## GEHN Conference A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850

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#### **Abstracts**

## Takeshi Abe Osaka University The Development of the Japanese cotton weaving districts during the Edo Period

The purpose of my paper is to show the development of the main cotton weaving districts (sanchi) in Japan during Edo period (1603-1868). There in those days, the cotton spinning and weaving highly developed as one of the most important rural industries closely related to the agriculture. In the relatively southern areas except Tohoku, Hokuriku and Hokkaido, raw cotton was representative farm produce as well as rice, and the peasants not only sold it to the specialized merchants, but also gradually came to produce yarn and cloth from it. At first, most of the cloths were consumed for the peasants themselves, but later the considerable parts came to be sold for the other consumers. Gradually many famous sanchi had been widely formed. I will search for such sanchi from many records on local history, and thereafter, collect as many statistical data as I can. They will be fragmental and very rough, but from them we can grasp the general features of the development of Japanese cotton industry as a proto-industry. At the early stage of Edo period some large sanchi such as Izumi and Kawachi had been established near Osaka, the economic center of Japan, but, in the mid-eighteenth century, many cotton weaving districts newly emerged, and the fierce competition among sanchi started. In this process the Japanese common people came to wear kimono made of cotton textiles as well as hemp goods which had been worn in Japan from the ancient days.

#### Huw V. Bowen

#### **University of Leicester**

## British exports of raw cotton and piece goods from India to China in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

Historians of Britain's trade in Asian cotton textiles have concentrated most of their attention on exports to Europe from India, and little detailed attention has been paid to increasingly substantial British involvement in the intra-Asia or 'country' trade in raw cotton and piece goods. At a very basic level, little known about the overall

volume, distribution, and organisation of this trade, and consequently it is not yet possible to make firm connections between India and the production, internal trade, and consumption of cotton textiles in late-eighteenth century China. This paper aims to establish such connections by quantifying flows of raw cotton and piece goods between India and China, and by analysing the organisational arrangements that underpinned the trade. The paper is framed by the East India Company's attempts to generate the substantial funds in Canton that were necessary for it to stimulate the growth of its tea trade, but the key agents of integration are identified as being the private merchants, ships' commanders, and agency houses who used the textile trade as a means of remitting personal fortunes from India to London via China. Based upon a detailed and systematic examination of Company records and private papers held in Britain and India, the paper will also throw light on the exchanges of market and product information that contributed to the increasing volume of the trade in cottons between India and China.

#### Suraiya Faroqhi

#### Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich

## Ottoman cotton textiles, 1500 to 1800: the story of a success that did not last

During the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire had a considerable number of textile producing centres. The economic vigour and the variety of production makes us wonder why textile manufacturing did not initiate an industrial revolution in this part of the globe. The work done on the 'economic mind' of the pre-nineteenth century Ottoman elite, as well as a variety of studies on tax-farming, have identified some of the reasons why textile producers, in spite of significant successes, proved unable to break through a certain 'glass ceiling'. The Ottoman elite believed that supplying the market, and keeping prices low as a consequence of this, was a high priority. This was the only way to ensure military success and render public construction financially feasible. Mercantilist policies were never fully embraced, although there was concern about the outflow of bullion. Thus export was not promoted by the state: if in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ottoman sultans were interested in the fate of those subjects who traded in foreign territories, this was probably more for political rather than economic reasons. Secondly the prevalence of tax-farming and life-time tax-farms had dire consequences from an economic point of view. Tax-farmers forced craftspeople to produce in places convenient for tax collection, but these places were not necessarily conducive to the productive processes involved. In addition, tax-farmers' activities tended to exacerbate the lack of capital in all productive branches including textiles. This had been a weakness of the Ottoman economy since the sixteenth century. A further factor affecting the destiny of textiles were the large

workshops that during the eighteenth century were frequently promoted by pious foundations anxious to increase their revenues. The close proximity of the artisans working there, and frequently the common investment in costly items, tended to reinforce mutual control and make it more difficult for enterprising artisans to branch out into activities not foreseen or approved by their neighbours. Recent work on Ottoman textile production has tended to give priority to factors from within, rather than those originating outside the sultans' realm. Future scholarship will need to integrate these studies with the work carried out on the textile industry in Europe in the early modern period.

