

# 《棉花帝國：資本主義全球化的過去與未來》

## 全書注釋

### 導言

1. The Thirty- Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1859 (Manchester: Cave & Sever, 1860), 18, 19, 22, 23, 33, 34, 38, 39, 45.
2. “Liverpool. By Order of the Liverpool Cotton Association Ltd., Catalogue of the Valuable Club Furnishings etc. to be Sold by Auction by Marsh Lyons & Co., Tuesday, 17th December 1963,” Greater Manchester County Record Office, Manchester, UK.
3. “Monthly Economic Letter: U.S. and Global Market Fundamentals,” Cotton Incorporated, accessed January 23, 2013, <http://www.cottoninc.com/corporate/Market-Data/MonthlyEconomicLetter/>; “The Fabric of Our Lives,” accessed July 1, 2012, <http://www.thefabricofourlives.com/>.
4. The average weight of a sheep fleece in the United States is 7.3 pounds according to “Fast Facts . . . About American Wool,” American Sheep Industry Association, accessed March 10, 2013, [www.sheepusa.org/get\\_file/file\\_id/5ab52656e6d6e32821aa9f177bf05876](http://www.sheepusa.org/get_file/file_id/5ab52656e6d6e32821aa9f177bf05876). The total weight of the world’s cotton crop was divided by this number to find how many sheep it would take to produce the same amount of wool by weight. Government of South Australia, “Grazing livestock — a sustainable and productive approach,” Adelaide & Mt Lofty Ranges Natural Resource Management Board, accessed March 10, 2013, [www.amlnrm.sa.gov.au/Portals/2/landholders\\_info/grazing\\_web.pdf](http://www.amlnrm.sa.gov.au/Portals/2/landholders_info/grazing_web.pdf); “European Union,” CIA — The World Factbook, accessed March 16, 2013, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ee.html>. According to the first source, it was assumed that one hectare of land can support ten dry sheep, if available for grazing twelve months of the year. This was used to calculate the area of land required to sustain 7 billion sheep and then that was compared to the size of the EU, which is 4,324,782 km<sup>2</sup> according to the CIA World Factbook.
5. Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher, and P. Jackson, 1835), 5–6; see Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
6. Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1998); David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (New York: Norton, 1998); Niall Ferguson, *The West and the Rest* (New York: Allen Lane, 2011); Robert Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre- industrial

- Europe,” *Past and Present* no. 70 (February 1976): 30–75; Robert Brenner, “The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism,” *Past and Present*, no. 97 (November 1982): 16–113; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1963).
7. There is a vibrant literature on slavery and capitalism, including Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, “As desventuras de um conceito: Capitalismo histórico e a historiografia sobre escravidão brasileira,” *Revista de Historia* 169 (July/December 2013), 223–53; Philip McMichael, “Slavery in the Regime of Wage Labor: Beyond Paternalism in the U.S. Cotton Culture,” *Social Concept* 6 (1991): 10–28; Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman, *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1978); Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Dale Tomich, “The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories,” *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 31, no. 3 (2008); Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2011).
  8. *Cotton Supply Reporter*, no. 37 (March 1, 1860): 33.
  9. Andrew Ure, *The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain Systematically Investigated, and Illustrated by 150 Original Figures*, vol. 1 (London: Charles Knight, 1836), 67–68.
  10. Bruno Biedermann, “Die Versorgung der russischen Baumwollindustrie mit Baumwolle eigener Produktion” (PhD dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1907), 4; Edward Atkinson, *Cotton: Articles from the New York Herald* (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1877), 4.
  11. E. J. Donnell, *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton* (New York: James Sutton & Co., 1872), v.
  12. There exists a vast literature on this topic, including Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vol. 3, *The Second Great Expansion of the Capitalist World- Economy, 1730–1840s* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1989); Dale W. Tomich, *Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar: Martinique and the World Economy, 1830–1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Abdoulaye Ly, *La theorization de la connexion capitaliste des continents* (Dakar: IFAAN, 1994); John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *Economic History Review*, Second Series, 51 (1953): 1–15; Patrick Wolfe, “History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory,” *American Historical Review* 102 (April 1997): 388–420.
  13. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, 530–31.
  14. See, for example, Gene Dattel, *Cotton and Race in the Making of America: The Human Costs of Economic Power* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2009); Morris de Camp Crawford, *The Heritage of Cotton: The Fibre of Two Worlds and Many Ages* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1924).
  15. The global history literature is burgeoning. It is hardly a new invention, however. Just recall early contributions such as Abdoulaye Ly, *La Compagnie du Sénégal* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1958); Marc Bloch, “Toward a Comparative History of European Societies,” in Frederic Chapin Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma, eds., *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History* (Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin, 1953); Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938). See also C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014). For overviews of the literature see Sebastian Conrad, *Globalgeschichte: Eine Einführung* (Munich: Beck, 2013); Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives in Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Sven Beckert and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global History Globally* (forthcoming); Bruce Mazlich and Ralph Buultjens, *Conceptualizing Global History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993); Jerry Bentley, “The Task of World History” (unpublished paper, in author’s possession). See also Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jan Luiten van Zanden, *The Long Road to Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000–1800* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2009) and the excellent work of Patrick O’Brien, for example, “European Economic Development: The Contribution of the Periphery,” *Economic History Review*, Second Series, 35 (February 1982): 1–18.
  16. Studies on commodities have been many in recent years. See especially Sydney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker and Co., 2002); Barbara Freese, *Coal: A Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003); Pietra Rivoli, *The Travels of a T-shirt in the Global Economy: An Economist Examines the Markets, Power and Politics of World Trade* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2005); Larry Zuckerman, *The Potato: How the Humble Spud Rescued the Western World* (Boston: Faber & Faber, 1998); Wolfgang Mönninghoff, *King Cotton: Kulturgeschichte der Baumwolle* (Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2006); Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World* (New York: Walker & Co., 1997); Allan Macfarlane and Gerry Martin, *Glass: A World History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Stephen Yaffa, *Big Cotton: How a Humble Fiber Created Fortunes, Wrecked Civilizations, and Put America on the Map* (New York: Penguin, 2005); Erik Orsenna, *Voyage aux pays du coton: Petit précis de mondialisation* (Paris: Fayard, 2006); Iain Gateley, *Tobacco: A Cultural History of How an Exotic Plant Seduced Civilization* (New York: Grove, 2001); Heinrich Eduard Jacob, *Kaffee: Die Biographie eines weltwirtschaftlichen Stoffes* (Munich: Oekom Verlag, 2006). A beautiful

discussion of the “biography of things” can be found in the 1929 discussion of Sergej Tretjakow, “Die Biographie des Dings,” in Heiner Boehnke, ed., *Die Arbeit des Schriftstellers* (Reinbeck: Rowolt, 1972), 81–86; more generally on commodities, see Jens Soentgen, “Geschichten über Stoffe,” *Arbeitsblätter für die Sachbuchforschung* (October 2005): 1–25; Jennifer Bair, “Global Capitalism and Commodity Chains: Looking Back, Going Forward,” *Competition and Change* 9 (June 2005): 153–80; Immanuel Wallerstein, *Commodity Chains in the World- Economy, 1590–1790* (Binghamton, NY: Fernand Braudel Center, 2000). A good example for a successfully recast economic history is William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991). Good discussions on the rich historiography on the Industrial Revolution can be found in Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, chapter 2; William J. Ashworth, “The Ghost of Rostow: Science, Culture and the British Industrial Revolution,” *Historical Science* 46 (2008): 249–74. For an emphasis on the importance of the spatial aspects of capitalism see David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

## 第一章 一種全球商品的崛起

1. 這些鄉鎮生長的棉花極可能是帕美里種陸地棉花 (*G. hirsutum* Palmeri)，這種棉花以在今天墨西哥瓦哈卡省 (Oaxaca) 和格雷羅省 (Guerrero) 生長而著名。關於這種植物的描述來自 C. Wayne Smith and J. Tom Cothren, eds., *Cotton: Origin, History, Technology, and Production* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 11; Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective* (Paris: Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2001), 263; Frances F. Berdan, “Cotton in Aztec Mexico: Production, Distribution and Uses,” *Mexican Studies* 3(1987): 241ff.; Joseph B. Mountjoy, “Prehispanic Cultural Development Along the Southern Coast of West Mexico,” in Shirley Gorenstein, ed., *Greater Mesoamerica: The Archeology of West and Northwest Mexico* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 106; Donald D. Brandt, “The Primitive and Modern Economy of the Middle Rio Balsas, Guerrero and Michoacan,” *Eighth American Scientific Congress, Section 8, History and Geography* (Washington, DC, 1940), Abstract; 關於十六世紀墨西哥一包棉花的重量，見 José Rodríguez Vallejo, *Ixcatl, el algodón mexicano* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1976), 64.
2. K. D. Hake and T. A. Kerby, “Cotton and the Environment,” *Cotton Production Manual* (UCANR Publications, 1996), 324–27; Frederick Wilkinson, *The Story of the Cotton Plant* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1899), 39.
3. Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1978), 14–5, 和 Jason Clay, *World Agriculture and the Environment: A Commodity- by- Commodity Guide to Impacts and Practices* (Washington, DC:

Island Press, 2004), 284–87，兩者之間說法略有不同。

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5. Almut Bohnsack, *Spinnen und Weben: Entwicklung von Technik und Arbeit im Textilgewerbe* (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1981), 32, 31; 見 *Kleidung*, in Johannes Hoops, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 16 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 603–25; Mary Schoeser, *World Textiles: A Concise History* (New York: Thames & Hudson World of Art, 2003), 20; *Kleidung*, in Max Ebert, ed., *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. 6 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1926), 380–94; Harry Bates Brown, *Cotton: History, Species, Varieties, Morphology, Breeding, Culture, Diseases, Marketing, and Uses* (New York: McGraw- Hill, 1938), 1.
6. 譬如參見 T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Vinaya Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 168; Georg Buehler, trans., *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), 165, 169, 170; Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in South India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1, 57; Doran Ross, ed., *Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1998), 77; Frank Goldtooth, as recorded by Stanley A. Fishler, *In the Beginning: A Navaho Creation Myth* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1953), 16; Aileen O’Byrne, *The Diné: Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 163 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956), 38; Francesca Bray, “Textile Production and Gender Roles in China, 1000–1700,” *Chinese Science* 12(1995): 116; Anthony Winterbourne, *When the Norns Have Spoken: Fate in Germanic Paganism* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), 96.
7. C. L. Brubaker et al., “The Origin and Domestication of Cotton,” in C. Wayne Smith and J. Tom Cothren, eds., *Cotton: Origin, History, Technology, and Production* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 4, 5–6, 12, 17, 22; Wafaa M. Amer and Osama A. Momtaz, “Historic Background of Egyptian Cotton (2600 BC–AD 1910),” *Archives of Natural History* 26 (1999): 219.
8. Thomas Robson Hay and Hal R. Taylor, “Cotton,” in William Darrach Halsey and Emanuel Friedman, eds., *Collier’s Encyclopedia, with Bibliography and Index* (New York: Macmillan Educational Co., 1981), 387; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed., revised by J. R. Harris (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), 147; Richard H. Meadow, “The Origins and Spread of Agriculture and Pastoralism in Northwestern South Asia,” in David R. Harris, ed., *The Origins and Spread of Agriculture and Pastoralism in Eurasia* (London: UCL Press, 1996), 396; 關於印度人對這些經典古籍的傳統說法，見 S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari, *Hand-Spinning and Hand-Weaving: An Essay* (Ahmedabad: All India Spinners’ Association, 1926), 1–9;

