les collections des Musées d'art et d'histoire* (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève, 1997), pp. 23–8. I would like to thank Anne Montenach for these references.
57 Details for the allocations were laid down in the *Règlement touchant la marine de la compagnie des Indes, arresté en l'assemblée d'administration du 16 septembre 1733* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1734). However, as in the other European Companies, these rules changed over time.
58 Haudrère, *La Compagnie française*, I, 392–401, and 418–19. Eugénie Margoline-Plot, 'Les Pacotilles, la Boutique et la Mer. Organisation, structures et logiques d'une économie parallèle en Bretagne au XVIII[e] siècle' (doctoral thesis, Université de Bretagne-Sud, 2014). Cf., idem, 'Les pacotilles et les circuits parallèles de distribution des cotonnades en Bretagne au XVIII[e] siècle', and 'Les circuits parallèles des toiles de l'océan Indien. Lorient au XVIII[e] siècle'.
59 SHD: 1P300 fols 19–20, dated Lorient 27 June 1766.
60 BNF, Ms NAF 9354 (Collection Margry), fol. 28.
61 Cited in Haudrère, *La Compagnie française*, I, 400–1 and 464.
62 AM Nantes: HH 214, fols 2, 5, and 8. The Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi is dated 17 August 1728.
63 SHD: 1P 279 fol. 58.
64 Arrêts dated 18 May 1720, 29 August 1720, 18 August 1722, and 4 January 1727 in *Recueil des Reglemens Généraux et Particuliers concernant les Manufactures et Fabriques du Royaume*, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1730), I, 149–56.
65 AN: H1 610.
66 Ibid.
67 'Arrest […] du 4 Janvier 1727', in *Receuil des Reglemens*, I, 155–6.
68 AN: H1 610, fol. 34.
69 AN: H1 610, fol. 51.
70 Ibid., fol. 37 ('Mémoire remis par la Compagnie au Ministre avec Réponses').
71 Ibid., fol. 36 ('Mémoire sur les malversations du Sr Dessain Controleur général à Vannes').
72 Ibid., fol. 33.
73 For specific instances of this see for example AN: F12 55 fol. 341 (Conseil de Commerce session of 20 November 1711) and F12 65, p. 264 (session of 1 September 1719).
74 AM Nantes: HH 268 fol. 62; and AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2286 (Letter by de la Tour dated 15 November 1735), C 2294 (judgement by de la Tour of 23 October 1736), and C 2305 (18 and 24 October 1735).

75 ANOM: C2 285 fols 128–35 ('Mémoire par M. Roussel, Juillet 1757').
76 AM Nantes HH 268, 270, and 271.
77 ANOM: C2 285 fols 128–35 ('Mémoire par M. Roussel, Juillet 1757').
78 André Morellet, *Mémoire sur la situation actuelle de la Compagnie des Indes* (Paris: Desaint, 1769); Gournay in [Forbonnais], *Examen des Avantages et des Desavantages*, pp. 72–90; and Gournay, 'Réflexions sur la contrebande [Sept. 1753]', in *Mémoires et Lettres de Vincent de Gournay*, ed. Takumi Tsuda (Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1993), pp. 27–34.
79 AN: AD XI 30: 'Declaration du Roy […] Donnée à Meudon le douze Juillet 1723'.
80 The instance is reported by the *premier président* of the Grenoble *parlement* to the Controller General in a letter dated 21 September 1708 in *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux des Finances avec les Intendants des Provinces*, ed. A.M. de Boislisle, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874–97), III, 55 (no. 168).
81 ANOM: C2 285 fols 128–35, 'Mémoire: Introduction frauduleuse des Indiennes'.
82 Morellet, *Avantages*, pp. 174–8.
83 AD Drôme: B1304. Cf. Ferrer, *Tabac, sel, indiennes*, pp. 246–51.
84 Ibid. Cf. AN: AD XI 30: 'Déclarations du Roy' dated August 1729 and March 1756.
85 AD Drôme: B1304 fols 49, 84, 108, 247; 244, 264; and 218, 254, 219, and 210.
86 Ibid., fols 256; 203, 206, 286, 311; 2–4, 12–13, 31–2, 67, 73, 132, 277–80, 282–5, 306–8.
87 Note that there are only three cases which involved all three of the named goods, salt, tobacco, and textiles, which, accounting for less than 0.5 per cent has for these purposes been classed as 'other'. The table also leaves out cases in which an entire village was fined for failing to have rung the tocsin, since in such judgements no numbers are indicated.
88 Muriel Taurinya, 'Fraude et frauders dans les Comtés catalans (1564–1654)', in *Douanes, Etats et Frontières dans l'Est des Pyrénées de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. Gilbert Larguier (Perpignan and Neuilly-sur-Seine: PUP & AHAD, 2005), pp. 89–106. Paul van Dyke, 'Weaver Suckin and the Canton Silk Trade 1750–1781', *Review of Culture, International Edition* 29 (2009), 105–19.
89 Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: le commerce à Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719–1833*, 4 vols (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), II, 598–682; Pierrick Pourchasse, 'Roscoff, un important centre de contrebande entre la France et l'Angleterre à la fin du XVIIIe siècle', in *Territoires de l'illicite*, ed. Figeac-Monthus and Lastécouères, pp. 147–56; François Crouzet, 'La Contrebande entre la France et les îles britanniques au XVIII^{e} siècle', in *Fraude, contrefaçon et contrebande*, ed. Béaur, Bonin, and Lemercier, pp. 35–59.
90 Though the more commonly cited result of the ban was the development of Britain's domestic textile printing industry. See Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford University Press and Pasold Research Fund, 1991), pp. 29–42; and Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 89–114.

91 Douglass C. North, John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast, *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

3 Smuggled Textiles Worn in France: The Politics of Privilege and the Violence of Fashion

1 On the failure to impose mercantilist consumptive regimes see also Martyn J. Powell, 'Consumption: Commercial Demand and the Challenges to Regulatory Power in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 282–301.
2 [André Morellet], *Réflexions sur les avantages de la libre fabrication et de l'usage des toiles peintes en France* (Geneva and Paris: Damonneville, 1758), p. 39.
3 The argument of the importance of the example set by aristocratic usage figured prominently from the 1701 'Mémoire des fabricants du Royaume contre les étoffes des Indes' (AD Loire-Atlantique C750) up to Moreau's 1759 *Examen des Effets que doivent produire dans le commerce de France, l'usage & la fabrication des Toiles Peintes* (Geneva and Paris: Delaguette, 1759).
4 *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, II, 283 (no. 908).
5 SHD Lorient: 1P 266 (L1 fols 4–28).
6 Ibid, fol. 20.
7 *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux des Finances avec les Intendants des Provinces*, ed. A.M. de Boislisle, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874–97), III, 236 (no. 610).
8 Paul R. Schwartz, 'La Fabrique d'Indiennes du Duc de Bourbon (1692–1740) au Château de Chantilly', *Bulletin de la Société industrielle de Mulhouse* 722 (1966), 17–35.
9 See Chapter 2.
10 On continued retailing by *marchands merciers* in the early years of the prohibition see: BNF: Ms FR 21 780 (Procès verbal by the commissaires de la Mare, Boudon, and du Chesne; 'Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Estat', 13 July 1697; and fols 32–3); *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, II, 283 (no. 908 dated 20/1/1693). On idem by *fripiers* see: BNF: Ms FR 21780 ('De par le Roy, Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Estat', 14 December, 1697); BNF: Ms FR 21 778 ('Arrest du Conseil d'Estat du Roy' 29 July 1710); AM Nantes: HH 267, fol. 21. The rarer examples of retailing in later years include one boutique in Brest in 1720 (AD Loire-Atlantique: C 750), three shopkeepers in Nantes in 1722 (AM Nantes: HH 267), and a Jewish merchant in Metz (AN: F12 74 p. 352, session of 8 May 1727). For more detail on this see Felicia Gottmann, 'Textile Furies – the French State and the Retail and Consumption of Asian Cottons 1686–1759', in *Goods from the East 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia*, ed. Maxine Berg et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 244–61.
11 BNF, Ms Fr 21780 (Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 24/12/1701).
12 *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, II, 87–8 (no. 3211, dated October 1701).
13 BNF, Ms Fr 21780 (Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi dated 7 February 1708).