#### **James Fichter**

### Harvard University, Department of History Indian Textiles and American Industrialization, 1792-1820

The capital and experience that Americans derived from trading Indian textiles during the French Wars (1792-1815) directly financed and helped organize U.S. textile manufacture in the antebellum period. This paper follows that transfer by examining the example of Israel Thorndike, an early American millionaire who traded Indian textiles during the French Wars and later became president of and a principal investor in the Boston Manufacturing Company, otherwise known as the Lowell Mills. Among American businessmen, India merchants like Thorndike were uniquely experienced in dealing with multiple investors and in overseeing an enterprise of the Boston Manufacturing Company's scale. Their specie-dependent India trade required more capital and more investors than other trade routes did. Through the India trade Thorndike learned to raise capital from a broad investor base; the trade funded his purchase of BMC shares; and it enabled him to run a factory in which, like in the India trade, decision-making was delegated to on-site managers rather than kept by sometimes-distant owners.

### Joseph E. Inikori University of Rochester

# English-East India cotton textiles competition, 1750-1850: a window into the impact of imports on cotton textiles production in West Africa

The available evidence suggests that the production of cotton textiles has a very long history in several parts of West Africa. Igbo historians write about the growth of cotton textile manufacturing in Igbo heartland to the north between the ninth century and the fifteenth, as part of an evolving inter-regional specialization among regions experiencing differing land-labour ratios as population grew over time. Early European traders in West Africa conducted a carrying trade involving the distribution

of cotton textiles produced in one part of the region to another. Several centuries before then, the coastal societies and their immediate hinterlands were involved in extensive exchanges with the more economically and politically developed societies in the savanna interior, in which the former exported largely primary products (such as gold and kolanuts) and imported manufactures (including cotton textiles). The Niger Bend and Hausaland were major manufacturing centres for these early exchanges. As the Hausa historian, Mahdi Adamu, wrote about three decades ago, 'one would perhaps not be far wrong if one described Hausaland as the workshop of West Africa in the textile and leather industries' (The Hausa Factor in West African History, 1978, p. 11). Yet, a major distinguishing feature of West African economic history, relative to other major regions of the world, is the virtual absence of proto-industrialisation, including cotton textile production, in the region by the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The one doubtful case of proto-industrial cotton textile production was in Kano, located in the interior savanna, far away from the Atlantic import centres. Historians have long debated whether or not imported manufactures had adverse effects on industrial development in West Africa. This paper will employ evidence from the long drawn out competition between English and East India cottons in West Africa, along with other evidence on the Atlantic slave trade, in a preliminary examination of the history of the cotton textile industry in the region.

#### Colleen E. Kriger

## University of North Carolina at Greensboro 'Guinea cloth': production and consumption of cotton textiles in West Africa before and during the Atlantic slave trade

The history of cotton textile manufacture and trade in West Africa goes back to at least the eleventh century C.E., based on archaeological evidence and Arabic accounts. Early centres arose in the Senegal River valley, the upper Niger region, the environs of Lake Chad, and the lower Niger basin. Textile technology was highly labour-intensive, involving two separate loom systems – one indigenous, the other from Asia. When European merchants began trading along Africa's Guinea Coast in the late fifteenth century, they found a variety of different markets for cloth and had to adjust to particular consumer preferences. In places where cotton textiles were already made, Indian cloths were welcomed as supplements to local production. And in most cases, they were similar: white cottons; various types of indigo and white loom-patterned cloths; and piece-dyed cottons. Selected novelties, like scarlet woollens from England, were imported so that the vividly coloured thread could be used to embellish locally woven prestige cloth. Moreover, African textiles were relatively cheaper than overseas imports up until the late nineteenth century. European merchants therefore incorporated local cotton textiles into their trading operations, finding markets for them elsewhere on the Guinea Coast. Export production grew in certain locales, which was achieved by technology transfer and expansion of the workforce. Based on *Cloth in History: Textiles, Trade, and West African Culture* by Colleen E. Kriger, forthcoming from AltaMira Press, African Archaeology Series.