- James Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1860), 1, 2–3; Brown, *Cotton*, 2; 另參見 Herodotus, *The Histories*, ed. A. R. Burn, trans. Aubrey de Séincourt, rev. ed., Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1972), 245; 另參見 Arno S. Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India, Being the Report of the Journey to India* (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans, 1930), 15; J. Forbes Royle, *On the Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India and Elsewhere: With an Account of the Experiments Made by the Hon. East India Company up to the Present Time* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1851), 116ff.
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  11. A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 48; M. D. C. Crawford, *The Heritage of Cotton: The Fibre of Two Worlds and Many Ages* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1924), 46; Amer and Momtaz, “Historic Background,” 212; Oppel, *Die Baumwolle*, 209; William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru* (Westminster, MD: Modern Library, 2000), 51, 108, 300.
  12. Gilroy, *History of Silk*, 331–32; Smith and Hirth, “Development of Prehispanic Cotton- Spinning,” 353; Barbara L. Stark, Lynette Heller, and Michael A. Ohnerson, “People with Cloth: Mesoamerican Economic Change from the Perspective of Cotton in South- Central Veracruz,” *Latin American Antiquity* 9 (March 1978): 9, 25, 27; Crawford, *Heritage*, 32, 35; Smith and Hirth, “Development of Prehispanic Cotton- Spinning,” 355; Barbara Ann Hall, “Spindle Whorls and Cotton Production at Middle Classic Matacapán and in the Gulf Lowlands,” in Barbara L. Stark and Philip J. Arnold III, eds., *Olmec to Aztec: Settlement Patterns in the Ancient Gulf Lowlands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 117, 133, 134.
  13. Juan de Villagutiérrez Soto- Mayor, *History of the Conquest of the Province of the Itza*, 1st English edition, translated from the 2nd Spanish edition by Robert D. Wood (Culver City, CA: Labyrinthos, 1983), 197; Berdan, “Cotton in Aztec Mexico,” 235–36, 239; Smith and Hirth, “Development of Prehispanic Cotton- Spinning,” 356; R. B. Handy, “History and General Statistics of Cotton,” in *The Cotton Plant: Its History, Botany, Chemistry, Culture, Enemies, and Uses*, prepared under the supervision of A. C. True, United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Bulletin 33 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 63; United States, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975), Series K - 550–563, “Hay, Cotton, Cottonseed, Shorn Wool, and Tobacco—Acreage, Production, and Price: 1790 to 1970,” 518; Hall, “Spindle Whorls,” 118; Berdan, “Cotton in Aztec Mexico,” 238; Stark, Heller, and Ohnerson, “People with Cloth,” 14, 29.
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  15. Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History of Pliny*, vol. 4, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856), 134–35; Mann, *Cotton Trade*, 3. Christopher Ehret, *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), 67–68; Ross, *Wrapped in Pride*, 75; Lars Sundström, *The Trade of Guinea* (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1965), 148; F. L. Griffith and G. M. Crowfoot, “On the Early Use of Cotton in the Nile Valley,” *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 20 (1934): 7; Amer and Momtaz, “Historic Background,” 212, 214, 215, 217.
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  23. Oppel, *Die Baumwolle*, 201; Berdan, "Cotton in Aztec Mexico," 241; Hall, "Spindle Whorls," 120; Sundström, *Trade of Guinea*, 147; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 50, 212; Brown, *Cotton*, 8; Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 93; Gilroy, *History of Silk*, 339; Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 185; A. Campbell, "Notes on the State of the Arts of Cotton Spinning, Weaving, Printing and Dyeing in Nepal," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)* 5 (January to December 1836): 222.
  24. Hall, "Spindle Whorls," 115, 116, 120, 122, 124; Davison and Harries, "Cotton Weaving," 182; Oppel, *Die Baumwolle*, 209; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 51; Gilroy, *History of Silk*, 339, 343; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 213; Kent, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 35; Kent, *Pueblo Indian*, 28; Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 93; Sundström, *Trade of Guinea*, 148–49; Lamb and Holmes, *Nigerian Weaving*, 10–11; Johnson, "Technology," 261.
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  26. Berdan, "Cotton in Aztec Mexico," 242, 259; Mote and Twitchett, *Ming Dynasty*, 507, 690ff.; K. N. Chaudhuri, "The Organisation and Structure of Textile Production in India," in Tirthankar Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce: Textiles in Colonial India* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 71; Wiens, "Cotton Textile," 520; Sinopoli, *Political Economy*, 177.
  27. Berdan, "Cotton in Aztec Mexico," 242; Bray, "Textile Production," 119; Sundström, *Trade of Guinea*, 162; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 212; Davison and Harries, "Cotton Weaving," 187; Johnson, "Cloth as Money," 193–202; Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 90; Sundström, *Trade of Guinea*, 164; Stark, Heller, and Ohnersorgen, "People with Cloth," 9.
  28. Smith and Hirth, "Development of Prehispanic Cotton- Spinning," 356; Bulliet, *Cotton, Climate, and Camels*, 46, 59; Philiponeau, *Coton et l'Islam*, 25; Pedro Machado, "Awash in a Sea of Cloth: Gujarat, Africa and the Western Indian Ocean Trade, 1300–1800," in Giorgio Riello and Prasanna Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press 2009), 161–79; 貿易商離他們本國政治實體距離的重要性，Gil J. Stein, *Rethinking World- Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 173也提到。
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- Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600," in Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 296; Hauser, *Economic Institutional Change*, 59.
30. Sundström, *Trade of Guinea*, 156, 157; Ramaswamy, *Textiles*, 25, 70–72; Chaudhuri, "Organisation," 55; Inalcik, "Ottoman State," 352; Mann, *Cotton Trade*, 2–3, 23; Smith and Cothren, *Cotton*, 68–69; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, 24, 76; Wescher, "Die Baumwolle," 1639; Gilroy, *History of Silk*, 321; John Peter Wild and Felicity Wild, "Rome and India: Early Indian Cotton Textiles from Berenike, Red Sea Coast of Egypt," in Ruth Barnes, ed., *Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 11–16; Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of European Expansion on Precapitalist Economy* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975), 3; quoted in Inalcik, "Ottoman State," 355, see also 350, 354, 355; 見 Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, vol. 17 (1976): 690; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590–1699," in Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 524; Eugen Wirt, "Aleppo im 19. Jahrhundert," in Hans Geord Majer, ed., *Osmanische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 186–205; Sinopoli, *Political Economy*, 179.
31. Crawford, *Heritage*, 6, 69; Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 90, 95; quoted in Sinnappah Arasaratnam and Aniruddha Ray, *Masulipatnam and Cambay: A History of Two Port-Towns, 1500–1800* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1994), 121; 關於這段時期古吉拉特海外貿易和國內貿易的地圖，見 Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts*, 16, 80, 160; Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 9–11; Beverly Lemire, "Revising the Historical Narrative: India, Europe, and the Cotton Trade, c. 1300–1800," in Riello and Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World*, 226.
32. B. C. Allen, *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers: Dacca* (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1912), 106; Sinopoli, *Political Economy*, 186; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, 75; Ramaswamy, *Textiles*, 44, 53, 55; Wiens, "Cotton Textile," 522, 528; Yueksel Duman, "Notables, Textiles and Copper in Ottoman Tokat, 1750–1840" (PhD dissertation, Binghamton University, 1998); Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 22; Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf: Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1931), 70; Sundström, *Trade of Guinea*, 147; Lamb and Holmes, *Nigerian Weaving*, 10; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 48; Aka, *Production*, 69; Youssoupha Mbargane Guissé, "Ecrire l'histoire économique des artisans et createurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest" (presentation, Université de Dakar, Senegal, December 2011); Hauser, *Economic Institutional Change*, 20–30.
33. Chaudhuri, "Organisation," 49, 51, 53; Hameeda Hossain, "The Alienation of Weavers: Impact of the Conflict Between the Revenue and Commercial Interests of the East India Company, 1750–1800," in Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce*, 117. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Notes on the Production of Cotton and Cotton Cloth in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century Anatolia," in Huri Islamoglu-Inan, ed., *The Ottoman Empire and the World- Economy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 267, 268; Inalcik, "Ottoman State,"; Huri Islamoglu-Inan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 223, 235; Socrates D. Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of Eastern Thessaly, ca. 1750–1860," *Journal of European Economic History* (1991): 589; Prasanna Parthasarathi, "Merchants and the Rise of Colonialism," in Burton Stein and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96, 98; S. Arasaratnam, "Weavers, Merchants and Company: The Handloom Industry in Southeastern India, 1750–90," in Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce*, 87; Bray, "Textile Production," 127.
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36. Mahatma Gandhi, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry: Its Past, Present and Future* (Calcutta: G. N. Mitra, 1930), 6.
37. As quoted in Henry Lee, *The Vegetable Lamb of Tartary: A Curious Fable of the Cotton Plant* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1887), 5.
38. Mann, *Cotton Trade*, 5; Opperl, *Die Baumwolle*, 39; see exhibits at Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària, Barcelona, Spain.
39. 十字軍東征是棉紡織工業引進歐洲的重大關鍵，得到 Baumwolle, entry in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1980), 1670 的證實。

40. Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), 15; Mazzaoui, “Cotton Industry,” 263; Ashtor, “Venetian Cotton,” 677.
41. 十二世紀期間，棉製造業在法國南部、加泰隆尼亞（Catalonia）以及最明顯，在義大利北部等地方崛起。見Mazzaoui, “Cotton Industry,” 268; Wescher, “Die Baumwolle,” 1643, 1644; Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 114.
42. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 64, 66, 69; Mazzaoui, “Cotton Industry,” 271, 273, 276; Wescher, “Die Baumwolle,” 1643.
43. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 7, 29, 63; Mazzaoui, “Cotton Industry,” 265.
44. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 53; Ashtor, “Venetian Cotton,” 675, 676, 697; Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 35.
45. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 65–66, 74–82; Angela Lakwete, *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 11–12; Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 74–82, 89; Mazzaoui, “Cotton Industry,” 274, 275; Bohnsack, *Spinnen und Weben*, 65–66, 37, 63, 67, 114, 115; 見Karl-Heinz Ludwig, “Spinnen im Mittelalter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Arbeiten, cum rota,” @«Xtags error: No such tag: tag »Technikgeschichte 57 (1990): 78; Eric Broudy, *The Book of Looms: A History of the Handloom from Ancient Times to the Present* (Hanover, NH: Brown University Press, 1979), 102; Munro, *Textiles*, 8, 15.
46. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, xi, 29.
47. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 139, 144, 150, 152; Mazzaoui, “Cotton Industry,” 282, 284; Von Stromer, *Die Gründung*, 84–86; Eugen Nübling, *Ulms Baumwollweberei im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), 146.
48. Von Stromer, *Die Gründung*, 32; Goetz Freiherr von Poelnitz, *Die Fugger* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981); Richard Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance: A Study of the Fuggers and Their Connections*, trans. H. M. Lucas (New York: Harcourt, 1928).
49. Von Stromer, *Die Gründung*, 1, 2, 8, 21, 128, 139, 148; Nübling, *Ulms Baumwollweberei*, 141; Bohnsack, *Spinnen und Weben*, 152.
50. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 141; Von Stromer, *Die Gründung*, 88.
51. Mazzaoui, *Italian Cotton*, 55, 54, 154; Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, 23; Inalcik, “Ottoman State,” 365; Daniel Goffman, “Izmir: From Village to Colonial Port City,” in Ethem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, eds., *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 79–134.
52. Nübling, *Ulms Baumwollweberei*, 166.