14 *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, III, 39 (no. 123, letters dated 3/8, 20/8, 11/9, 22/10, 27/11, and 23/12/1708).
15 *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, II, 283 (no. 908, dated 8/11/1705).
16 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Letters from Orry to de la Tour, 25 March 1737 and 6 May 1737); C 2300, ('Etat nominatif des habitants de la ville d'Aix, soupçonnés de faire la contrebande, et instructions de M. Orry relativement à la surveillance à exercer sur ces personnes', 31 October 1736; and 'Mémoire au sujet des personnes qui vendent les indiennes').
17 AN: F12 95 pp. 391ff. (Session of 8 May 1748).
18 ANOM: C2 285 fols 128–35 ('Mémoire: Introduction frauduleuse des Indiennes, Mousselines et Caffés par M. Roussel, Juillet 1757').
19 AMAE: Mémoires et Documents 1672 fols 277–8 (Arrest du Conseil D'Etat du Roy, dated 30/6/1748).
20 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2711 ('Etat des Personnes qui ayant été trouvées habillées de Toille Peinte', procès-verbal dated 10/4/1756).
21 AN: F12 13100 (Procès verbal dated 27/6/1722); AD: Bouches-du-Rhône C 2229 (Ordonnance dated 15/2/1710).
22 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2711 ('Etat des Personnes qui ayant été trouvées habillées de Toille Peinte' – date of the procès-verbal: 28/7/1753).
23 AN: F12 1403 fols 107–12; AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 ('Mémoire au sujet des personnes qui vendent les indiennes'); and C 2309 (Letter from the Controller General Orry to de la Tour, Intendant of the Provence, dated 14 April 1738).
24 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Letter from Orry to de la Tour, dated 31 October 1736).
25 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Letters from Orry to de la Tour, dated 25/3/1737 and 6/5/1737).
26 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Letter from Orry to de la Tour, dated 27 November 1737).
27 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 ('Mémoire au sujet des personnes qui vendent les indiennes').
28 *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, III, 449 (no. 1481).
29 Cf.: Anne Montenach, 'Gender and Luxury in Eighteenth-Century Grenoble: From Legal Exchanges to Shadow Economy', in *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700–1914*, ed. Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen, and Anne Montenach (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 39–56.
30 Paris: BNF, Fr 21780 ('Ordonnance rendue par Monsieur Herault, Lieutenant General de Police', dated 17/5/1730).
31 The archives also contain the responses of the successive Controllers General to these proposals. They were generally positive. In the years post-Orry, they were usually simple one-liners of the 'accept all' type: AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2711.
32 Madeleine Ferrières, *Le Bien des Pauvres: La Consommation Populaire en Avignon (1600–1800)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2004), pp. 193–5, 236–9.
33 Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement XVII^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), pp. 123, 135.
34 Morellet, *Réflexions*, p. 52.
35 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Copy of the letter of the Company of Tax Farmers to Beauregard, dated Paris 11/3/1737). This did not, however, apply

to items of furniture sold or transported outside private homes or indeed to items of clothing.

36 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Letter dated Marseille 13/12/1737).

37 The best collections of the producers' memoranda are to be found in AM Lyon: HH (Grande Fabrique de Soie), AD Calvados: C 2947, and AN: F12 1403. On this discourse more generally see Tjitske Akkerman, *Women's Vices, Public Benefits: Women and Commerce in the French Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Spinhuis, 1992); G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), chapters 3–4; E.J. Clery, *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England: Literature, Commerce and Luxury* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); and Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

38 Philippe Haudrère, 'La Contrebande des toiles *Indiennes* à Paris au XVIII^{e} siècle', in *Tisser l'histoire. L'industrie et ses patrons XVI^{e}–XX^{e} siècle. Mélanges offerts à Serge Chassagne*, ed. René Favier et al. (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2009), pp. 169–82.

39 François Bluche, *L'Ancien Régime. Institutions et société* (Paris: Poche, 1993), pp. 58, 84; and Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times*, 4th edn (New York: Norton, 1987), p. 15.

40 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Orry to de la Tour, dated Versailles 18 March 1737).

41 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Beauregard to de de la Tour, dated Marseille 2 October 1736) and C 2309 ('Direction de Toulon: Etat des procès verbaux rendus contre des particuliers trouvés vetus d'Indienne depuis le 1er 8bre 1736 jusqu'au 1er Juillet 1737').

42 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Procès verbal dated 12/9/1737).

43 AM Nantes: HH 267 (Ordonnance dated 14/4/1719).

44 AN: F12 13100 (Procès verbal dated 27/6/1722).

45 The percentage was 42.6 as opposed to the next largest category, violence committed by smugglers themselves at 37.1 per cent. Jean Nicolas, *La rébellion française. Mouvements populaires et conscience sociale 1661–1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), p. 69.

46 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2305 (Letter dated 7/11/1736).

47 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Letter from Orry to de la Tour, dated Versailles 30/10/ 1736).

48 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2305 (Letter dated 7/11/1736).

49 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Beauregard to de la Tour, dated 2/10/1736).

50 AD Loire-Atlantique: C 750 and AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, dated 30/10/1736).

51 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2305 (Orry to de la Tour, dated Versailles 22/7/1737).

52 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Orry to de la Tour, dated Versailles 8/8/1738).

53 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Beauregard to de la Tour, dated Arles, 18/7/1735).

54 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Consuls of Toulon to Orry dated Toulon 2/10/1736; and Orry to de la Tour concerning the representations of the consuls of La Ciotat, dated Versailles 12/11/1736). Cf. C 2309 (Copies of

the correspondence between Orry and Toulon: letters dated 23/3/1738, 7/4/1738, and 19/4/1738).

55 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Orry to de la Tour, Versailles 19/11/1736).

56 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Beauregard to de la Tour confirming he received instructions to delay the imposition, dated Marseilles 26/10/1736), C 2309 (Orry to de la Tour on his order to keep prices for replacement textiles low, dated Versailles 28/1/1737).

57 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2300 (Orry to de la Tour, Versailles 18/2/1738) and C 2309 (Orry to de la Tour, Versailles, 22/7/1737).

58 AD Bouches-du-Rhône: C 2309 (Orry to de la Tour, Fontainebleau 7/10/1743).

4 The State of Knowledge

1 Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 224–7. Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 93–9.

2 Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*, pp. 93–9; Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 160–84; and idem, 'Asian Knowledge and the Development of Calico Printing in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010), 1–28.

3 [André Morellet], *Réflexions sur les Avantages de la Libre Fabrication et de l'Usage des Toiles Peintes en France* (Geneve & Paris: Damonneville, 1758), pp. 60–88.

4 John Shovlin, 'Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Economic Thought', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2003), 224–30; Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); and Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

5 See Shovlin, 'Emulation', and Reinert, *Translating Empire*; as well as Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 44–79; and the recent special issue, *Translation, reception and Enlightened Reform: The Case of Forbonnais in Eighteenth-Century Political Economy*, of *History of European Ideas* 40.8 (2014).

6 On the hybrid nature of early modern science and invention and the importance of embodied skills and tacit knowledge see Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (University of Chicago Press, 2004); Lissa Roberts, Simon Schaffer, and Peter Dear (eds), *The Mindful Hand: Inquiry and Invention from the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialisation* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007); Ursula Klein and Emma C. Spary (eds), *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010); and Liliane Hilaire-Pérez and Catherine Verna, 'Dissemination of Technical Knowledge in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era: New Approaches and Methodological Issues', *Technology and Culture* 47 (2006), 536–65. On the

importance of the state, market, global trade, and corporations to early modern scientific innovation see Pamela H. Smith, 'The History of Science as a Cultural History of the Material World', in *Cultural Histories of the Material World*, ed. Peter Miller (University of Michigan Press, 2013), pp. 210–25; Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds), *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), Klein and Spary (eds), *Materials and Expertise*; and Roberts, Schaffer, and Dear (eds), *The Mindful Hand*. On the importance of the wider global context, circulation, creative appropriation, collaboration, and contact zones see Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo (eds), *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009); Sarah Easterby-Smith and Emily Senior, 'The Cultural Production of Natural Knowledge: Contexts, Terms, Themes', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2013), 471–6; Roberts, Schaffer, and Dear (eds), *The Mindful Hand*; Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*; Klein and Spary (eds), *Materials and Expertise*.