#### **Beverly Lemire**

#### **University of Alberta**

Shaping fashion: Asia, Europe and the trade in Indian cottons, c. 1300-1800: a well-worn tale reconsidered

Indian cottons were uniquely important in world history as agents of new consumer tastes. Long a staple in a trade system based on Asia, Indian manufacturers crafted goods suited to specialized and diverse markets from Egypt and East Africa to the Islands of the Western Pacific. As societies flourished, as economies grew in Asia and the wider world, new demands were made on these manufacturing regions, new tastes were developed and markets served. Cotton textiles originating from the Indian subcontinent carried distinct design elements to far-flung regions. Equally important, they also fed a broad public appetite for standardized commodities, goods which could be altered to suit varied tastes. What role did fashion play as a stimulus to demand for cottons? Is fashion, as Gilles Lipovetsky contends, 'an exceptional process inseparable from the origin and development of the modern West?' Historical treatments of fashion, much like the historical treatments of consumerism, claim for this phenomenon a uniquely western point of origin. What is the relationship between Asian consumer goods like cotton and the purchase of this commodity over the long run in a range of markets? Material artefacts of this trade, along with documentary evidence, can inform a new history of this traffic and contribute to a better understanding of global interactions preceding and contributing to industrialization, once Europe directly entered the trading networks of Asia. Further, our understanding of fashion and consumerism in a comparative context will be enhanced when the complexities of demand for cotton products are more clearly articulated.

## Maureen F. Mazzaoui University of Wisconsin-Madison *The North Italian cotton industry, 1200-1800*

The paper will survey the dynamic growth of the first export-oriented cotton industry in medieval Europe. The north-Italian industry was established in the wake of the historical expansion of cotton cultivation and cloth production in the Islamic world. Utilizing borrowed technology and imported cotton, merchant entrepreneurs in the populous towns of the Po valley created an integrated industrial complex, based on standardized tools and products, and a regional subdivision of labour. Challenges from an expanding rural industry in southern Germany led to a restructuring of the Italian industry in the sixteenth century, when many processes came to be concentrated in newly formed industrial boroughs. Italian producers maintained a competitive edge in international markets by offering a broad line of fabrics of high quality and innovative design. It was only in the course of the seventeenth century that they experienced an erosion of market leadership and a decline in profit margins, as a result of shifts in the international cotton trade and competition from new manufacturing centres in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

#### Patrick K. O'Brien

#### London School of Economics

## The precocious mechanization of a global industry: English cotton textiles from John Kay (1733) to Richard Roberts (1822)

Current discussions about the chronology and origins of the 'Great Divergence' between Europe and Asia, as well as recent debates on the status of the First Industrial Revolution as a seminal episode or provincial in global economic history, return us to the contrasts across Eurasia that can be located either in histories of technology or histories of industries. For chapters of reconstructed metanarratives on differences between Europe and Asia there is a corpus of historical research on a leading global history and on the famous machines that transformed possibilities for the production of cotton textiles in England that might conceivably help to clarify and settle parts of the argument. This paper propose to discuss the rather familiar theories, and contextualise histories that are included in narratives designed to explain the precocious mechanisation of the English industry over a period running from the Restoration (1660s) to the demise of handloom weaving (1840s). I will, however, make the case that narratives of this kind that now dominate histories of the Kingdom's cotton textile industry offer elaborations upon a range of "necessary conditions" for the dramatic rise to prominence on a global scale; and that the restoration of a traditional genre of historical writing and research (namely biographies of macro inventors) is required if "necessary" and "sufficient" conditions are to form the basis for a study that will allow historians to locate and reconfigure the 'English case' as a conjuncture in global economic history.

## Prasannan Parthasarathi Boston College *Cotton textile exports from the Indian subcontinent, 1680-1780*

India's central position in the global textile trade of the eighteenth century is

increasingly appreciated. Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and West Africa, and even the Americans were major markets for Indian stuff and the trade in Indian cottons was an important link between the commercial worlds of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Despite the importance of this trade, there is little research on the volume of cotton textile exports from the subcontinent. Nevertheless, recent revisionist accounts of Indian economic history, especially found in the work of Tirthankar Roy, have argued that exports represented an insignificant fraction of production. Roy, for instance, believes exports may have been only one per cent of total cotton cloth manufactures. The purpose of this paper is to assemble some new estimates of cloth production and exports for the subcontinent. In doing this it will build upon and extend the author's estimates for South India, which was one of the major cotton textile exporting regions of the subcontinent.