## 第二章 建構戰爭資本主義

1. 我在這兒使用「網絡」(network)，而不用「體系」(system) 或「世界體系」(world

system) 一詞，因為我想要強調社會、經濟和政治力量在各地的分布，對於構成世界不同地區之間聯結的性質，一直都很重要。這一點我受到 Gil J. Stein, *Rethinking World- Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999)，尤其是頁一七一之啟發。

2. Om Prakash, *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 2, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 23; Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of European Expansion on Precapitalist Economy* (New Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1975), 10- 11, 18, 26, 28, 58.
3. Celine Cousquer, *Nantes: Une capitale française des Indiennes au XVIIIe siècle* (Nantes: Coiffard Editions, 2002), 17.
4. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, “Weavers, Merchants and Company: The Handloom Industry in Southeastern India, 1750- 90,” in Tirthankar Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce: Textiles in Colonial India* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 1996), 90; James Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1860), 2; Walter R. Cassels, *Cotton: An Account of Its Culture in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society’s Press, 1862), 77; Beverly Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660- 1800* (Oxford: Pasold Research Fund, 1991), 15; Hameeda Hossain, *The Company Weavers of Bengal: The East India Company and the Organization of Textile Production in Bengal, 1750- 1813* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 65; Proceeding, *Bombay Castle, November 10, 1776*, in *Bombay Commercial Proceedings*, P/ 414, 47, *Oriental and India Office Collections*, British Library, London; Stephen Broadberry and Bishnupriya Gupta, “Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence: Lancashire, India and Shifting Competitive Advantage, 1600- 1850,” CEPR Discussion Paper No. 5183, London, Centre for Economic Policy Research, August 2005, Table 3, p.ch, August 2005, Table 3, p.2; Daniel Defoe and John McVeagh, *A Review of the State of the British Nation*, vol. 4, 1707- 08 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006), 606.
5. 譬如參見 *Factory Records, Dacca, 1779*, Record Group G15, col. 21 (1779), in *Oriental and India Office Collections*, British Library, London; John Irwin and P. R. Schwartz, *Studies in Indian-European Textile History* (Ahmedabad: Calico Museum of Textiles, 1966).
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7. Hameeda Hossain, “The Alienation of Weavers: Impact of the Conflict Between the Revenue and Commercial Interests of the East India Company, 1750- 1800,” in Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce*,

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8. Memorandum of the Method of Providing Cloth at Dacca, 1676, in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 26, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
  9. Minutes of the Commercial Proceedings at Bambay Castle, April 15, 1800, in *Minutes of the Commercial Proceedings at Bambay Castle from April 15, 1800, to December 31, 1800*, in *Bombay Commercial Proceedings*, P/ 414, Box 66, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Copy of the Petition of Dadabo Monackjee, 1779, *Factory Records Surat, 1780*, Box 58, record G 36(Surat), Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Report of John Taylor on the Cotton Textiles of Dacca, *Home Miscellaneous Series*, 456, p. 91, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Lakshmi Subramanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*(Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 15.
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  35. Mitra, *The Cotton Weavers of Bengal*, 7 也強調抗拒的重要性；Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company*, 252 強調機動性的重要性；Arasaratnam, “Weavers, Merchants and Company,” 103; 另參見 *Details Regarding Weaving in Bengal*, Home Miscellaneous Series, 795, pp. 18- 22, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
  36. Commercial Board Minute laid before the Board, Surat, September 12, 1795, in Surat Factory Diary No. 53, part 1, 1795- 1796, Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai; Home Miscellaneous Series, 795, pp. 18- 22, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London. 另參見 Parthasarathi, “Merchants and the Rise of Colonialism,” 94.
  37. Amalendu Guha, “The Decline of India’s Cotton Handicrafts, 1800- 1905: A Quantitative Macro-study,” *Calcutta Historical Journal* 17(1989): 41- 42; Chaudhuri, “The Organization and Structure of Textile Production in India,” 60; 據估計，一七八六至八七年間，達卡及其周圍地區約

- 有一萬六千四百零三名織布工。Home Miscellaneous Series, 795, pp. 18- 22, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Diary, Consultation, January 18, 1796, in Surat Factory Diary No. 53, part 1, 1795- 1796, Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai.
38. Dispatch from East India Company, London to Bombay, March 22, 1765, in Dispatches to Bombay, E/4, 997, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London, p. 611.
39. Report of the Select Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Upon the Subject of the Cotton Manufacture of this Country, 1793, Home Miscellaneous Series, 401, p. 1, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
40. Inikori, Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England, 430; Inalcik, "The Ottoman State," 355.
41. M. D. C. Crawford, *The Heritage of Cotton: The Fibre of Two Worlds and Many Ages* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1924), xvii; 國會的辯論引自 Cassels, *Cotton*, 1; 小冊子則引自 Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, 75; Defoe and McVeagh, *A Review of the State of the British Nation*, vol. 4, 605- 6; Copy of Memorial of the Callicoe Printers to the Lords of the Treasury, Received, May 4, 1779, Treasury Department, T 1, 552, National Archives of the UK, Kew. 另參見 "The Memorial of the Several Persons whose Names are herunto subscribed on behalf of themselves and other Callico Printers of Great Britain," received July 1, 1780, at the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, Treasury Department, T1, 563/72- 78, National Archives of the UK, Kew.
42. As quoted in S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari, *Hand- Spinning and Hand- Weaving: An Essay* (Ahmedabad: All India Spinners' Association, 1926), 49, 51ff, 58; Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, 431- 32; Crawford, *The Heritage of Cotton*, xvii; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, 79; Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 132; Crawford, *The Heritage of Cotton*, xvii; Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite*, 42; Petition to the Treasury by Robert Gardiner, in Treasury Department, T1, 517/100-101, National Archives of the UK, Kew; Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 128; Letter of Vincent Mathias to the Treasury, July 24, 1767, Treasury Department, T 1, 457, National Archives of the UK, Kew.
43. Cousquer, Nantes, 12, 23, 43; Arrêt du conseil d'état du roi, 10 juillet 1785 (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1785); Andre Zysberg, *Les Galeries: Vies et destiny de 60,000 porcats sur les galeres de France, 1680- 1748* (Paris: Sevid, 1987); Marc Vigie, *Les Galeries du Roi, 1661- 1715* (Paris: Fayard, 1985).
44. Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 118- 19; Examen des effets que doivent produire dans le commerce de France, l'usage et la fabrication des toiles peintes (Paris: Chez la Veuve Delaguette, 1759); Friedrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia, Edict dass von Dato an zu rechnen nach Ablauf acht Monathen in der Chur- Marck Magdeburgischen, Halberstadtschem und Pommern niemand einigen gedruckten oder gemahlten Zitz oder Cattun weiter tragen soll (Berlin: G. Schlechtiger, 1721); Yuksel Duman, "Notables, Textiles and Copper in Ottoman Tokat, 1750- 1840" (PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1998), 144- 45.
45. Francois- Xavier Legoux de Flaix, *Essai historique, géographique et politique sur l'Indoustan, avec le tableau de son commerce*, vol. 2 (Paris: Pougin, 1807), 326; Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite*, 3- 42.
46. 另參見 George Bryan Souza, "Convergence Before Divergence: Global Maritime Economic History and Material Culture," *International Journal of Maritime History* 17, no. 1 (2005): 17- 27; Georges Roques, "La maniere de negocier dans les Indes Orientales," Fonds Francais 14614, Bibliotheque National, Paris; Paul R. Schwartz, "L'impression sur coton a Ahmedabad (Inde) en 1678," *Bulletin de la Societe Industrielle de Mulhouse*, no. 1 (1967): 9- 25; Cousquer, Nantes, 18- 20; Jean Ryhiner, *Traite sur la fabrication et le commerce des toiles peintes, commences en 1766*, Archive du Musee de l'Impression sur Etoffes, Mulhouse, France. 另參見 the 1758 *Reflexions sur les avantages de la libre fabrication et de l'usage des toiles peintes en France* (Geneva: n.p., 1758), Archive du Musee de l'Impression sur Etoffes, Mulhouse, France; M. Delormois, *L'art de faire l'indienne a l'instar d'Angleterre, et de composer toutes les couleurs, bon teint, propres a l'indienne* (Paris: Charles- Antoine Jambert, 1770); Legoux de Flaix, *Essai historique*, vol. 2, 165, 331, as quoted in Florence d'Souza, "Legoux de Flaix's Observations on Indian Technologies Unknown in Europe," in K. S. Mathew, ed., *French in India and Indian Nationalism*, vol. 1 (Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1999), 323- 24.
47. Dorte Raaschou, "Un document Danois sur la fabrication des toiles Peintes a Tranquebar, aux Indes, a la fin du XVIII siècle," in *Bulletin de la Societe Industrielle de Mulhouse*, no. 4 (1967): 9- 21; Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 119; Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, 432; *Philosophical Magazine* 30 (1808): 259; *Philosophical Magazine* 1 (1798): 4. 另參見 S. D. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1972), 12, *Philosophical Magazine* 1 (1798): 126.
48. Cotton Goods Manufacturers, Petition to the Lords Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury, Treasury Department, T 1, 676/30, National Archives of the UK; Dispatch, November 21, 1787, Bombay Dispatches, E/4, 1004, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
49. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, 16.
50. Marion Johnson, "Technology, Competition and African Crafts," in Clive Dewey and A. G. Hopkins, eds., *The imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India* (London: Athlone Press, 1978), 262; Irwin and Schwartz, *Studies in Indo- European Textile History*, 12. 我們知道, 在整個十八世紀, 奴隸一直是非洲最重要的「出口」, 高達其貿易總值的百分之八十至九十。J. S. Hogendorn and H. A. Gemery, "The 'Hidden Half' of the Anglo- African Trade in the Eighteenth Century: The Significance of Marion Johnson's Statistical Research," in David Henige and T. C. McCaskie, eds., *West African Economic and Social History: Studies in Memory of Marion Johnson* (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin Press,

- 1990), 90; Extract Letter, East India Company, Commercial Department, London, to Bombay, May 4, 1791, in Home Miss. 374, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Cousquer, Nantes, 32; de Flaix is quoted in Richard Roberts, “West Africa and the Pondicherry Textile Industry,” in Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce*, 142.
51. Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 116, 127, 147; Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, 434–35, 448; Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, bk. IV, ch. 1, vol. 1, 470.
52. Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 122, 131, 151, 154; Extract Letter to Bombay, Commercial Department, May 4, 1791, in Home Miscellaneous 374, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
53. Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1947), 277; George Unwin, in introduction to George W. Daniels, *The Early English Cotton Industry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920), xxx. Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson, “The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change and Economic Growth,” National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 9378, December 2002, 對此有很精彩的論述；但是他們忽略了戰爭資本主義體制在世界其他地區、遠離了歐洲核心之外，仍然十分重要。
54. 參見 Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit*, 尤其頁二二三至二二五的重要論述；Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, 478–79; P. K. O’Brien and S. L. Engerman, “Exports and the Growth of the British Economy from the Glorious Revolution to the Peace of Amiens,” in Barbara Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 191.
55. 引自 Peter Spencer, *Samuel Greg, 1758–1834* (Styal, Cheshire, UK: Quarry Bank Mill, 1989).
56. 譬如參見 Kevin H. O’Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, “After Columbus: Explaining Europe’s Oversea Trade Boom, 1500–1800,” *Journal of Economic History* 62 (2002): 417–56; Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez, “Path Dependence, Time Lags and the Birth of Globalization: A Critique of O’Rourke and Williamson,” *European Review of Economic History* 8 (2004): 81–108; Janet Abu-Lughod, *The World System in the Thirteenth Century: Dead-End or Precursor?* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1993); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). 我很同意 Joseph E. Inikori 的見解，他認為「全球整合商品—生產過程」，對全球化的歷史非常重要。見 Joseph E. Inikori, “Africa and the Globalization Process: Western Africa, 1450–1850,” *Journal of Global History* (2007): 63–86.
57. Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, 20.