7 J.R. Harris, *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer: Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, *L'invention technique au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000); and Philippe Minard, *La Fortune du colbertisme: état et industrie dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1998).

8 James E. McClellan III and François Regourd, *The Colonial Machine. French Science and Overseas Expansion in the Old Regime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

9 Pierre Bonnassieux and Eugène Lelong, *Conseil de commerce et Bureau du commerce, 1700–1791. Inventaire analytique des procès-verbaux* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), pp. x–xxviii. On the importance and changing role of the French Academy of Science's involvement with practice-oriented technical improvement, from the *Enquête du Regent* in the 1710s to the *Déscription des arts et métiers* between the 1760s and 1780s see also Harold T. Parker, 'French Administrators and French Scientists during the Old Regime and the Early Years of the Revolution', *Ideas in History: Essays Presented to Louis Gottschalk by His Former Students* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1965), pp. 85–109; Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère and David J. Sturdy, *L'Enquête du Régent, 1716–1718. Sciences, techniques et politique dans la France pré-industrielle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); and Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère and Eric Brian (eds), *Règlement, usages et science dans la France de l'absolutisme* (Paris: Lavoisier, 2002), especially the chapters by David J. Sturdy and Liliane Hilaire-Pérez. I would like to thank Michael Bycroft for these references.

10 Cf. Minard, *La fortune du colbertisme*, pp. 211–62.

11 Hilaire-Pérez, *L'invention technique*, pp. 37, 51–9; and idem, 'Les examens des inventions au XVIII^{e} siècle', in *Règlement, usages et science*, ed. Demeulenaere-Douyère and Brian, pp. 309–20.

12 To make this laboratory, located in the house of M. Geoffroy (undoubtedly the Chemist Claude-Joseph Geoffroy) in the rue Bourtibourg, fit for purpose, the Bureau laid out 411 lt for masonry, 224 lt for paving, 53 lt for ironworks and locksmithing, and 44 lt for carpentry. AN: F12 821 (11 January 1740

and 19 March 1746). AN: F12 821 contains the itemised invoices from 1740 giving a fascinating insight into the setup of the laboratory. On Hellot's work for the French administration see also Rémi Franckowiak, 'Jean Hellot and 18th Century Chemistry at the Service of the State', in *A Bridge between Conceptual Frameworks. Sciences, Society and Technology Studies*, ed. Raffaele Pisano (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), pp. 79–193. More generally on his work and that of his precursors, successors, and colleagues Dufay, Berthollet, and Macquer, all Academicians and Bureau-appointed specialists on dyeing see: Agustí Nieto-Galan, 'Between Craft Routines and Academic Rules: Natural Dyestuffs and the "Art" of Dyeing in the Eighteenth Century', in *Materials and Expertise*, ed. Klein and Spary, pp. 321–53; Christine Lehman, 'L'art de la teinture à l'Académie royale des sciences au XVIII[e] siècle', *Methodos* (online) 12 (2012; consulted 12 March 2014); and Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 181–3.

13 AN: F12 993 and 821. Cf. Harris, *Industrial Espionage*, pp. 79–94.

14 Harris, *Industrial Espionage*, pp. 43–169. Cf. Serge Chassagne, *Le coton* et ses *patrons: France 1760–1840* (Paris: Editions de l'EHSS, 1991).

15 François Crouzet, *De la supériorité* de l'Angleterre sur la France (Paris: Perrin, 1985) and *La guerre économique franco-anglaise au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008). On the anglophile discourse of the French economists see Arnault Skornicki, 'England, England: La référence britannique dans le patriotisme français au 18[e] siècle', *Revue française de science politique* 54 (2009), 681–700.

16 Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, 'Les échanges techniques entre la France et l'Angleterre au XVIII[e] siècle: la révolution industrielle en question', in *Les circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680–années 1780*, ed. Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire and Pierrick Pourchasse (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 197–211 (209 and 211); Maxine Berg, 'Useful Knowledge, Industrial Enlightenment and the Place of India', *Journal of Global History* 8 (2013), 117–41; Jeff Horn, Len Rosenband, and Merritt Roe Smith (eds), *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011); Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*.

17 Thus for instance, when Lescot wrote to demand a gratification for his discovery of a particularly good black in 1775, he claimed that it was 'at least equal to that of Genoa': AN: F12 1332. On black textiles in Italy see also Jane Schneider, 'Peacocks and Penguins: The Political Economy of European Cloth and Colors', *American Ethnologist* 5 (1978), 413–47.

18 AN: F12 2259: reports by Hellot dated 21 March 1749 and 1 January 1750 and letter to Machault, dated Dresden 26 March 1749. On this see also Hilaire-Pérez, 'Les examens des inventions au XVIII[e] siècle', in Demeulenaere-Douyère, and Brian (eds), *Règlement, usage, et science*, pp. 309–20. On Koederer or Roederer see also AN: F12 1331.

19 Though Montigny found that most of this was a plagiarism of Macquer's work: AN: F12 2259 (dated 11 January 1778). On Macquer and Prussian Blue see Macquer's *Mémoires* for the *Académie Royale des Sciences*: 'Mémoire sur une nouvelle espèce de teinture bleue dans laquelle il n'entre ni pastel ni indigo' of 1749 (published by the Academy in 1753, and subject to a report by Hellot preserved in AN: F12 1329, dated 22 October 1748) and 'Examen Chymique du Bleu de Prusse', of 1752, published in 1756.

20 On the 'global' eastern colour Turkey Red and the European need to catch up with the Asian technological advance in dyeing cottons red see Giorgio

Riello, 'Asian Knowledge and the Development of Calico Printing in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010), 1–28; George Bryan Souza, 'The French Connection: Indian Cottons and Their Early Modern Technology', in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 347–63, and Agustí Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles. A History of Natural Dyestuffs in Industrial Europe* (Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001), pp. 19–21.

21 AN: F12 1331 and 2259. On Eymard see also Hilaire-Pérez, *L'Invention technique*, pp. 129–30.
22 AN: F12 1329.
23 AN: F12 1332.
24 AN: F12 994 and 1334B.
25 AN: F12 1329 and 1330.
26 AN: F12 1330.
27 Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles*, pp. 20–1.
28 Olivier Raveux, 'L'Orient et l'aurore de l'industrialisation occidentale: Dominique Ellia, indienneur constantinopolitain à Marseille (1669–1683)', in Corine Maitte, Philippe Minard, and Matthieu de Oliveira (eds), *La gloire de l'industrie, XVII^e–XIX^e siècle. Faire de l'histoire avec Gérard Gayot* (Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), pp. 99–114; 'The Birth of a New European Industry: l'indiennage in Seventeenth-Century Marseilles', Prassannan Parthasarathi and Giorgio Riello (eds), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 291–306; 'A la façon du Levant et de Perse: Marseille et la naissance de l'indiennage européen (1648–1689)', *Rives méditerranéennes* 29 (2008), 37–51; and 'Les Arméniens et la Méditerranée, médiateurs techniques entre Orient et Occident dans l'indiennage au XVII^e siècle', in *Le goût de L'Inde*, ed. Gérard Le Bouëdec and Brigitte Nicolas (Lorient and Rennes: Musée de la Compagnie des Indes and Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), pp. 44–51. See also Katsumi Fukasawa, 'De l'Inde au Levant: routes du commerce, routes des indiennes', in *Le goût de L'Inde*, pp. 34–43.
29 On Trudaine's role in this see also Hilaire-Pérez, 'Cultures techniques et pratiques de l'échange, entre Lyon et le Levant: inventions et réseaux au XVIII^e siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 49 (2002), 89–114.
30 AN: F12 1332 (Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, dated 21 December 1756).
31 AN: F12 1330.
32 AN: F12 1332 (Memorandum by Pérétié, dated 7 November 1770).
33 AN: F12 1332 (Letters by Holker to Trudaine de Montigny, dated 23 February and 13 April 1768).
34 An Armenian of Persian origin, Jean Alten, or more usually Althen, is credited with introducing madder cultivation on a large scale to the south of France. There is still a statue of him in Avignon and he gave his name to several streets and localities in the region. He was no doubt a colourful character. Together with his much more successful madder venture, he is also known for having obtained support, from Trudaine and Orry among others, to experiment with growing cotton in the Languedoc, a rather hopeless endeavour as it turned out. On this see Joseph Horan, 'King Cotton on

the Middle Sea: Acclimatization Projects and the French Links to the Early Modern Mediterranean', *French History* 29 (2015), 93–108.