#### **Ulrich Pfister**

#### Westfalische Wilhelms-Universitat

## Cotton manufacture in Switzerland and Southern Germany, 15th-18th centuries: agrarian pre-conditions, family economy and economic institutions

The turn of 15<sup>th</sup> century saw the emergence of fustian manufacture in several towns in southern Germany. From the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, manufacture of cotton cloth developed in Zurich and spread across the countryside of northern Switzerland during the following two centuries. Finally, the 18<sup>th</sup> century experienced the emergence of an important industrial district specialised on calico printing located in the triangle between Augsburg, upper Alsace and Geneva. Demand of calico printers for white cloth constituted a major stimulus for the mechanisation of cotton spinning during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Beyond a brief sketch of the development of cotton manufacture in the area the paper addresses three topics. First it discusses the role of economic institutions in the process: Town guilds, state regulation of the manufacturing sector, opportunities created by loopholes in French trade legislation were all vital at certain pivotal moments in the history of the cotton sector in the area. Above all the paper will describe the business organisation both of rural drapers and of calico printers; shifts in business techniques that lowered transaction costs both in inter-firm and intra-firm transactions were vital in fostering the rapid development of the sector during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Second, the paper discusses agrarian conditions of rural manufacture in the region considered. In concrete terms, the transition to a labour-extensive agrarian system in the wake of the so-called crisis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and an (albeit fragile) integration of grain markets between mountain and plain areas were of crucial importance for the emergence of rural proto-industries in northern Switzerland. Finally, the paper draws on extensive research into the ways in which cotton

manufacture was integrated into the rural household economy. Given the presence of rural drapers and putter-outs, cotton manufacture could be integrated more flexibly into seasonal and daily labour patterns than other sectors of proto-industrial textile manufacture. The analysis also elucidates the reasons for inelastic labour supply, which in turn constituted a powerful motive behind mechanisation.

## Om Prakash University of Delhi India and the Indian Ocean Textile Trade

The textile sector constituted by far the most important segment of the manufacturing industry in the Indian subcontinent in the early modern period, turning it into perhaps the world's largest producer of cotton textiles. While textiles were manufactured all over the subcontinent, the principal areas of concentration were the Coromandel coast, Gujarat and Bengal. While a large proportion of the total output was indeed intended for domestic consumption, the share of the export market in total output was also quite impressive. India had traditionally dominated the extensive Indian Ocean trade in textiles. While this indeed had something to do with the central location of the subcontinent, the real reason behind India's domination of the textile trade was her capacity to put large quantities of cotton and other textiles on the market at extremely cost effective and competitive terms. There was a large demand for Indian textiles both in the eastern Indian Ocean markets of Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand and Burma as well as in the western Indian Ocean markets of the Red Sea the Persian Gulf and East Africa. There was an important element of specificity in the matter of size, patterns, designs as well as colour combinations in the varieties demanded by each of these markets. An important strength of the Indian production structure was its acute market responsiveness and capacity to adjust to evolving patterns of demand both in the domestic as well as the international markets.

#### **Giorgio Riello**

#### London School of Economics

## The Ecology of cotton in the eighteenth centuries: possibilities and potentials

In the early eighteenth century cotton accounted for a very small proportion of Europe's textile production. Linens and woollens dominated the manufacturing sectors of most Western countries and in the case of Britain they constituted at least three quarters of the island's exports. A century later the picture had dramatically changed. Cotton was the most important textile in the West, characterised not only by an enormous output, but also by a new industrial structure of production. This paper

seeks to analyse the well-known story of the rise of the cotton industry in Europe through a closer analysis of the 'ecologic' potential and impact of such a fibre. Cotton was the only textile fibre not to be produced within Europe. Why, how and how much did Europe rely on such an 'exotic' raw material to further its process of economic transformation? This question implies a clearer understanding of how cotton changed the 'textile mix' of pre-industrial Europe. The paper argues that cotton fitted within a neo-mercantilist view of European overseas economic interests. Using Crosby's notion of 'ecological imperialism', the paper shows the real and perceived limitations of a textile economy heavily reliant on endogenous fibres such as flax and wool. The unique growth rates of cotton textile production in Europe was not only the result of a dramatic change in the use of fibres. Manufacturing and commercial interests were important in securing new markets for cotton textiles. In the early eighteenth century the European woollen manufacturers successfully protected their markets and products through restrictive legislation on the import of Asian cotton textiles. Economic historians have considered the rise of the Lancashire fustian industry as the by-product of such legislation and the attempt to substitute a previously imported commodity. This paper argues that the cotton industry grew instead out of a general re-definition of textile production in the second half of the century. Rather than emphasising endogenous factors such as import substitution strategies and the role of technological innovation, this paper examines how one part of the globe (Europe) came to acquire substantial advantages in the production of cotton textiles by underlining the nature of the raw material and the importance of overseas markets.