### 第三章 戰爭資本主義的發動

1. Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters, 1830–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 41; Michael James, *From Smuggling to Cotton Kings: The Greg Story* (Cirencester, UK: Memoirs, 2010), 4, 8–9, 37–40; Mary B. Rose, *The Gregs of Quarry Bank Mill: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5.
2. Caitlin C. Rosenthal, “Slavery’s Scientific Management: Accounting for Mastery,” in Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery’s Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming, 2015). 關於奴隸對工業化的重要性，Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2011), 104–7 有很詳盡的討論。
3. 大西洋貿易在「大分流」的重要性，在 Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson, “The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change and Economic Growth,” National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 9378, December 2002, esp. 4 有特別強調；關於英國社會涉入奴隸制度的深度，以及因奴隸制度得到的重大實質好處，Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 有詳盡討論。
4. Rose, *The Gregs of Quarry Bank Mill*, 15–16, 20. 葛瑞格的傳記作者 Mary B. Rose 說，事實上他是「針對棉布需求上升做出回應」——他對此一需求有第一手的了解。見 Mary B. Rose, “The Role of the Family in Providing Capital and Managerial Talent in Samuel Greg and Company, 1784–1840,” *Business History* 19, no. 1 (1977): 37–53.
5. James, *From Smuggling to Cotton Kings*, 21. For the conversion: Eric Nye, “Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency,” University of Wyoming, accessed January 9, 2013, <http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>. 一八〇一年至一八〇四年之間，葛瑞格百分之五十九的生產銷往美國；見 Rose, *The Gregs of Quarry Bank Mill*, 24, 28, 30, 33. 關於公債的利率，見 David Stasavage, *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great Britain, 1688–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 96.
6. 見 David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technical Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (New York: Norton, 1998); Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1998). 關於這個議題的總覽，亦可參見 Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chapter 2.
7. M. D. C. Crawford, *The Heritage of Cotton: The Fibre of Two Worlds and Many Ages* (New York:

- G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924), v; Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective* (Paris: Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2001), 27. 即使像 Nicholas Crafts 這樣認為工業革命對加速經濟增長太過遲緩的人，仍然認為它是「加速TFP增長」的分水嶺。見 Nicholas Crafts, "The First Industrial Revolution: Resolving the Slow Growth/Rapid Industrialization Paradox," *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3, no. 2/3, May 2005, pp. 525–539, here 533. 但是請參見 Peter Temin, "Two Views of the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of Economic History* 57 (March 1997): 63–82, 進一步了解工業革命對英國整體經濟的影響。解讀工業革命的書籍汗牛充棟，說法各異。Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England* 第二章有很好的總覽。但是長期和緩慢的文化或體制改變無法解釋英國為何和世界其他地方快速的分流。
8. Peter Spencer, *Samuel Greg, 1758–1834* (Styal: Quarry Bank Mill, 1989), 6.
  9. Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1964), 294; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (London: Abacus, 1977), 49; Rose, *The Greys of Quarry Bank Mill*, 7; Stephen Broadberry and Bishnupriya Gupta, "Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence: Lancashire, India and Shifting Competitive Advantage, 1600–1850," CEPR Discussion Paper No. 5183, London, Centre for Economic Policy Research, August 2005, 7.
  10. Broadberry and Gupta, "Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence," 27. Robert C. Allen 正確地強調，需要更有效率的機器是推動工業革命的核心力量此一重要性。可是，對於機器的需求終究還是來自對棉紡織品已經存在廣大的市場，以及英國資本家有能力服務它們。見 Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 譬如，頁一三七。
  11. 對於此一論據最好的解說，見 Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*; 另參見 Broadberry and Gupta, "Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence"; K. N. Chaudhuri, "The Organisation and Structure of Textile Production in India," in Tirthankar Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce: Textiles in Colonial India* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 74; Friedrich Hassler, *Vom Spinnen und Weben* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1952), 7.
  12. Almut Bohnsack, *Spinnen und Weben: Entwicklung von Technik und Arbeit im Textil-gewerbe* (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1981), 25, 201.
  13. Mike Williams and D. A. Farnie, *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester* (Preston, UK: Carnegie, 1992), 9.
  14. S. & W. Salte to Samuel Oldknow, November 5, 1787, Record Group SO/1,265, Oldknow Papers, Rylands Library, Manchester.
  15. S. D. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1972), 20; Broadberry and Gupta, "Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence," 23.
  16. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 353; Price of Mule Yarn from 1796 to 1843 sold by McConnel & Kennedy, Manchester, in McConnel & Kennedy Papers, record group MCK, file 3/3/8, John Rylands Library, Manchester; C. Knick Harley, "Cotton Textile Prices and the Industrial Revolution," *Economic History Review, New Series*, 51, no. 1 (February 1998): 59.
  17. 這些數字只是約略數字，見 Broadberry and Gupta, "Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence," 8, 26; Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, 22, 29; Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, 6.
  18. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, 46; Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*, 191; Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 269; Salvin Brothers of Castle Eden Co, Durham, to McConnel & Kennedy, Castle Eden, July 22, 1795, Letters, 1795, record group MCK, box 2/1/1, in McConnel & Kennedy Papers, Rylands Library, Manchester.
  19. Patrick O'Brien, "The Geopolitics of a Global Industry: Eurasian Divergence and the Mechanization of Cotton Textile Production in England," in Giorgio Riello and Prasanna Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 360. 另參見 Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 258.
  20. 譬如，大曼徹斯特地區第一座「大型專業棉紡紗廠」是一七八二年左右興建的蘇德希爾紡紗廠 (Shudehill Mill)。它長二百英尺、寬三十英尺，高五層樓。見 Williams and Farnie, *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester*, 50; Stanley D. Chapman, *The Early Factory Masters: The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Textile Industry* (Newton Abbot, Devon, UK: David & Charles, 1967), 65.
  21. Williams and Farnie, *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester*, 4–9; Harold Catling, *The Spinning Mule* (Newton Abbot, Devon, UK: David & Charles, 1970), 150.
  22. Charles Tilly, "Social Change in Modern Europe: The Big Picture," in Lenard R. Berlanstein, ed., *The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 53.
  23. M. Elvin, "The High-Level Equilibrium Trap: The Causes of the Decline of Invention in the Traditional Chinese Textile Industries," in W. E. Willmott, ed., *Economic Organization in Chinese Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), 137ff. 另參見 Sucheta Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China: Peasants, Technology and the World Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 183; Philip C. C. Huang, *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Yangzi Delta, 1350–1988* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 44.
  24. 關於這個論據，見 Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Chaudhuri, "The Organisation and Structure of Textile Production in India," 57.
  25. Rose, *The Greys of Quarry Bank Mill*, 39–40; Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, 29; William Emerson to McConnel & Kennedy, Belfast, December 8, 1795, in John R.

- Rylands Library, Manchester.
26. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, 29, 32; Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, 9, 11–12.
  27. A. C. Howe, “Oldknow, Samuel (1756–1828),” in C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); George Unwin, *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights: The Industrial Revolution at Stockport and Marple* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968), 2, 6, 45, 107, 123, 127, 135, 140.
  28. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, 31, 37–41; Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, 24, 27; M. J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 199; Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 268.
  29. *Partnership Agreement Between Benjamin Sanford, William Sanford, John Kennedy, and James McConnel*, 1791: 1/2; *Personal Ledger, 1795–1801: 3/1/1*, *Papers of McConnel & Kennedy*, John R. Rylands Library, Manchester.
  30. N. F. R. Crafts, *British Economic Growth During the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 22; Bohnsack, *Spinnen und Weben*, 26; Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*, 182; Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, 1, 51.
  31. Fernand Braudel, *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 109.
  32. Beverly Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
  33. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 335; R. C. Allen and J. L. Weisdorf, “Was There an ‘Industrious Revolution’ Before the Industrial Revolution? An Empirical Exercise for England, c. 1300–1830,” *Economic History Review* 64, no. 3 (2011): 715–29; P. K. O’Brien and S. L. Engerman, “Exports and the Growth of the British Economy from the Glorious Revolution to the Peace of Amiens,” in Barbara Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 184, 188, 200; Broadberry and Gupta, “Cotton Textiles and the Great Divergence,” 5; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 349–50; For the general point see Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, 436, 450; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, 49. 本書頁七四的圖表數字是依據在 Table X and XI in Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter and T. S. Ashton, *English Overseas Trade Statistics, 1697–1808* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 29–34 表 X 和 X I 的數字。表 X 的數字是一七七二年至一八〇七年英國紡織品主要出口 (不含毛織品) 的數量和總值, 單位為英鎊, 其中一七七二年至九一年包含英格蘭和威爾斯, 一七九二年至一八〇七年包含整個大不列顛。
  34. O’Brien and Engerman, “Exports and the Growth of the British Economy,” 185; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 349.
  35. Debendra Bijoy Mitra, *The Cotton Weavers of Bengal, 1757–1833* (Calcutta: Firm KLM Private Ltd., 1978), 25; John Taylor, *Account of the District of Dacca by the Commercial Resident Mr. John Taylor in a Letter to the Board of Trade at Calcutta dated 30th November 1800 with P.S. 2 November 1801 and Inclosures, In Reply to a Letter from the Board dated 6th February 1798 transmitting Copy of the 115th Paragraph of the General Letter from the Court of Directors dated 9th May 1797 Inviting the Collection of Materials for the use of the Company’s Historiographer*, Oriental and Indian Office Collection, Home Miscellaneous Series, 456, Box F, pp. 111–12, British Library, London; *The Principal Heads of the History and Statistics of the Dacca Division* (Calcutta: E. M. Lewis, 1868), 129; Shantha Harihara, *Cotton Textiles and Corporate Buyers in Cottonopolis: A Study of Purchases and Prices in Gujarat, 1600–1800* (Delhi: Manak, 2002), 75; “Extracts from the Reports of the Reporter of External Commerce in Bengal; from the year 1795 to the latest Period for which the same can be made up,” in *House of Commons Papers*, vol. 8 (1812–13), 23. 另參見 Konrad Specker, “Madras Handlooms in the Nineteenth Century,” in Roy, ed., *Cloth and Commerce*, 179; G. A. Prinsep, *Remarks on the External Commerce and Exchanges of Bengal* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1823), 28; “The East-India and China Trade,” *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and Its Dependencies* 28, no. 164 (August 1829): 150.
  36. O’Brien and Engerman, “Exports and the Growth of the British Economy,” 177–209; Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, 445, 447–48; Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 266; Marion Johnson, “Technology, Competition, and African Crafts,” in Clive Dewey and A. G. Hopkins, eds., *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India* (London: Athlone Press, 1978), 263.
  37. 再強調一次, 從 James Robinson 到 Niall Ferguson 許多觀察家都說, 體制非常重要。然而, 問題是如何界定這些體制, 找到它們在特定歷史過程中出現的根源。體制不是歷史行動者 (actors) 的「意志」問題; 它們是許多因素交匯的結果, 最重要的是社會力量特殊的均勢之結果。我們在往後幾章將會看到, 世界上許多地區社會和政治力量交匯, 未必就能擁抱工業資本主義, 或通常伴隨著它的體制。法國委員會的報告引用在 Henry Brooke Parnell, *On Financial Reform*, 3rd ed. (London: John Murray, 1832), 84; William J. Ashworth, “The Ghost of Rostow: Science, Culture and the British Industrial Revolution,” *History of Science* 156 (2008): 261.
  38. 關於皇家海軍, 見 O’Brien and Engerman, “Exports and the Growth of the British Economy,” 189–90. 我同意最近有關大分流的一些文章著作, 它們強調體制的極端重要。Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (New York: Crown Business, 2012) 對此一論據提出最有說服力的闡釋。可是,