35 AN: F12 1332. As Hilaire-Pérez points out in her article, Flachat's publications on the process of dyeing in Turkey Red were indeed read: they were cited by dyers from Zurich who hoped to set up works in Strasbourg and whose offer was sent to the administration by the Baron de Spon: AN F12 1330, and Hilaire-Pérez, 'Cultures techniques et pratiques', p. 105.

36 AN: F12 1330.

37 AN: F12 1332.

38 For more details see Riello, 'Asian Knowledge'. And Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles*, pp. 17–19.

39 AN: F12 1334A.

40 See for instance AN: F12 1412 for a machine said in 1774 to produce muslins 'as beautiful as those of the Indies', and in the Year II, another individual, Barneville, proposed to establish in Paris a manufacture of extra-fine muslins to resemble those of the Indies: AN: F12 1330. On the reference to India as a selling technique for textiles see also Natacha Coquery, 'Selling India and China in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in *Goods from the East 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia*, ed. Maxine Berg et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 229–43.

41 AN: F12 821 and F12 254.

42 AN: F12 1412 (letter dated 21 May 1719).

43 Morellet, *Réflexions* , pp. 83–5.

44 See Stanley Chapman and Serge Chassagne, *European Textile Printers in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Peel and Oberkampf* (London: Heinemann, 1981), pp. 103–25; Chassagne, *La Manufacture de Toiles Imprimées de Tournemine-lès-Angers (1752–1820)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971); Chassagne, 'Calico Printing in Europe before 1780', in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, 2003), I, 513–27; and Anne-Claire Déré, 'Indiennage et colorants naturels à Nantes, port colonial et européen', in *Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture in Europe, 1750–1880*, ed. Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan (Canton, MA: Watson, 1999), pp. 161–89.

45 AN: F12 1412.

46 AN: F12 553.

47 Morellet, *Réflexions*, pp. 61–4.

48 On Gournay and Trudaine see Simone Meysonnier, *La Balance et l'Horloge. La Genèse de la pensée libérale en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Editions de la Passion, 1989), pp. 174–9, 227–36, and 267–72; Loïc Charles, Frédéric Lefebvre, and Christine Théré, 'Introduction', in *Le Cercle de Vincent de Gournay: Savoirs économiques et pratiques administrative en France au milieu du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Charles, Febvre, and Théré (Paris: INED, 2011), pp. 11–26; Charles, 'Le Cercle de Gournay: usages culturels et pratiques savantes', in ibid., pp. 63–87; and Arnault Skornicki, *L'économiste, la cour et la patrie. L'économie politique dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: CNRS, 2011), pp. 89–92. On Morellet and Trudaine, see *Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet de l'Académie française. Sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la Révolution*, ed. Jean-Pierre Guicciardi (Paris: Mercure de France, 2000), pp. 76–7; and Dorothy Medlin, 'André Morellet and the Trudaines', *SVEC* 12 (2005), 117–27. On Holker and

Trudaine see above. On Hellot's notebooks and their link to Trudaine see BM Caen 171 vol. I nota (Manuscrits de Jean Hellot).

49 On Hellot's judgements of the samples sent in by would-be producers in the late 1740s and 1750s, see Chapter 5.

50 AN: F12 13100 ('Observations Générales sur les Manufactures de France. Par le Sieur Holker Inspecteur Général').

51 BM de Saint-Brieuc: M. 82 document 3.

52 Riello, *Cotton*, pp. 163–9; and idem, 'Asian Knowledge'. Souza, 'The French Connection', in *How India Clothed the World*.

53 George Roques, *La manière de négocier aux Indes 1676–1691*, ed. Valérie Bérinstain (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1996). On Roques see also Chapter 1 and Paul Schwartz, *Printing on Cotton at Ahmedabad, India in 1678: From an Unedited Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris* (Ahmedabad: Calico Museum of Textiles, 1969).

54 Manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle: Ms 193 ('Manière de fabriquer les toiles peintes dans l'Inde, telle que Mr de Beaulieu, capitaine de vaisseau, l'a fait exécuter devant luy à Pondichéry'). Cf. Paul Schwartz, 'French documents on Indian cotton painting, 1: the Beaulieu ms, c. 1734', *Journal of Indian Textile History* 2 (1956), 5–23.

55 *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, new edn, 26 vols (Paris: Merigot le jeune, 1780–83), vol. 14: *Mémoires des Indes*, pp. 116–45 (Letter one), pp. 146–53 (Poivre's letter), pp. 154–64 (Coeurdoux's response), pp. 217–49 (the memorandum on red dyeing by Paradis); on Coerdoux, see also: Jean-Pierre Duteil, 'Les missionaire catholiques en Inde au XVIII^{e} siècle', in *Le Goût de l'Inde*, ed. Le Bouëdec and Nicolas, pp. 96–104.

56 McClellan and Regourd, *The Colonial Machine*, pp. 142–62.

57 Schwartz, 'French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting, 1'; and Schwartz, 'La Fabrique d'Indiennes du Duc de Bourbon (1692–1740) au Château de Chantilly', *Bulletin de la Société industrielle de Mulhouse* 722 (1966), 17–35. On the production in Chantilly see also Chapter 4.

58 The latter, however, was only published in 1865: Riello, 'Asian Knowledge', p. 13.

59 Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*, pp. 27–59; McClellan and Regourd, *The Colonial Machine*, pp. 291, 428.

60 Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*, p. 53.

61 Such an oil bath may have been one of the reasons for the high quality of Turkey Red which Europeans struggled to imitate. The precise reasons remain unclear and other possible explanations included the preparation of the textile, the addition of gelatinous substances such as diluted cow dung, and the use of different types of madder, all of which are discussed by L'Empereur and in greater detail by Walle below. See below and Angélique Kinini, 'La fabrication du rouge turc dans la Thessalie de la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle: les manufactures de la ville d'Ampélika', in *Natural Dyestuffs*, pp. 71–100.

62 ANOM: C2 285 fols 13–33.

63 ANOM: C2 285 fols 32–45. Cf. fols 12 and 31.

64 ANOM: C2 285 fols 31, 32, 53, and 57

65 BM Caen 171 (D.2: Teintures, pp. 36–9). Interestingly, Hellot's notes point to a third and earlier memorandum L'Empereur must have sent: the wording differs from that signed and dated by L'Empereur 'Chandernagore 22 January

1734' and as a heading Hellot indicates 'Extracts of the Memorandum of the Sr L'Empereur written from Chandernagore on 15 January 1733'. On the Jesuit botanist, pupil of Hellot, and correspondant of the Academy of Sciences d'Incarville, see also: Ming Wong and Pierre Huard, 'Les enquêtes françaises sur la science et la technologie chinoises au XVIII[e] siècle', *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 53 (1966), 137–226.

66 Schwartz, 'La Fabrique d'Indiennes du Duc de Bourbon', pp. 24–5.

67 The memorandum of interest here is included in the private archives of the Duval d'Eprémesnil family. Walle is also mentioned in a letter from Leyrit to Lally of August 1758: [Anon], *Mémoire à Consulter pour le Sieur Duval Dumanoir & M. Duval d'Espremenil* (and) *Recueil de Lettres écrites dans L'Inde par messieurs de Leyrit et de Lally* (s.l., s.d. [1766]), pp. 142–3.

68 SHD, Lorient: 2P 35-15 (Rôle de la *Renommé*); 2P 33-I.12 (Rôle de l'*Auguste*); and 2P 37-I.17 (Rôle de l'*Utile*).

69 Kévin Le Doudic, 'L'Inde vécue. De l'objet à la société, les Français à Pondichéry (1700–1778)' (doctoral thesis, Université de Bretagne-Sud, 2014); cf. Le Doudic, '"Exotic" Goods? Far-Eastern Commodities for the French Market in India in the Eighteenth Century', in *Goods from the East 1600–1830: Trading Eurasia*, ed. Maxine Berg et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 216–28, which also briefly discusses Walle. The inventory is preserved in ANOM: P083. I would like to thank Kévin Le Doudic for sharing his findings with me.