#### George Bryan Souza

## University of Texas, San Antonio

## The French connection: Indian cottons, their early modern technology and diffusion

During the later half of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, two representatives of the French East India Company, one a commercial and the other a naval officer, and a French missionary in Asia encountered and wrote about Indian cotton textile production and its technology in general and the methods of dying, printing, and painting cottons particularly. Roques, Beaulieux, and Coeurdoux produced three long and highly detailed reports, after visiting and investigating in different centres of cotton production in India. At Amedabad from 1678 to 1680, Roques wrote a report for the director general at Surat, entitled *La manière de nègocier dans les Indes Orientales (The method of trading in the East Indies*), which included details on the printing of chintz. At Pondicherry, on the Coromandel Coast, Beaulieux in 1737, and Coeurdoux in 1742-47 wrote authoritative letters and reports on the fabrication of painted cloth in India. Based upon a detailed analysis of these

reports, my paper examines: 1) early modern technology employed in specific Indian cotton textiles and compares it with contemporaneous European cotton textile technology in general and with France in particular; 2) identifies the political economic "drivers" behind these reports; 3) critically examines whether these reports accurately identified the reasons for Indian superiority in these methods; 4) determines whether they produced actionable information on how to improve French cotton textile production; 5) examines the medium to long term efforts to introduce those improvements and the results that were obtained; and 6) examines whether others followed the French in these or similar efforts and determine (or call for further research to determine) whether those efforts contributed to the decline in Indian cotton production in the nineteenth century. This research engages the convergence/divergence debate by determining the veracity of the comparative superiority of Indian cotton technology with that of Europe in general and of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It determines whether and which aspects of Asian cotton textile production technology were identified, acquired and assimilated into European production methods in order to diminish Europe's dependence upon Indian supply. Since these reports permit, this paper focuses on the Indian producers side of the story, because of the way the information was acquired and was written.

#### John Styles

## University of Hertfordshire What were Cottons for in the Early Industrial Revolution?

In eighteenth-century Britain, as Beverly Lemire emphasized in the title of her 1991 book, cotton became fashion's favourite. Decorated cottons like sprigged muslins, printed calicoes and white tufted counterpanes established themselves as fashionable fabrics for dress and furnishings that challenged the previous supremacy of silks and worsteds. But many historians have also suggested that cotton's triumph extended beyond the realm of the fashionable and the decorated. They have asserted that in the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries cottons replaced linens as plain fabrics for everyday uses like shirting and sheeting. Indeed, this assertion has been so widely accepted that reductions in mortality in the period have been ascribed to the supposed improvements in hygiene that resulted from the use of cotton for these purposes. This paper employs criminal and parish records to map some of the uses to which cotton fabrics were put before 1825. It confirms the success of cottons in the realm of decorated and fashion fabrics, but calls into question the extent to which plain cottons ousted plain linens in many of their mundane uses. It suggests that the explanation for this discrepancy may lie in the durability of the two fabrics. It goes on to speculate whether increasing use of plain cottons by the second quarter of the nineteenth century reflected not just changes in the relative prices of linens and cottons, but also changes in the material qualities of cotton fabrics. If so, did those material changes result from innovations in manufacturing, or innovations in the quality of raw cotton as cotton growing took off in the United States?