- 在Acemoglu and Robinson的闡釋中，這些體制還是有點模糊，它們本身的歷史(包括它們在戰爭資本主義的根源)還不夠具體。關於堅持體制的重要性，可參見Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The Six Killer Apps of Western Power* (London: Penguin, 2012).
39. 可參見Acemoglu et al., “The Rise of Europe.” 有趣的論述。
  40. Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, 90, 94.
  41. Petition of manufacturers of calicoes, muslins and other cotton goods in Glasgow asking for extension of exemption for Auction Duty Act, July 1, 1789 (received), Treasury Department, record group T 1, 676/30, National Archives of the U.K., Kew.
  42. 見Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution*, 5.
  43. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 321–29.
  44. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 503–4; William J. Ashworth, *Customs and Excise Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640–1845* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4, 8; O’Brien and Engerman, “Exports and the Growth of the British Economy,” 206; *Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal* 61 (July 1835): 455.
  45. 運用彭慕蘭(Kenneth Pomeranz)所提供的數字——它們只能說是粗略估算——確實倍數是四百一十七倍。Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, 139, 337; Kenneth Pomeranz, “Beyond the East-West Binary: Resituating Development Paths in the Eighteenth-Century World,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (May 1, 2002): 569; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 215.
  46. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, 44; Thomas Ashton to William Rathbone VI, Flowery Fields, January 17, 1837, Record Group RP.IX.1.48–63, Rathbone Papers, University of Liverpool, Special Collections and Archives, Liverpool; the English visitor is quoted in Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 89; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, trans. George Lawrence and K. P. Mayer, ed. K. P. Mayer (London: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 107–8; Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Query XIX.
  47. Dale Tomich, *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories* (Binghamton, NY: Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University, 2008); Michael Zeuske, “The Second Slavery: Modernity, Mobility, and Identity of Captives in Nineteenth-Century Cuba and the Atlantic World,” in Javier Lavina and Michael Zeuske, eds., *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery and Modernity in the Americas and in the Atlantic Basin* (Berlin, Münster, and New York: LIT Verlag, 2013); Dale Tomich, Rafael Marquese and Ricardo Salles, eds., *Frontiers of Slavery* (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, forthcoming).
  48. J. De Cordova, *The Cultivation of Cotton in Texas: The Advantages of Free Labour*, A Lecture Delivered at the Town Hall, Manchester, on Tuesday, the 28th day of September, 1858, before the Cotton Supply Association (London: J. King & Co., 1858), 70–71.

#### 第四章 抓勞工、占土地

1. A. Moreau de Jonnes, “Travels of a Pound of Cotton,” *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and Its Dependencies* 21 (January–June 1826) (London: Kingsbury, Parbury & Allen, 1826), 23.
2. J. T. Danson, “On the Existing Connection Between American Slavery and the British Cotton Manufacture,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 20 (March 1857): 7, 19. 類似的論述可參見Elisée Reclus, “Le coton et la crise américaine,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* 37 (1862): 176, 187. 關於資本主義和奴隸制度之間關聯的論述，以下作品也有討論：Philip McMichael, “Slavery in Capitalism: The Rise and Demise of the U.S. Ante-Bellum Cotton Culture,” *Theory and Society* 20 (June 1991): 321–49; Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
3. “Cotton, Raw, Quantity Consumed and Manufactured,” in Levi Woodbury, *United States Department of the Treasury, Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting Tables and Notes on the Cultivation, Manufacture, and Foreign Trade of Cotton* (1836), 40.
4. 關於「second slavery」的概念，見Dale Tomich的作品。關於「商品邊疆」，見Jason W. Moore, “Sugar and the Expansion of the Early Modern World-Economy: Commodity Frontiers, Ecological Transformation, and Industrialization,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 23, no. 3 (2000): 409–33. 另參見Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2011), 22.
5. 關於法國種植棉花的情況，見C. P. De Lasteyrie, *Du cotonnier et de sa culture* (Paris: Bertrand, 1808); Notice sur le coton, sa culture, et sur la possibilité de le cultiver dans le département de la Gironde, 3rd ed. (Bordeaux: L’Imprimerie de Brossier, 1823); 另可參見Morris R. Chew, *History of the Kingdom of Cotton and Cotton Statistics of the World* (New Orleans: W. B. Stansbury & Co., 1884), 48. 關於在蘭開郡種植棉花，見John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster* (London: G. Nicol, 1795), 207.
6. N. G. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 67; *Bombay Dispatches, IO/E/4, 996*, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, pp. 351, 657; Eliyahu Ashtor, “The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages,” *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, vol. 17 (1976): 676, 682, 686.
7. 一七九〇年，英國棉花使用量達到三千零六十萬磅。Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher, and P. Jackson, 1835), 215, 347, 348; Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1886), 49; Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress*

- (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 99; Bernard Lepetit, "Frankreich, 1750–1850," in Wolfram Fischer et al., eds, *Handbuch der Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993), 487; *Bremer Handelsblatt* 2 (1851): 4.
8. Ellison, *The Cotton Trade*, 82–83; Michael M. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780–1815* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), 75.
  9. William Edensor, *An Address to the Spinners and Manufacturers of Cotton Wool, Upon the Present Situation of the Market* (London: The Author, 1792), 15. 勞動力總是短缺，意味在農場種植是無法想像的事情。Huri Islamoglu-Inan, "State and Peasants in the Ottoman Empire: A Study of Peasant Economy in North-Central Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century," in Huri Islamoglu-Inan, ed., *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 126; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700–1820)* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), 11, 236; Resat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 25–27. 關於資金缺絀，見 Donald Quataert, "The Commercialization of Agriculture in Ottoman Turkey, 1800–1914," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1980): 44–45. 關於政治獨立的重要性，見 Sevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 53; Ellison, *The Cotton Trade*, 82–83; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 86.
  10. Report of the Select Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Upon the Subject of the Cotton Manufacture of this Country, 1793, Home Miscellaneous Series, 401, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London.
  11. "Objections to the Annexed Plan," November 10, 1790, Home Miscellaneous Series, 434, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London.
  12. 譬如參見 Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 75, 82–83; Ellison, *The Cotton Trade*, 28, 84; East-India Company, Reports and Documents Connected with the Proceedings of the East-India Company in Regard to the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton-Wool, Raw Silk, and Indigo in India (London: East-India Company, 1836); Copy of letter by George Smith to Charles Earl Cornwallis, Calcutta, October 26, 1789, in Home Miscellaneous Series, 434, Oriental and India Office Records, British Library, London; Various Copies of Letters Copied into a Book relating to Cotton, 729–54, in Home Miscellaneous Series, 374, India Office Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London.
  13. 關於棉花在加勒比海的悠久歷史，見 David Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change Since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 158–59, 183, 194, 296; Charles Mackenzie, *Facts, Relative to the Present State of the British Cotton Colonies and to the Connection of their Interests* (Edinburgh: James Clarke, 1811); Daniel McKinnen, *A Tour Through the British West Indies, in the Years 1802 and 1803: Giving a Particular Account of the Bahama Islands* (London: White, 1804); George F. Tyson Jr., "On the Periphery of the Peripheries: The Cotton Plantations of St. Croix, Danish West Indies, 1735–1815," *Journal of Caribbean History* 26, no. 1 (1992): 3, 6–8; "Tableau de Commerce, &c. de St. Domingue," in Bryan Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the Island of Saint Domingo* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1801), 230–31.
  14. "Report from the Select Committee on the Commercial State of the West India Colonies," in Great Britain, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers, 1807*, III (65), pp. 73–78, as quoted in Lowell J. Ragatz, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History, 1763–1833* (London: Bryan Edwards Press, 1928), 22; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 250; Selwyn H. H. Carrington, *The British West Indies During the American Revolution* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1988), 31; "An Account of all Cotton Wool of the Growth of the British Empire Imported annually into that part of Great Britain Called England," National Archives of the UK, Kew, Treasury Department, T 64/275, in the chart on page 90. 頁九〇表上的數字(一七八六年的總數和細節)，取自 Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, 347.
  15. "Report from the Select Committee on the Commercial State of the West India Colonies," in Great Britain, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers, 1807*, III (65), pp. 73–78, as quoted in Lowell J. Ragatz, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History, 1763–1833* (London: Bryan Edwards Press, 1928), 22; Lowell J. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833: A Study in Social and Economic History* (New York: Century Co., 1928), 38; M. Placide-Justin, *Histoire politique et statistique de l'île d'Hayti, Saint-Domingue; écrite sur des documents officiels et des notes communiquées par Sir James Barskett, agent du gouvernement britannique dans les Antilles* (Paris: Brière, 1826), 501. 關於「棉花之島」，見 Robert Lévy, *Histoire économique de l'industrie cotonnière en Alsace* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1912), 56; Nathan Hall to John King, Nassau, May 27, 1800, Box 15, CO 23, National Archives of the UK, Kew.
  16. Robert H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados: Comprising a Geographical and Statistical Description of the Island; a Sketch of the Historical Events Since the Settlement; and an Account of Its Geology and Natural Productions* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), 640; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 79; Selwyn Carrington, "The American Revolution and the British West Indies Economy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1987): 841–42; Edward N. Rappaport and José Fernandez-Partagas, "The Deadliest Atlantic Tropical Cyclones, 1492–1996," National Hurricane Center, National Weather Service, May 28, 1995, accessed August 6, 2010, <http://www.nhc.noaa.gov/pastdeadly.shtml>; Ragatz, *Statistics*, 15; S. G. Stephens, "Cotton Growing in the West Indies During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Tropical Agriculture* 21 (February 1944): 23–29; Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in American Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1969), 2; Gail Saunders, *Bahamian*