70 AN: 158 AP 2 (Fonds d'Eprémesnil, Carton 2, document 3).

71 On these see: Florence d'Souza, *Quand la France découvrit l'Inde* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), pp. 155–203.

72 ANOM: C2 285 fols 64–9 (the responses are dated Surat, 1 May 1754).

73 ANOM: C2 285 fols 12, 31, 53, and 57. Beaulieu also appears to have brought the appropriate materials to repeat the observed process in the presence of Dufay: Schwartz, 'Appendix A', in John Irwin and Katharine B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), p. 36. I am once again very grateful to Michael Bycroft for this reference.

74 Minard, *La Fortune du Colbertisme*, pp. 151–330.

75 Dufay himself, very happy with the work of the inspectors throughout the French territory, noting that they had behaved very well and that the dyers had submitted to the new rules: AN: F12 1333 (Letters by Dufay dated Paris 15 November 1737 and 12 December 1737) and F12 1332 (idem, dated Fontainebleau 8 October 1737).

76 AN: F12 1329: 'Mémoire' by the Intendants of Commerce charging Macquer with the writing of the treatise, okayed by Necker.

77 AN: F12 1329.

78 Schwartz, 'La Fabrique d'Indiennes du Duc de Bourbon', pp. 17 and 26–7. Nieto-Galan, 'Between Craft Routines and Academic Rules', and *Colouring Textiles*, pp. 85–90.

79 Hilaire-Pérez, 'Les examens des inventions au XVIIIe siècle', in Demeulenaere-Douyère and Brian (eds), *Règlement, usage, et science*, pp. 309–20.

80 For the sake of clarity the diagram omits other connections, most importantly perhaps that between inventors, producers, and the Academy: inventors frequently gave demonstrations at the Academy's meetings, while many Academicians, Dufay and Hellot prominently among them, were known to

observe and converse with producers at their workshops. Moreover, it was possible for an Academician also to be an inspector, the *inspecteur-général des teintures* for instance. I would like to thank Michael Bycroft for pointing this out.

81 John Shovlin, 'The Society of Brittany and the Irish Economic Model', in *The Rise of Economic Societies in the Eighteenth Century: Patriotic Reform in Europe and North America*, ed. Koen Stapelbroek and Jani Marjanen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 73–95.

82 See Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (London: Allen Lane, 2014); Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*. On the role of the state in continental textile production see also the work by Nieto-Galan for France and Spain, Hilaire-Pérez, and Philippe Minard for France, and for northern Italy Luisa Dolza, 'How Did They Know? The Art of Dyeing in Late Eighteenth-Century Piedmont', in *Natural Dyestuffs*, pp. 129–59. On the role of the state for the Industrial Revolution and the Great Divergence more generally, see Peer Vries, *State, Economy and the Great Divergence. Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); William Ashworth, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Ideological Revolution: Science, Neoliberalism and History', *History of Science* 52 (2014), 178–99; idem, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production and Consumption in England 1640–1845* (Oxford University Press, 2003); Erik S. Reinert, 'The Role of the State in Economic Growth', *Journal of Economic Studies* 26 (1999), 268–326; and idem, *How Rich Countries Got Rich and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor* (London: Constable, 2007).

5 Enlightenment Campaigning

1 John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

2 Simone Meysonnier, *La Balance et L'Horloge. La genèse de la pensée libérale en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Montreuil: Editions de la Passion, 1989); Arnault Skornicki, *L'économiste, la cour et la patrie: l'économie politique dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: CNRS, 2011); and Loïc Charles, 'Le cercle de Gournay: usages culturels et pratiques savantes', in *Le Cercle de Vincent de Gournay: Savoirs économiques et pratiques administrative en France au milieu du XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Loïc Charles Frédéric Lefebvre and Christine Théré (Paris: INED, 2011), pp. 63–88.

3 Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire. Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Anoush Fraser Terjanian, *Commerce and Its Discontents in Eighteenth-Century French Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

4 Simone Meyssonnier, 'Vincent de Gournay, un intendant du commerce au travail. L'apport du fonds de Saint-Brieuc à l'intelligence de ses textes', in *Le Cercle de Vincent de Gournay*, pp. 89–110.

5 On the circle's intellectual effort and their translation and publication activities, see Charles, 'Le cercle de Gournay'; Reinert, *Translating Empire*;

Simone Meyssonnier (ed.), *Traités sur le commerce, de Josiah Child: Suivis des Remarques, de Jacques Vincent de Gournay* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008).

6 Philippe Minard, *La fortune du colbertisme: état et industrie dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1998).

7 There has been some disagreement who among them led the charge during these years. Depitre, first historian of the debate, believed it to be the powerful and long-established *Grande Fabrique* in Lyon: Edgard Depitre, *La Toile peinte en France au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècles: Industrie, commerce, prohibitions* (Paris: Librairie des sciences politiques et sociales, Marcel Rivière et Cie, 1912). Minard explicitly disagrees with him, arguing that judging by the number of tracts printed in Rouen in the 1750s, Rouen, not Lyon, was the driving force (Minard, *La fortune du colbertisme*, p. 302). He seems, however, unaware that the pamphlets he refers to were in large part Rouennais reprints of tracts originally issued elsewhere, which rather invalidates his argument. What the reprinting shows is instead of one clear 'leader' or 'command centre', there was a high degree of coordination between the different guilds, who agreed their actions beforehand and jointly authored memoranda.

8 For the memoranda see below; for letters of complaint by the manufactures to the Controller General see AN: F12 1403, F12 1405B, and *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux des Finances avec les Intendants des Provinces*, ed. A.M. de Boislisle, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874–97), III, 141, 226. For complaints by their deputies of commerce and the individual Chambers of Commerce see AN: F12 1403 (dated September and October 1701 and April 1702), F12 51 fol.144ff. (session of 10 Nov 1702), F12 73 p. 98 (session of 31 January 1726), and F12 1405B fols 95ff. and 101ff. On the Council and Bureau of Commerce more generally, see Chapter 4.

9 The 23 tracts consist of: four by Lyon's silk producers and their deputies of commerce (dating from 1705, the 1730s, and the 1750s respectively), four by several Parisian guilds (one from the textile merchants and producers of the 1730s, and three from the 1750s: one by the textile merchant-producers, one by the mercers, and one by the united body of the *Six Corps des Marchands de Paris*), one by the textile merchants and producers of Troyes (from the 1730s), one by the silk producers of Nîmes (dated 1756), two by the textile manufacturers of Tours (both from the 1750s), one each by those of Reims (1750s) and of Amiens (1758) and, in the 1750, four by the Normandy producers and their supporters (two by Rouen's guild of mercers and merchant producers, one by the deputies of Normandy chamber of commerce, and one by producers of the nearby region, the Pays de Caux, and the town of Yvetot), as well as two authored jointly by several guilds (dating from 1701 and 1702), and three by anonymous authors who supported their stance (1750s).

10 For examples of each see: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford University Press, 1987); E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century' (reprinted) and 'Moral Economy Reviewed', in *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin 1993), pp. 185–258 and 259–351;

Keith Michael Baker, 'Representation Redefined', in Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

11 AM Lyon: HH 374 *Les Marchands et Fabriquans de Reims*.

12 AD Loire-Atlantique: C750: *Au Roy, Les Ouvriers qui fabriquent des Etoffes de Soye* […]'(1701); AN: F12 1403: 'Au Roy: Moyens pour rétablir le commerce et les manufactures Pour les villes de Lyon, Tours, Paris, Nismes, Reims, Amiens, et autres' (1702); ibid., 'Mémoire contre la proposition d'un fort petit nombre de marchands de Paris qui distribuent des estoffes des Indes [par les députés de Lyon]' (1705).

13 AD Calvados: C 2947: *POUR les Marchands Merciers de la Ville de Paris. CONTRE l'Usage des Toiles peintes* […] (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [*c*.1758]).