### Masayuki Tanimoto

### University of Tokyo

*The rise and fall of cotton weaving districts in late-Tokugawa Japan, 1750-1880: cotton and the peasant economy* 

This paper explores the development of the cotton industry in pre-modern Japan through comparing the several districts which engaged in cotton weaving industry. Immediately after the transplantation of cotton cultivation from China and Korea in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, cotton cultivation spread nationwide and the weaving as well as spinning was integrated within the peasant households that produced raw cotton. As the cotton market rose in Tokugawa-era, the regional specialization took place and the cotton cloths tended to be produced in the districts that specialized in weaving particular types of cloths. The paper tries to compare the trajectories of three different types of produced cloths, but also differed in the economic basis such as agricultural background, division of labour within the industry, or the origins of technology and skill. They also differed in their reaction to the Opening of the Ports in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that made the British and Indian cotton goods flow into the cotton market in Japan. This case study might be connected to the first or forth strand of the mission statement.

#### Ian C. Wendt

#### Washington State University

## 400 Years of Decline? Understanding the changing structure of the South Indian textile industry

Few historical themes are viewed with as much simultaneous excitement and pessimism as the textile industry in India. Generations of historians have been at pains to argue both that textile industry in South Asia made major contributions to the world economy and that it suffered massive decline in the face of European corporate and colonial exploitation. Depending upon the ending of the various historical analyses, the origins of this decline date from 1850 or 1800 or 1750 or 1700 or even 1600. But while the chronology varies, the narrative of decline, specifically weaver decline, is common. This paper begins by comparing the predominant narratives of transformation, disruption and decline in the historiographies of textile industry in East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia. These regions experienced markedly

different transitions from the early modern to the modern period, but their historical narratives offer even greater contrasts. For example, Japanese historiography has emphasized growth, internal agency and continuity amid rapid transformation. Recent Southeast Asian historiography focuses on internal adaptation in the face of external By contrast South Asian historiography describes long term, chronic influences. decline. Second, the paper examines the structure of the early modern South Indian textile industry in its broadest dimensions - from cotton agriculture to cloth commerce. This study is founded on the detailed analysis of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century archival Dutch and English Company sources in my dissertation. Complex forms of specialization, credit relations and production relations enabled the South Indian textile industry to thrive. Women, agrarian labour and part-time labour constituted the bulk of labour and value in early modern textile production. Within this context, I also explore the applicability of the concept of proto-industrialization to South India. My careful analysis of the structure and size of the early modern textile industry provides a rich foundation for understanding later transitions. Finally, the paper considers the changing structure of the textile industry by examining the disparate effects of industrialization and de-industrialization on men, women, full-time professionals, agrarian labourers, and part-time producers. In the end, the paper offers a surprising appraisal of disruption and continuity in Indian handicraft textile industry – the elimination of female, agrarian and part-time labour, in contrast to the remarkable continuity enjoyed by handloom weavers and textile merchants. 'De-industrialization' in South Asia can be better characterized as the de-agrarianization, masculinization and professionalization of the textile industry. My revision of the narrative of decline is even more striking when contrasted again with the histories of East and Southeast Asia.

#### Harriet Zurndorfer

#### Leiden University

#### The resistant fibre: The pre-modern history of cotton in China

Scholars who have examined the history of cotton production and the cotton handicraft industry in China have demonstrated its development there was relatively slow. Although the cotton plant was known in China already in the Han dynasty (ca. 200 BCE - CE 200), its adoption to local agriculture took a long time. Imperial authorities resisted encouraging cotton cultivation for two reasons. They preferred to maintain the age-old dichotomy between silk and hemp as markers of social status. And second, given the monetary use of silk and hemp as tax payment units, they feared the spread of cotton cultivation would upset the financial system. This paper argues that opposition to cotton farming only changed during the (Mongol) Yuan era (1279-1368) when demographic conditions in China favoured widespread

cultivation. The diminishing land to man ratio, and the mobilization of hitherto unemployed persons (old people, women, and children) into the agricultural sector stimulated cotton growing and cotton craft industries. The result was a special kind of domestic handicraft industry that could at once satisfy the needs of self-sufficient families and contribute to a country-wide marketing system. By the early 17th century, some form of cotton was grown in every Chinese province. The major changes in Chinese cotton cropping occurred around the 18th century when new demands from the global economy stimulated local farmers first in the south (Fujian and Guangdong provinces) to focus on sugar cane and tea production rather than cotton. And in northwest China (Sichuan and Shaanxi provinces), farmers shifted to opium poppies in preference to cotton. Finally, this paper investigates the implications of such changes for both Chinese cotton production, and global trading relations in East Asia.