- Loyalists and Their Slaves (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1983 ), 37.
17. David Eltis, “The Slave Economies of the Caribbean: Structure, Performance, Evolution and Significance,” in Franklin W. Knight, ed., *General History of the Caribbean*, vol. 3, *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, (London: Unesco Publishing, 1997 ), 113, Table 3:1. 關於生產情況，見 Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 79. 關於法國的需求，及從歐洲大陸的法國港口再出口的情形，見 Jean Tarrade, *Le commerce colonial de la France à la fin de l’Ancien Régime* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972 ), 748–49, 753. 我料想從法國再出口的絕大多數殖民地棉花是出口到英國。
  18. 一七九〇年，島上有七百零五個棉花農場，甘蔗田農場則有七百九十二個。Edwards, *An Historical Survey*, 163–65, 230, 231. 關於聖多明各棉花生產情形，亦可參見 Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados*, 150. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class*, 39, 125; David Eltis et al., *The Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD- Rom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 ); Tarrade, *Le commerce colonial*, 759.
  19. Stefano Fenoaltea, “Slavery and Supervision in Comparative Perspective: A Model,” *Journal of Economic History* 44 (September 1984 ): 635–68.
  20. Moore, “Sugar,” 412, 428.
  21. Resat Kasaba, “Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire,” *Review* 10, Supplement (Summer/Fall 1987 ): 827.
  22. *Transactions of the Society Instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* 1 (London: Dodsley, 1783 ), 254; Ellison, *The Cotton Trade*, 28; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 77; Governor Ode to Lord Sydney, Roseau, Dominica, June 13, 1786, in Colonial Office, 71/10, National Archives of the UK ; President Lucas to Lord Sydney, Granada, June 9, 1786, Dispatches Granada, Colonial Office, 101/26; Governor D. Parry to Lord Sydney, Barbados, May 31, 1786, Dispatches Barbados, Colonial Office, 28/60, National Archives of the UK ; President Brown to Sydney, New Providence, 23 February 1786, in Dispatches Bahamas, Colonial Office 23/15, National Archives of the UK. 關於製造業者施壓，可參見 Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 75–76. Governor Orde to Lord Sydney, Rouseau, Dominica, March 30, 1788, National Archives of the UK.
  23. 關於奴隸在資本主義史上的角色已有許多討論以它為主題，and is ably summarized by Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (New York: Verso, 1997 ), 509–80 有相當完善的摘要。另參見 Ronald Bailey, “The Other Side of Slavery: Black Labor, Cotton, and Textile Industrialization in Great Britain and the United States,” *Agricultural History* 68 (Spring 1994 ): 35–50 此一重要文章； Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987 ), 9. “second slavery” 的概念出自 Dale Tomich, *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories* (Binghamton, NY: Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University, 2008 ). Catherine Coquery- Vidrovitch 認為美洲奴隸大為擴張也導致非洲的“second slavery”；見 Catherine Coquery- Vidrovitch, “African Slaves and Atlantic Metissage: A Periodization 1400–1880,” paper presented at “2nd Slavery and the Atlantization of the Americas” colloquium, University of Cologne, July 2012; Voyages: The Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade Database, <http://www.slavevoyages.org>, accessed January 31, 2013.
  24. Alan H. Adamson, *Sugar Without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838–1904* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972 ), 24; Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 ), 288.
  25. 譬如參見 Roger Hunt, *Observations Upon Brazilian Cotton Wool, for the Information of the Planter and With a View to Its Improvement* (London: Steel, 1808 ), 3; Chew, *History of the Kingdom of Cotton*, 28; John C. Branner, *Cotton in the Empire of Brazil: The Antiquity, Methods and Extent of Its Cultivation; Together with Statistics of Exportation and Home Consumption* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1885 ), 9, 46; Celso Furtado, *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965 ), 97; Caio Prado, *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969 ), 171–73, quote on 458; Luiz Cordelio Barbosa, “Cotton in 19th Century Brazil: Dependency and Development,” (PhD dissertation, university of Washington, 1989 ), 31; Francisco de Assis Leal Mesquita, “Vida e morte da economia algodoeira do Maranhão, uma análise das relações de produção na cultura do algodão, 1850–1890,” (PhD dissertation, Universidade Federal do Maranhã, 1987 ), 50.
  26. Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995 ), 99; William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce: Containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies, China, and Japan, With Their Produce, Manufactures, and Trade* (London: Black, Parry & Co., 1813 ), 281; Mesquita, “Vida e mort,” 63 ; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 83.
  27. John Tarleton to Clayton Tarleton, St. James’s Hotel, 5 February 1788, 920 TAR, Box 4, Letter 5 Tarleton Papers, Liverpool Record Office. 關於棉花商人擁有農場，見 Sandbach, *Tinne & Co. Papers*, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool. 關於棉花商人做奴隸買賣，見 John Tarleton to Clayton Tarleton, April 29, 1790, letter 8, 4, 920 TAR, Tarleton Papers, Liverpool Records Office, Liverpool; Annual Profit and Loss Accounts of John Tarleton, 920 TAR, Box 2 and Box 5, Liverpool Records Office, Liverpool.
  28. 一八二〇年，需要八十七萬三千三百一十二英畝土地，才能種出夠英國所用的棉花數量，它等於是英國可耕地的百分之七點八，需要雇用十九萬八千七百三十八個農業勞動力。一八四〇年，英國使用的棉花數量需要用到三百二十七萬三千四百一十四英畝土地，即英國百分之二十九可耕地，需要雇用五十四萬四千零六十六個農業勞動力。一八二〇年棉花使用量(依據 Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, 93–4 是一億五千二百八十二萬



- 九千六百三十三磅)，除以一八二〇年每英畝平均收成（依據 Whartenby, “Land and Labor Productivity,” 54 為一百七十五磅）；一八二〇年需要的棉花田面積（八十七萬三千三百一十二英畝），占一八二七年可耕地面積（一千一百一十四萬三千三百七十英畝）的比例。可耕地面積的數字取自 Rowland E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972 [1st ed. London, 1917]), [(“Table 2.—1827”)], 以及 Select Committee on Emigration, 1827. Evidence of Mr. W. Couling. Sessional Papers, 1827, vol. v., p. 361]. 一八四〇年棉花使用量（依據 Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, 94 是五億九千二百四十八萬八千零一十磅），除以一八四〇年每英畝平均收成（依據 Whartenby, “Land and Labor Productivity,” 54 是一百八十一磅）。一八六〇年棉花使用量（十一億四千零五十九萬九千七百一十二磅），除以美國一八四〇年每英畝平均收成（一百八十一磅）。一八六〇年棉花使用量除以一八四〇年美國每一工人平均生產量（一千零八十九磅）。另參見 Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000 ), 276, 315. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 75. 歐洲農業制度抗拒改革的情形，可參見 Philip McMichael, “Slavery in Capitalism: The Rise and Demise of the U.S. Ante- Bellum Cotton Culture,” *Theory and Society* 20 (June 1991 ): 326. 關於「大分流」的討論亦可參見 David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technical Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003 ); David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (New York: Norton, 1998); Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011 ); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton & Co., 1998 ). 關於全面總覽可參見 Inikori, *Africans*, 第二章。
29. Ragatz, *Statistics*, 10, 370 也提到西印度這方面的情況。關於蔗糖與棉花競爭的重要性，見 Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies, *Information Relating to Cotton Cultivation in the West Indies* (Barbados: Commissioner of Agriculture for the West Indies, 1903 ). Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 79, 250. Luiz Cordelio Barbosa, “Cotton in 19th Century Brazil: Dependency and Development,” (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1989 ), 170; James Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1860 ), 79, 80, 86; DB 176, Sandbach, Tinne & Co Papers, Mersey-side Maritime Museum, Liverpool.
30. Edensor, *An Address to the Spinners and Manufacturers of Cotton Wool*, 14, 21–3; Franklin, *The Present State of Hayti* (St. Domingo ), with Remarks on Its Agriculture, Commerce, Laws, Religion, Finances, and Population, etc. (London: J. Murray, 1828 ), 123; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1792.
31. John Tarleton to Clayton Tarleton, September 27, 1792, letter 33, February 4, 1795, letter 75, 4, 920 TAR, Tarleton Papers, Liverpool Records Office, Liverpool. See for example Orhan Kurmus, “The Cotton Famine and Its Effects on the Ottoman Empire,” Huri Islamoglu-Inan, ed., *The*

*Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987 ), 16; Brian R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962 ), 490. 關於價格上升亦可參見 Stanley Dumbell, “Early Liverpool Cotton Imports and the Organisation of the Cotton Market in the Eighteenth Century,” *Economic Journal* 33 (September 1923 ): 370; Emily A. Rathbone, ed., *Records of the Rathbone Family* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1913 ), 47; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, 88.

32. Tench Coxe, *A Memoir of February, 1817, Upon the Subject of the Cotton Wool Cultivation, the Cotton Trade and the Cotton Manufactories of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1817).

## 第五章 奴隸當家

- Petition, To the Right Honorable the Lords of His Majesty’s Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, December 8, 1785, in Board of Trade, Public Record Office, London. 其他來源也提到一七八四年一件類似的事件，譬如見 Morris R. Chew, *History of the Kingdom of Cotton and Cotton Statistics of the World* (New Orleans: W. B. Stansbury & Co., 1884), 37. (no year given, but the context suggests that it was written in 1803). The loan itself was tendered on November 10, 1803.
- 譬如參見 Ernst von Halle, *Baumwollproduktion und Pflanzungswirtschaft in den Nordamerikanischen Südstaaten*, part 1, *Die Sklavenzeit* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1897), 16–17; Jay Treaty, Article XII; Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1886), 85; Chew, *History of the Kingdom of Cotton*, 45.
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## 第六章 工業革命如虎添翼

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### 第七章 動員工業勞動力

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70. John Foster, “The Jewish Entrepreneur and the Family,” in Konrad Kwiet, ed., *From the Emancipation to the Holocaust: Essays on Jewish Literature and History in Central Europe* (Kensington: University of New South Wales, 1987), 25; Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740–1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 17–19, 22, 34; Thomas Fowell Buxton在一八三四年二月十四日寫給Miss Buxton的信，重述納森·羅斯柴爾德講給他聽的故事；重印在 Charles Buxton, ed., *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton* (London: John Murray, 1852), 289; S. D. Chapman, “The Foundation of the English Rothschilds: N. M. Rothschild as a Textile Merchant,” *Textile History* 8 (1977): 101–2, 113; Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild: Money’s Prophets, 1798–1848* (New York: Viking, 1999), 53; Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte* (Glasshütten: Verlag Detlev Auvermann, 1970), 330–34.
71. Anderegg, “Volkart Brothers, 1851–1976,” vol. 1, 23, Walter H. Ramboisek, Armin Vogt, and Hans R. Volkart, *Volkart: The History of a World Trading Company* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1991), 41, 69, 72; 關於這一點，可以參見 Christof Dejung 的傑出作品，譬如，Dejung, “Hierarchie und Netzwerk: Steuerungsformen im Welthandel am Beispiel der Schweizer Handelsfirma Gebrüder Volkart,” in Hartmut Berghoof and Joerg Sydow, eds., *Unternehmerische Netzwerke: Eine Historische Organisationsform mit Zukunft?* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007), 71–96.
72. E. Rathbone to William Rathbone Jr., Greenbank, 1850 (no date given), in record group RP.IX.4.1–22, Rathbone Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool, Liverpool; Reinhart, “Les Reinhart,” 43; Weulersse, *Le port du Havre*, 88.
73. Smith, *My Life-Work*, 16.
74. 另參見 Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990).
75. Milne, *Trade and Traders in Mid-Victorian Liverpool*, 66, 82; Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, 103; Bremer *Handelsblatt*, 1851, 6/7; minutes of the meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool, October 29, 1824, in record 380 AME, vol. 1, American Chamber of Commerce Records, Liverpool Records Office, Liverpool; Dantwala, *A Hundred Years of Indian Cotton*, 31, 39; Woodman, *King Cotton and His Retainers*, 188; Legoy, *Le peuple du Havre et son histoire*, 226; Daniel Lord Jr., “Popular Principles Relating to the Law of Agency,” *Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine* 1, no. 4 (October 1839): 338.
76. Lord, “Popular Principles Relating to the Law of Agency,” 338.
77. Dantwala, *A Hundred Years of Indian Cotton*, 43–46; Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1850–51 (Bombay: American Mission Press, 1851), 9. 把市場界定為體制有悠久的歷史；Gustav Schmoller and Werner Sombart 在十九世紀就這麼說，載於 Geoffrey M. Hodgson, *How Economics Forgot History: The Problem of Historical Specificity in Social Science* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 以及 John A. Hobson, *The Social Problem: Life and Work* (New York: J. Pott and Company, 1902), 144; Douglass North, “Markets and Other Allocations Systems in History: The Challenge of Karl Polanyi,” *Journal of European Economic History* 6, no. 3 (1977): 710; Michel Callon 也認為國家並未干預市場，只是建構市場，見 “Introduction: The Embeddedness of Economic Markets in Economics,” in Michel Callon, ed., *The Laws of the*