14 AM Lyon: HH 13 and AD Calvados: C 2947: *Réflexions sur la situation des principales Manufacturess de la France & particuliarément* [*sic*] *de celle de Tours* [s.d. *c*.1758]; AM Lyon: HH 542: *MEMOIRE Que présentent les Sinics&Jurés-Gardes du Corps des marchands Fabriquands&Ouvriers en Soye de Nismes* […] [Nîmes: 1756]; AM Lyon: HH 544 and AD Calvados: C 2947: Mémoire qu*'ont l'honneur de prés Mons. le CG les fabricants d'Yvetot et du Pays de Caux* (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [1758]).

15 AD Loire-Atlantique: C750: Au Roy (1701) and AN: F12 1403: *Au Roy* (1702).

16 AM Lyon: HH 374 (1737–40): *Mémoire pour la Ville de Lyon contre la Licence impuni du Port & Usage des Toiles Peintes, Etoffes des Indes, de la Chine & du Levant*; cf. ibid., *Mémoire des marchands de Troye contre la demande de la Compagnie des Indes* […]; and ibid., *Mémoire des Marchands Fabriquants en Draps d'Or, d'Argent, et de Soie de l'Etablissement Royal de la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris*.

17 Ibid., *Mémoire pour la Ville de Lyon;* and *Mémoire des Marchands de Troye*.

18 AD Calvados: C 2947: *Mémoire des Syndics de la Chambre de Commerce de Normandie* (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [*c*.1758]; *POUR les Marchands Merciers de la Ville de Paris;* AM Lyon: HH 373 *Réflexions sur l'objet des différens Mémoires* […] [Paris: 1758]; AM Lyon: HH 544 *Mémoire pour les Marchands & Maîtres Fabriquans* […] *de Paris* [Paris: 1758]; and ibid. as well as AD Calvados: C 2947 *Réflexions sur l'état actuel du commerce de la soierie* [*c*.1758].

19 AM Lyon: HH 373 and 544: *Au Roi* (Gardes de la Communauté des Merciers de la Ville de Rouen) (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [*c*.1757]).

20 AM Lyon: HH 544: *Mémoire pour les Marchans & Maîtres Fabriquans* […] *de Paris*.

21 AM Lyon: HH 374: *Mémoire des Marchands de Troye*.

22 AM Lyon: HH 542: *MEMOIRE* […] *de Nismes* [1756].

23 The modern standard work on mercantilism remains Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). For an updated and concise overview see Magnusson, 'Is Mercantilism a Useful Concept Still?', in *Merkantilismus: Wiederaufnahme einer Debatte*, ed. Moritz Isenmann (Stuttgard: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), pp. 19–38. For more recent re-evaluations of the concept see also the contributions to Isenmann's *Merkantilismus* and those in Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

24 AN F12 1403: 'Au Roy'; AD Calvados: C 2947 *Précis pour la Fabrique de Lyon* […] (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [1759]); ibid., *Au Roi* (Six Corps des marchands de Paris) (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [*c*.1758]); AM Lyon: HH 373 and 544: *Au Roi* (Rouen).
25 Grimm among others was quite unimpressed with this ploy: *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790* […], ed. Jules Antoine Taschereau and A. Chaudé, 16 vols (Paris: Furne, 1829–31), XVI, pp. 120–8 (1 June 1758).
26 AM Lyon: HH 374 *Mémoire des marchands de Troye*.
27 On the failure of the British prohibition, see Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
28 AM Lyon: HH 544 'Plan des operations' [1757].
29 Ibid. Cf. AM Lyon: HH 543 (Lettre des fabricants de Rouen aux maître gardes des fabricants de Lyon au sujet des Indiennes, dated 15 October 1757).
30 See for instance AM Lyon: HH 543 for Tours' merchant-producers guild's letter and list of recipients (dated 31 March 1757) and for idem by Lyon's guild (dated 7 May 1757).
31 AN: F12 1403: 'Au Roy'.
32 AM Lyon: HH 13 *Réflexions sur la situation des principales Manufactures* (Tours); and ibid. HH 373 and HH 544 *Au Roi* (Rouen).
33 See for instance: AN: F12 51 f8v and f9v (Demand for permission to paint and print fabrics, December 1700); F12 1403 (Memorandum on the *Privilège* of the Grand Prieur, May 1702) and AMAE: Mémoires et Documents: 1998 (Projet de fabrique des toiles indiennes en France, 1734).
34 AN: F12 51 fols 9 and 116 (Sessions of 24 December 1700 and 6 May 1702) and F12 1403 (Memorandum by the Deputies of Commerce dated April 1702).
35 On Avignon's printing industry, the papal Concordat, and Julien, see also Chapter 2. For Wetter see also Plates 3.1 and 3.2 dating from 1764, which depict production in his by then successfully established factory in Orange, opened in 1757.
36 AN: F12 96 pp. 311–23 (pp. 311–12 and 315–17 – Session of 4 June 1749).
37 Ibid.: pp. 312–14 and 317–18.
38 AN: F12 96 pp. 311–23 (Session of 4 June 1749); pp. 334–50 (11 June 1749); pp. 397–410 (25 June 1749); and pp. 427–40 (2 July 1749). Cf.: AN: BIII 461 ('Opinion de M. De Montaran au Bureau du Commerce sur les Toiles peintes' and 'Extrait de l'affaire des Toilles peintes en France [*sic*]').
39 AN: F12 96 pp. 343–4 (11 June 1749).
40 AN: F12 96 pp. 344–50 (11 June 1749); pp. 397–405 (25 June 1749).
41 AN: F12 96 pp. 397–410 (25 June 1749); and pp. 427–35 (2 July 1749).
42 AN: BIII 461 ('Opinion de M. De Montaran au Bureau du Commerce sur les Toiles peintes') and, more concisely: AN: F12 96 pp. 435–8 (session of 2 July 1749).
43 AN: F12 96 pp. 438–40 (session of 2 July 1749).
44 For recent scholarship redefining mercantilism thusly, see Magnusson, 'Is Mercantilism a Useful Concept Still?'; Stern and Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined*; and Isenmann (ed.), *Merkantilismus*.

45 AN: BIII 461 ('Opinion de M. De Montaran au Bureau du Commerce ur les Toiles peintes'. On this tradition see Philippe Minard, *La Fortune du colbertisme*.
46 [Forbonnais], *Examen des Avantages et des Désavantages de la Prohibition des Toiles Peintes* [Marseille: Carapatria, 1755].
47 Catherine Larrère, *L'Invention de l'économie. Du droit naturel à la physiocratie* (Paris: PUF, 1992), pp. 95–172. On the historiography on the question, see Loïc Charles, 'Le moment "Vincent de Gournay": réflexions à propos des *Remarques* sur les traités sur le commerce de Josiah Child éditées et préfacées par Simone de Meyssonnier', *Cahiers de l'économie politique* 56 (2009), 205–11.
48 Meysonnier, *La Balance et L'Horloge*, pp. 268–71.
49 Forbonnais, 'Contrebande', in *Encylopédie*, IV, 129–30 (1754).
50 *Correspondance littéraire*, XVI, 32–40 (15 October 1755).
51 On the practices of the circle, which functioned more as a space for debate, see especially Charles, 'Le cercle de Gournay: usages culturels et pratiques savantes', in *Le Cercle de Vincent de Gournay*, ed. Charles, Lefebvre, and Théré. I would like to thank John Shovlin for this point.
52 On this see Magnusson, 'Is Mercantilism a Useful Concept Still?'; Stern and Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined*; and Isenmann (ed.), *Merkantilismus*.
53 Meysonnier, *La Balance et l'Horloge*, pp. 137–52.
54 On this nationalist and protectionist framework see also Takumi Tsuda (ed.), *Mémoires et Lettres de Vincent de Gournay* (Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1993), pp. xvi–xix; and John Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 44–5. On the circle's intellectual Anglophilia, see also Arnault Skornicki, '*England, England*. La référence britannique dans le patriotisme français au XVIII^{e} siècle', *Revue française de science politique* 54 (2009), 681–700.
55 Forbonnais, 'Colonies', in *Encylopédie*, III, 648–51 (1753).
56 Clark, *Compass of Society*, p. 49. On this see also Moritz Isenmann, 'War Colbert ein "Merkantilist"?', in *Merkantilismus*, ed. Isenmann, pp. 143–67; and Minard, *La fortune du Colbertisme*.
57 Minard, *La fortune du Colbertisme*, pp. 15–20.
58 Gournay, 'Il n'y a dans tous les pays du monde que deux classes d'hommes [1753]', in *Mémoires et Lettres*, ed. Tsuda, pp. 39–63.
59 Gournay, 'Observations sur l'Examen', in *Examen des Avantages et des Désavantages*, pp. 72–90. Henry C. Clark, *Compass of Society*, pp. 133–5.
60 On this genre see Paul Cheney, 'L'histoire du commerce. Genre littéraire et méthode en économie politique', in *Le Cercle de Vincent de Gournay*, pp. 281–300. Cf. Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce*, chapter 3 'Philosophical Histories' (pp. 87–116).
61 Gournay, *Mémoire adressé à la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon* [February 1753], in *Mémoires et Lettres*, ed. Tsuda, pp. 13–26 (23). The Enlightenment critique of guilds proved influential both in its own time and today, when many scholars, including most recently Jeff Horn in *Economic Development in Early Modern France: The Privilege of Liberty, 1650–1820* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), repeat the assertion that guilds stifled innovation,

progress, and economic development. However, as Prak, Epstein, Hilaire-Pérez, and others have amply demonstrated, this did not correspond to the actual historical reality. See especially the essays in Maarten Prak and Stephan Epstein (eds), *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), for France in particular: Hilaire-Pérez, 'Inventing in a World of Guilds: Silk Fabrics in Eighteenth-Century Lyon', pp. 232–63; and, more recently, those in *Technology, Skills and the Pre-modern Economy in the East and the West: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of S.R. Epstein*, ed. Stephan Epstein, Maarten Prak, and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

62 BM de Saint-Brieuc: M. 83 document 43 (*Réflexions sur la contrebande* [Sept. 1753]). Reprinted in *Mémoires et Lettres de Vincent de Gournay*, pp. 27–34.

63 On this balance and the slogan see especially Meysonnier, *La Balance et l'Horloge*, pp. 151–2 and 223–7.

64 Gournay, 'Observations sur l'Examen', pp. 81–3.

65 Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before its Triumph* (twentieth anniversary edn) (Princeton University Press, 1997, *c*.1977).

66 Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, p. 29.

67 Mesyonnier, *La Balance et l'Horloge*, pp. 161–3; Patrick Neiertz, *Voltaire et l'économie politique* (SVEC 10. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012); Felicia Gottmann, 'Intellectual History as Global History: Voltaire's *Fragments sur l'Inde* and the Problem of Enlightened Commerce', in *New Global Connections: India and Europe in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gabriel Sanchez, Simon Davies, and Daniel Roberts (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), pp. 141–55. On the 1740s/1750s turning point, see also Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue*.

68 In May 1758 Voltaire wrote to his friend Tronchin, 'J'ai répondu à Mr de Gournai. C'est un homme dont je fais grand cas. Je crois que personne n'entend mieux le commerce en grand et ne mériterait mieux d'être écouté.' in Voltaire, *Correspondence and Related Documents*, ed. Theodore Besterman, definitive edn, *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire / Complete Works of Voltaire* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1970–), vols 85–135, D7724.

69 *Correspondance littéraire*, XVI, 32–40 (15 October 1755). His later review of the state of the debate, including Morellet's and Moreau's contribution, is similar in view and tone: *Correspondance littéraire*, XVI, pp. 120–8 (1 June 1758).

70 AN: F12 99, p. 41 (27 January 1752).

71 On the Dantons see: Serge Chassagne, *La Manufacture de Toiles Imprimées de Tournemine-lès Angers* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971).

72 AN: F12 101, pp. 93ff. (27 February 1755). Cf. AN: F12 1403, fol. 207: Mémoire des Marchands Merciers-Drapiers-Unis de la Ville de Rouen; and AM Lyon: HH 373 and HH 544: *Au Roi Et A Nosseigneurs de Son Conseil*.

73 AN: F12 101, pp. 253ff. (2 September 1756) and again six months later: F12 102^{1}, p. 109 (10 March 1757).

74 On the journal itself see Hervé Guénot, 'Journal Économique ou Mémoires (1751–1772)' (no. 0729), in Édition électronique revue, corrigée et augmentée du *Dictionnaire des Journaux* (1600–1789), ed. Jean Sgard (Voltaire Foundation – online edition: dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.

fr [consulted June 2014]).On the *Society of the Agriculture, Commerce, and Arts of the Estates of Brittany*, set up in 1757, inter alia with the support of Gournay and on other such societies, see Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue*, pp. 80–92; cf. Koen Stapelbroek and Jani Marjanen, *The Rise of Economic Societies in the Eighteenth Century: Patriotic Reform in Europe and North America* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), especially Shovlin's 'The Society of Brittany and the Irish Economic Model: International Competition and the Politics of Provincial Development', pp. 73–95.

75 *Journal Oeconomique ou Mémoires, Notes et Avis sur l'Agriculture, les Arts, le Commerce* […] (Paris: Antoine Boudet, 1755): 'Mémoire sur les toiles teines ou peintes' (April 1755, pp. 91–112), 'Réponse à une question propose dans le Journal Oeconomique Février 1755' (May 1755, pp. 98–102), 'Manufacture des Toiles peintes' (June 1755, pp. 144–6), 'Réponse à la question proposée dans le Journal Oeconomique du mois de Février 1755' (July 1755, pp. 61–78).

76 'Mémoire Concernant les Teintures des Indes', *Journal Oeconomique* 1756, pp. 44–62 (June), 53–73 (July), and 49–89 (August).

77 On that company see Serge Chassagne and Stanley Chapman, *European Textile Printers in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Peel and Oberkampf* (London: Heinemann, 1981), pp. 107–8, 115–16.

78 Note that like Forbonnais and Gournay, none of the authors condemns import regulations and restrictions per se, only where these were harmful to free enterprise without contributing to the common good. There was good reason the authors could claim Colbert for themselves.

79 *Réflexions sur la situation des principales Manufactures de France & particuliérement* [*sic*] *celle de Tours* (s.d.), 7 pp. The edition printed in Rouen (Viret) and held in the AD Calvados (C 2947) is different from that held in Lyon (AM Lyon: HH 13), which does not indicate the printer.

80 *Réflexions sur la situation des principales Manufactures de France* […], *Mercure de France*, May 1758, pp. 178–80.

81 *Mémoires de l'abbé Morellet de l'Académie française*, ed. Jean-Pierre Guicciardi (Paris: Mercure de France, 2000), p. 77.

82 Other examples include François Charpentier's 1666, *Relation de l'établissement de la compagnie Françoise pour le commerce des indes orientales*; and again Morellet with his 1769 *Mémoire sur la situation actuelle de la Compagnie des Indes*.

83 Robert Darnton, 'An Exemplary Literary Career', in *André Morellet (1727–1819) in the Republic of Letters and the French Revolution*, ed. Jeffrey Merrick and Dorothy Medlin (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 5–26.

84 Cf. Daniel Delafarge, *L'Affaire de l'abbé Morellet en 1760* (Paris: Hachette 1912).

85 The reference becomes common in Voltaire's correspondence from 1760 onwards: cf. Voltaire, *Correspondence*, definitive edn, D9095, D9113, D9137, etc. On Voltaire and Morellet's friendship see also: René Pomeau (ed.), *Voltaire en son temps*, 5 vols (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1985–94), IV, 88–9.

86 Cf. Neiertz, *Voltaire et l'économie politique;* and Felicia Gottmann, 'Du Châtelet, Voltaire, and the Transformation of Mandeville's *Fable*', *History of European Ideas* 38 (2012), 218–32.