- Markets (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers/Sociological Review, 1998 ), 40.
78. Arthur Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1850–1939*, vol. 2 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956 ), 3–11; Minutes of the Meeting of October 22, 1821, Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, record group M8, box 2/1, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester; Minutes of the Meeting of February, 27, 1822, *ibid.*; Minutes of the Meeting of April 24, 1822, *ibid.*; Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, Manchester, for the Year 1825 (Manchester: Robinson and Bent, 1825 ), 8; Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, Manchester, for the Year 1830 (Manchester: Robinson and Bent, 1831 ), 4; Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, Manchester, for the Year 1835 (Manchester: Henry Smith, 1836 ), 1; The Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Manchester, for the Year 1856 (Manchester: James Collins, 1857 ), 10, 15; Legoy, *Le peuple du Havre et son histoire*, 226; John Benjamin Smith, “Reminiscences,” typescript, dated August 1913, in John Benjamin Smith Papers, record group MS Q, box 923.2.S 33, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester.
79. Minutes of the meeting of the Society of Merchants, August 19, 1794, in Papers of the Society of Merchants, record group M8, box 1/1, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester; Copy of the minutes of the Deputation from the Manchester of Commerce, 1841, in John Benjamin Smith Papers, record group MS f, box 932.2.S338, Local Studies Archives, Manchester Central Library, Manchester; Minutes of the Meeting of March 15, 1824, Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, record group M8, box 2/1, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester; Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Directors . . . for the Year 1825, 5, 22. 另參見 Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, Manchester, for the Year 1827 (Manchester: Robinson and Bent, 1827 ), 3; Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, Manchester, for the Year 1828 (Manchester: Robinson and Bent, 1829 ), 2; Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1821–1827, Record group M8, Box 2/1, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester.
80. Minutes of the meeting of the Society of Merchants, February 27, 1794, in Papers of the Society of Merchants, record group M8, box 1/1, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester, UK; Minutes of the meeting of the Society of Merchants, March 5, 1795, in *ibid.*; Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Directors . . . for the Year 1828, 4; Address, London March 5, 1803, in Scrapbook of William Rathbone IV, in record group RP.4.17, Rathbone Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool, Liverpool.
81. Report of the Proceeding of the Board of Directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce from the Time of its Institution in the Year 1820 to the End of 1821 (Manchester: C. Wheeler and Son, 1821 ), 6, 9; Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, Manchester, for the Year 1829 (Manchester: Robinson and Bent, 1830 ), 5; The Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Manchester, for the Year 1859 (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1860 ), 19, 35; 關於經濟思想會影響經濟這一點比較詳盡的敘述，見 Michel Callon, “Introduction: The Embeddedness of Economic Markets in Economics,” in Callon, ed., *The Laws of the Markets*, 2.
82. Martin Murray to Baring Brothers London, Bombay, September 15, 1846, House Correspondence, HC 6.3, 9, in ING Baring Archive, London; Martin Murray to Baring Brothers London, Bombay, March 2, 1847, HC 6.3, 9, in *ibid.*; Hadziiossif, “La colonie grecque en Egypte,” 113; Ahmed Abdel-Rahim Mustafa, “The Break-down of the Monopoly System in Egypt After 1840,” in Peter Malcom Holt, *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt: Historical Studies from the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968 ), 291, 293, 296; Kenneth Cuno, *The Pasha’s Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 ), 125; Roger and Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 37, 57, 65–6, 67, 77; Vicziany, “Bombay Merchants and Structural Changes in the Export Community,” 168, 170.
83. 對於義大利的情況，這是相當有力的論述。見 Enrico Dal Lago, *Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815–1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005 )。
84. Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis*, 26.
85. John R. Killick, “Atlantic and Far Eastern Models in the Cotton Trade, 1818–1980,” University of Leeds School of Business and Economic Studies, Discussion Paper Series, June 1994, 1, 16; Killick, “The Cotton Operations of Alexander Brown,” 189, 191.
86. Eugene W. Ridings Jr., “The Merchant Elite and the Development of Brazil: The Case of Bahia During the Empire,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 15 (August 1973 ): 336, 348; Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957 ), 6. 美國在這方面的獨特性經常被人忽視，但是 Robin Einhorn, “Slavery,” in *Enterprise and Society* 9 (September 2008 ): 498 有很精彩的闡釋。

## 第九章 撼動全世界的一場戰爭

1. 本章取材自 Sven Beckert, “Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War,” *American Historical Review* 109(Dec. 2004), 1405—38. J. B. Smith(Stockport)in Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 167, June 19, 1862(London: Cornelius Buck, 1862), 754; Élisée Reclus, “Le coton et la crise

- américaine,” *La Revue des Deux Mondes* 37(January 1865): 176. 全球人口估計是一八五〇年的數值，出自 Part 1, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat, *The World at Six Billion* (New York, 1999), 5, accessed February 14, 2013, <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf>; Dwijendra Tripathi, “A Shot from Afar: India and the Failure of Confederate Diplomacy,” *Indian Journal of American Studies* 10, no. 2(1980): 75; D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896*(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 180; *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 45, no. 5(November 1861): 481; *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 44, no. 6(June 1861): 676; Leone Levi, “On the Cotton Trade and Manufacture, as Affected by the Civil War in America,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 26, no. 8(March 1863): 32; Elijah Helm, “The Cotton Trade of the United Kingdom, During the Seven Years, 1862–1868, as Compared with the Seven Years, 1855–1861; With Remarks on the Return of Factories Existing in 1868,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 32, no. 4(December 1869): 429.
2. *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 45, no. 5 (November 1861), 480; Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1961), 40. 一八六〇年，「美國所有商品」的出口值為三億一千六百萬美元，其中生棉出口高達一億九千二百萬美元。見 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), 885, 899; *The Economist*, January 19, 1861, 58; M. K. Rozkova, *Ekonomiceskie sviazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei: 40–60- e gody XIX veka* (Moscow: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), 61; “Vliyanie Amerikanskoi Voyny na Khlopchatobumazhnoe delo v Rossii” (The Effect of the American War on the Cotton Business in Russia), *Moskva* 25 (1867), January 25, 1867; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Erster Jahrgang, 1880* (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1880), 87; U.S. Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, *Cotton in Commerce, Statistics of United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Egypt and British India* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 29; 法國的數值是一八五九年，見 Claude Fohlen, *L’industrie textile au temps du Second Empire* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1956), 284, 514; M. Gately, *The Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry in the Pre- revolutionary Years, 1861–1913* (Ann Arbor, MI: Xerox University Microfilms, 1968), 45; 關於美國對全球棉花市場的重要性，見 Gavin Wright, “Cotton Competition and the Post-Bellum Recovery of the American South,” *Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 3 (1974): 610–35; Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).
  3. *The Economist*, February 2, 1861, 117.
  4. John Greenleaf Whittier, “The Haschish,” John Greenleaf Whittier: *Selected Poems*, Brenda Wineapple, ed. (New York: Library of America, 2004), 43–44. 感謝 George Blaustein 提醒我注意到這首詩。
  5. Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies, Delivered Before the University of Oxford in 1839, 1840 & 1841* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1928), 301–2, 304–5; 關於梅里瓦爾的精彩討論，見 Daniel Rood, “Herman Merivale’s Black Legend: Rethinking the Intellectual History of Free Trade Imperialism,” *New West Indian Guide* 80, no. 3–4 (2006): 163–89; 另參見 Edward Atkinson, *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1861), 4.
  6. Sugata Bose, “Introduction: Beyond the General and the Particular,” in Sugata Bose, ed., *South Asia and World Capitalism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1–13，也提到這一點；Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Aufstand in Indien* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1978), 270, originally published in 1853; Reclus, “Le coton,” 176, 187; Frank Lawrence Owsley and Harriet Chappell Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 19; *De Bow’s Review* 30, no. 1 (January 1861): 75–76; James Henry Hammond, “Speech on the Admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution, Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 4, 1858,” in James Henry Hammond, *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond of South Carolina* (New York: n.p., 1866), 317.
  7. Leone Levi, “On the Cotton Trade and Manufacture, as Affected by the Civil War in America,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 26, no. 8 (March 1863): 37ff.; J. E. Horn, *La crise cotonnière et les textiles indigènes* (Paris: Dentu, 1863), 8.
  8. 關於「奸險的基礎」這一點，見 *Fifth Annual Report of the Cotton Supply Association* (Manchester: John J. Sale, 1862), 5; 關於「不能篤定信任奴工制度」，見 *Cotton Supply Reporter* (May 15, 1861): 497; 另參見 *Cotton Supply Reporter* (January 2, 1860): 7; John Gunn Collins, *Scinde & The Punjab: The Gems of India in Respect to Their Vast and Unparalleled Capabilities of Supplanting the Slave States of America in the Cotton Markets of the World, or, An Appeal to the English Nation on Behalf of Its Great Cotton Interest, Threatened with Inadequate Supplies of the Raw Material* (Manchester: A. Ireland, 1858), 5; Louis Reybaud, *Le coton: Son régime, ses problèmes, son influence en Europe* (Paris: Michel Levy Frères, 1863), 383; 下列文章亦提到類似的關切，見 “Cotton Cultivation in India,” *Calcutta Review* 37, no. 73 (September 1861): 87; Jay Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy: Finance and American Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era, 1837–1873* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 75; *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*: October, 1849- January, 1850 52 (London: George Luxford, 1852), 214.
  9. 關於這段論據，見 Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 第三、四章。
  10. Quoted in *Times of India, Overland Summary*, March 12, 1863.
  11. *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 44, no. 6 (June 1861): 675; 關於賴伯，見 *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 45, no. 5 (November 1861): 514; Allen