87 Morellet, *Réflexions*, pp. 2–3.
88 Morellet, *Réflexions*, pp. 204–7.
89 Cf. Jeffrey Merrick, 'Society Needs Women "Like Coffee Needs Sugar": André Morellet on the Female Sex', in Merrick and Medlin (eds), *André Morellet*, pp. 95–113. On Voltaire's celebration of these, see also Nicholas Cronk, 'The Epicurean Spirit: Champagne and the Defence of Poetry in Voltaire's *Le Mondain*', *SVEC* 371 (1999), 53–80; and Gottmann, 'Du Châtelet, Voltaire, and the Transformation of Mandeville's *Fable*'.
90 Morellet, *Réfexions*, pp. 36, 39.
91 Review 'Réflexions sur les avantages', *Journal Encyclopédique* (October 1758), 95–106; [Chastellux], 'Lettre aux auteurs de ce Journal sur *L'Examen des effets* […]', *Journal encyclopédique* (May 1759), 71–93.
92 AD Calvados: C 2947: *Précis pour la Fabrique de Lyon, Dans l'affaire des Toiles Peintes & Imprimées* (Rouen: Viret, s.d.). For other examples see ibid. and AM Lyon HH 524: *Mémoire pour la Manufacture de Tours sur le Projet d'établir en France des Manufactures pour peindre, imprimer ou teindre des Toiles à la façon des Indes;* and the above-mentioned *Réflexions sur la situation des principales Manufactures*, also by Tours.
93 Examples are in AD Calvados: C 2947: *Mémoire Des Syndics de la Chambre de Commerce de Normandie* […] (Rouen: Viret, s.d); *POUR les Marchands Merciers de la Ville de Paris. CONTRE l'Usage des Toiles peintes* […] (Rouen: Viret, s.d.); and AM Lyon: HH 373: *Réflexions sur l'objet des différens Mémoires* […] (s.l., s.d. [Paris: 1758].
94 'Mémoire sur les toiles teines ou peintes', *Journal Oeconomique* (April 1755), p. 99.
95 AD Calvados: C2947: *POUR les Marchands Merciers*.
96 AD Calvados: C2947 and AM Lyon HH524: *Mémoire pour la Manufacture de Tours*.
97 AM Lyon: HH 544 and AD Calvados: C2949 (different editions) *Réflexions sur l'état actuel du commerce de la soierie* (s.l. and s.d.), 7 + 1 pp.; and AD Calvados: C2949 and AM Lyon: HH 544: *Mémoire qu'ont l'honneur de prés Mons. le Contrôleur Général les fabricants d'Yvetot et du Pays de Caux* […] (Rouen: Viret, s.d. [1758]), 3 pp.
98 *Précis pour la Fabrique de Lyon*.
99 Morellet, *Mémoires* and Darnton, 'An Exemplary Literary Career'. Jacob-Nicolas Moreau, *Mes Souvenirs*, ed. Camille Hermelin, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1898–1901), and Keith M. Baker, 'Controlling French History: The Ideological Arsenal of Jacob-Nicolas Moreau', in *Inventing the French Revolution*, pp. 59–85 and idem, 'Memory and Practice: Politics and the Representation of the Past in Eighteenth-Century France', reprinted in *Inventing the French Revolution*, pp. 31–58.
100 See Gerhardt Stenger, *L'Affaire des Cacouacs. Trois pamphlets contre les Philosophes des Lumières* (Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2004).
101 Baker, 'Controlling French History', p. 60.
102 Ibid., p. 63.
103 [Jacob-Nicolas Moreau], *Examen des Effets que doivent produire dans le commerce de France, l'usage & la fabrication des Toiles Peintes* […] (Geneva and Paris: Delaguette, 1759), pp. 50–1.

104 Ibid., p. 101.
105 Ibid., pp. 9–10.
106 On the luxury debates see: Istvan Hont, 'The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 379–418; and Felicia Gottmann, 'The Eighteenth-Century Luxury Debate: The Case of Voltaire' (DPhil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2011). On the *noblesse commerçante* debate, the role of Montesquieu, the Gournay circle, and Mirabeau's opposition see: Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue*, pp. 58–79; and Clark, *Compass of Society*, pp. 109–52. Cf. Marie-France Piguet, 'Noblesse "commerçante" / Nation "commerçante": genèse d'un adjectif', in *Le Cercle de Vincent de Gournay*, pp. 161–78.
107 Review 'Réflexions sur les avantages […] [and] Examen des effets', *Journal des Sçavants* (July 1759), 475–85 (485).
108 Chassagne and Chapman, *European Textile Printers*; Sarah Grant and Christine Smith, *Toiles de Jouy: French Printed Cottons, 1760–1830* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010); Renée Lefranc, *Soies, indiennes, blue-jeans. Une saga du textile entre Provence et Cévennes* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2009).
109 For Company smuggling see Chapter 2 – some of the events discussed took place in the early 1760s. For a later example of smuggling with false seals, see Horn, *Economic Development in Early Modern France*, p. 17, n. 30. For post-1759 smuggling in the Provence see Katsumi Fukasawa, 'Commerce et contrebande des indiennes en Provence dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle', *Annales du Midi* 178 (1987), 175–92.
110 On the crucial role of the state and protectionism for Europe's and especially Britain's economic growth and industrialisation see Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (London: Allen Lane, 2014); Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Patrick O'Brien, 'Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State and the Expansion of Empire, 1688–1815', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume II – The British Empire*, ed. P.J. Marshall (Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 53–78; Peer Vries, *State, Economy and the Great Divergence. Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); William Ashworth, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Ideological Revolution: Science, Neoliberalism and History', *History of Science* 52 (2014), 178–99; idem, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production and Consumption in England 1640–1845* (Oxford University Press, 2003); Erik S. Reinert, 'The Role of the State in Economic Growth', *Journal of Economic Studies* 26 (1999), 268–326; and idem, *How Rich Countries Got Rich and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor* (London: Constable, 2007). On the division of commerce into a national and international sphere, see Jean-Yves Grenier, 'Ordre et désordre. Échange et marchés dans le mercantilisme anglais et français (XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle)', in *Merkantilismus*, ed. Isenmann, pp. 83–111.
111 On the payments received by Morellet to support his work, see AN: F12 821 (Caisse de Commerce), Letters dated 19/7/1769, 29/1/1775, 2/11/1775, 24/1/1776, 4/7/1776.

112 Magnusson, *Mercantilism*, and 'Is Mercantilism a Useful Concept Still?' On the role of corporations in mercantilist thought see also *Mercantilism Reimagined*, especially Henry S. Turner, 'Corporations: Humanism and Elizabethan Political Economy', pp. 153–76.

Conclusion

1 Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), p. xxi.
2 See Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*; Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Patrick O'Brien, 'Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State and the Expansion of Empire, 1688–1815', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume II – The British Empire*, ed. P.J. Marshall (Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 53–78; Peer Vries, *State, Economy and the Great Divergence. Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); William Ashworth, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Ideological Revolution: Science, Neoliberalism and History', *History of Science* 52 (2014), 178–99; idem, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production and Consumption in England 1640–1845* (Oxford University Press, 2003); Erik S. Reinert, 'The Role of the State in Economic Growth', *Journal of Economic Studies* 26 (1999), 268–326; and idem, *How Rich Countries Got Rich and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor* (London: Constable, 2007).
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4 Ibid., pp. 83–111.
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8 Jeff Horn, *Economic Development in Early Modern France: The Privilege of Liberty, 1650–1820* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 235.
9 Cf. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich*; Beverly Lemire, *Cotton* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2011).

10 Jean Nicolas, *La rébellion française. Mouvements populaires et conscience sociale 1661–1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), pp. 85–91.
11 Michael Kwass, *Contraband. Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 325–36.
12 See for instance: Suzanne Desan, Lynn Hunt, and William Max Nelson (eds), *The French Revolution in Global Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); Oliver Chaline and Mike Rapport's chapters in *The Crisis of the Absolute Monarchy: France from Old Regime to Revolution*, ed. Julian Swann and Joël Félix (Oxford: British Academy and Oxford University Press, 2013); David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (eds), *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Laurent Dubois, 'An Atlantic Revolution', *French Historical Studies* 32 (2009), 655–61; and Janet L. Polasky, *Revolutions without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

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- F3 46 Documents concernant la Compagnie des Indes

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- M89 Cholle, Tandarayen, Mouta (vol dans les magasins de la Compagnie, 1742)

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- HH 500–624 Grande Fabrique de Soie (partially available online)
- Documents, letters, and pamphlets relating to the *Grande Fabrique de Soie*'s opposition to *toiles peintes* are found in: HH 13, HH 373, HH 374, HH 454, HH 542, HH 543, HH 544, HH 552

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Fonds des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Museum

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- Ms Jus 3 (3502) Antoine de Jussieu (plantes tinctoriales; instructions pour voyage au Levant)
- Ms Jus 7 (3506) Bernard de Jussieu (plantes de la côte de Malabar et de Coromandel; expertise d'un tissu)

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