- Isaacman and Richard Roberts, “Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa: Introduction,” in Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), 7.
12. Neil Ashcroft, “British Trade with the Confederacy and the Effectiveness of Union Maritime Strategy During the Civil War,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 10, no. 2 (December 1998), 155–76; Sam Negus, “‘The Once Proud Boast of the Englishman’: British Neutrality and the Civil War Blockade” (unpublished paper, Massachusetts School of Law, 2007, in author’s possession); 關於「棉花飢荒」另參見 William Otto Henderson, *The Lancashire Cotton Famine, 1861–65* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1934); *Jahresbericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer Chemnitz* (1865), 6, as quoted in Michael Löffler, *Preussens und Sachsens Beziehungen zu Den USA während des Sezessionskrieges 1860–1865* (Münster: LIT, 1999), 302; Matthew B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry: An Essay in American Economic History* (New York: Macmillan, 1897), Appendix. 即使Bradford最慘的業者也不再使用現在相當昂貴的棉紗經線。見 Mary H. Blewett, “The Dynamics of Labor Migration and Raw Material Acquisition in the Transatlantic Worsted Trade, 1830–1930,” in Donna R. Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder, eds., *Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims: Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans and China Seas Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s* (Boston: Brill, 2011), 138–70.
  13. *Liverpool Mercury*, January 14, 1861, 2; 見 *Liverpool Mercury*, July 1862; 見 Löffler, *Preussens*, 194–255 的摘要。
  14. 即使大部分文獻強調，一八六一年市場上棉花豐盛，David G. Surdham 卻告訴我們，歐洲生棉庫存量沒有特別多。一八六一年十二月三十一日的庫存量相當於棉紡廠十三點四星期的使用量。見 David G. Surdham, “King Cotton: Monarch or Pretender? The State of the Market for Raw Cotton on the Eve of the American Civil War,” *Economic History Review* 51 (1998): 113–32, esp. 119; 關於市場過剩是危機跡象，參見 *Liverpool Mercury*, October 6, 1863, 6; Farnie, *English Cotton*, 141–43; Moskva, February 1, 1867, the “organ of Moscow capitalists,” in V. Ya. Laverychev, *Krupnaya Burzhuaziya V Poreformennoi Rossii: 1861–1900* (Moscow: Izd. Mysl, 1974).
  15. Charles Francis Adams Jr. to Henry Adams, Quincy, Massachusetts, August 25, 1861, in Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861–1865*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), 33; Nigel Hall, “The Liverpool Cotton Market and the American Civil War,” *Northern History* 34, no. 1 (1998): 154; *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 49, no. 6 (December 1863): 411; 關於統計數字，見 Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain, Including a History of the Liverpool Cotton Market and of the Liverpool Cotton Brokers’ Association* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1886), Appendix, Table 1; 關於數字，見 *Liverpool Mercury*, November 11, 1861, 3; *Liverpool Mercury*, February 22, 1864, 6; 關於蘭開郡的救濟措施，見 John Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1866); *Liverpool Mercury*, February 22, 1864, 6; Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-First Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1861* (Manchester: Cave & Server, 1862), 20; John O’Neil, diary entry, April 10, 1864, as cited in Rosalind Hall, “A Poor Cotton Weyver: Poverty and the Cotton Famine in Clitheroe,” *Social History* 28, no. 2 (May 2003): 243; 見 “Memorial of the Unemployed Operatives of Stalybridge,” received February 23, 1863, in Various documents relating to the distress in the cotton manufacturing districts during the American Civil War, HO 45: 7523, Home Office, National Archives of the UK, Kew, “Facilities Required for Public Workers for the Employment of able-bodied Cotton Workmen at Ordinary Wages,” Minutes of the Central Executive Committee, May 25, 1863, in *ibid.*
  16. 見 *Liverpool Mercury*, March 25, 1863, 7; undated report, in Various documents relating to the distress in the cotton manufacturing districts during the American Civil War, HO 45: 7523, Home Office, National Archives of the UK, Kew; William Rathbone to William Rathbone Jr., Green Bank, March 5, 1862, in letters of William Rathbone, RP.IX.4.1–22, Rathbone Papers, University of Liverpool, Special Collections and Archives, Liverpool; *Times of India, Overland Summary*, June 12, 1862, 2; 另參見 *Times of India, Overland Summary*, September 27, 1862, 3; *Times of India, October 17, 1862, 3*; *Times of India, October 27, 1862, 2*. 對於蘭開郡工人陷入困境最大的國際捐助，事實上即來自加爾各答和孟買。見 Watts, *Facts*, 164; Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, May 2, 1863, in MSS EUR F 78, LB 13, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; M. J. Mathieu, *De la culture du coton dans la Guyane française* (Epinal: Alexis Cabasse, 1861), 47.
  17. Arthur L. Dunham, “The Development of the Cotton Industry in France and the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860,” *Economic History Review* 1, no. 2 (January 1928): 292–94; Lynn M. Case, ed., *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860–1867: Extracts from the Reports of the Procureurs Généraux* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), 123–25; Thomas A. Sancton, “The Myth of French Worker Support for the North in the American Civil War,” *French Historical Studies* 11, no. 1 (1979): 59, 66; 見 Claude Fohlen, “La guerre de sécession et le commerce franco-américain,” *Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 8, no. 4 (October–December 1961), 259–70; Alphonse Cordier, *La crise cotonnière dans la Seine-Inférieure, ses causes et ses effets* (Rouen, 1864), 8; Claude Fohlen, *L’industrie textile au temps du Second Empire* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1956), 257–62; Stephen McQueen Huntley, *Les rapports de la France et la Confédération pendant la guerre de sécession* (Toulouse: Imprimerie Regionale, 1932), 222; Mathieu, *De la culture*, 1; Harold Hyman, ed., *Heard Round the World: The Impact Abroad of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 132; 關於危機對法國產生的社會影響，見 A. S. Ménier, *Au profit des ouvriers cotonniers: Pétition au Sénat sur la détresse cotonnière* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1863).
  18. Löffler, *Preussens*, 126, 147; Emerson David Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*

- During the Civil War (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 84, 86; Gately, *Development*, 47. 跨越歐洲國境進口的棉花，大多來自美國，其數量由將近兩百五十萬磅，跌到不足五十萬磅。Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskie svyazi Rossii*, 61–62; 就我所知，並沒有統計數字可以讓我們確認美國棉花占這些出口量的確切百分比。不過，當時的觀察家全都認為絕大部分來自美國——合理的估計是占百分之八十至百分之九十之間。Charles J. Sundell to William H. Seward, Stettin, May 15, 1863, Despatches from United States Consuls in Stettin, as quoted in Löffler, *Preussens*, 110.
19. John Rankin, *A History of Our Firm: Being Some Account of the Firm of Pollock, Gilmour and Co. and Its Offshoots and Connections, 1804–1920* (Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, Limited, 1921), 157; Baring Brothers Liverpool to Baring Brothers London, August 24, 1863, in HC 3:35, Part 23, House Correspondence, Baring Brothers, ING Baring Archive, London. 霸菱兄弟公司也是美國在倫敦的主要往來銀行；見 letter of Frederick William Seward to Thomas Haines Dudley, Washington, March 26, 1864, in Seward Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC; *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 49, no. 5 (November 1863): 350; Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Report of the Council, 1863 (Liverpool: Benson and Holmes, 1863), 18; John D. Pelzer, "Liverpool and the American Civil War," *History Today* 40, no. 3 (1990): 49; Hall, "Liverpool Cotton," 161; Samuel Smith, *My Life-Work* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902), 34; 見 *Liverpool Mercury*, January 6, 1862, 6; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, January 9, 1862.
  20. 引述的字句出自 *Times of India*, October 6, 1863, 1; 另參見 *Times of India*, Overland Summary, September 8, 1864, 2–3; *Times of India* Overland Summary reported negatively on the practice on September 29, 1863, 5–6; Pelzer, "Liverpool," 52.
  21. *Chamber de Commerce de Rouen, Délibération de la chambre sur la formation de la Compagnie française des cotons Algériens* (Rouen: Ch.- F. Lapierre et Cie, 1862), 5, in F/80/737, Fonds Ministériels, Archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France; Pétition à Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon III, au sujet de la culture du coton en Algérie, Senones, February 13, 1862, in *ibid.*; *Bulletin de la Société industrielle de Mulhouse* 32 (1862), 347, as quoted in Fohlen, *L'industrie textile*, 347–48; 米盧斯商會甚至成立委員會，調查在阿爾及利亞種植棉花的可能性；見 *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, vol. 32 (1862), 346; Antoine Herzog, *L'Algérie et la crise cotonnière* (Colmar: Ch. M. Hoffmann, 1864); 他在一八六二年十二月二十五日投書給 *L'Industriel Alsacien* 編輯，提出這個構想；Antoine Herzog to La Majesté, l'Empereur des Française, January 6, 1863, in F/80/737, Fonds Ministériels, Archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France; 來自其他許多棉花區域的陳情書也紛紛呈呈皇帝；Pétition à Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon III, au sujet de la culture du coton en Algérie, Senones, February 13, 1862, in F/80/737, Fonds Ministériels, Archives d'outre mer, Aix-en-Provence, France, 裝訂成十五冊，由法國全國各地商人簽署發信。關於這一壓力的證據也可參見同一蒐藏地點 F. Engel-Dollfus, président de la commission d'encouragement à la culture du coton en Algérie 寫給 Monsieur le Marechal Comte Randon Sénateur, Ministre Secrétaire d'État au Département de la Guerre, Mulhouse, April 8, 1862 的一封信。
  22. *Liverpool Mercury*, August 12, 1862, 7; 民眾對這個問題都很關心；譬如，格萊斯頓在一八六二年收到 Mrs. E. Tennyson 一封信，她在信中提出一份詳盡說明的計畫，建議成立特別基金，補製造業者支付生棉上漲的價格，以便他們能繼續雇用員工；見 "Memorandum by Mrs. E. Tennyson to Gladstone related to the cotton famine," in Add. 44399 f. 188, vol. 314, Gladstone Papers, British Library, London; *Liverpool Mercury*, January 22, 1861, 2; William Thayer to William H. Seward, London, July 11, 1862, private letter, U.S. Consulate, Alexandria, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Alexandria, National Archives, Washington, DC; Löffler, *Preussens*, 111; 見 Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, vol. 171 (London: Cornelius Buck, 1863), 1771–840; Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, vol. 165 (London: Cornelius Buck, 1862), 1155–230.
  23. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 78; Henry John Temple, Lord Palmerston to John Russell, Broadlands, October 6, 1861, Box 21, PRO 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers, National Archives of the UK, Kew; 見註釋和報告，包括不知名作者的報告，"Le coton à la côte occidentale d'Afrique," n.d.; Note on Siam, n.d.; draft article, n.a., n.d., on "La culture du coton à la Guyana"; all in GEN 56/ Folder 547, in Fonds Ministériels, Archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.
  24. Manchester, *Forty-First Annual Report*, 21; 關於這個壓力的證據，另參見 Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1863* (Manchester: Cave & Server, 1866), 6; *Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1858–1867*, M8/2/6, Archives of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester; Bombay Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1859–60* (Bombay: Chesson & Woodhall, 1860), xxxiii; 關於早年在印度增產棉花的努力，見 *Anti-Cant, India v. America: A Letter to the Chairman of the Hon. East India Company, On Cotton* (London: Aylott & Jones, 1850); John Briggs, *The Cotton Trade of India with a Map of India, Coloured to Indicate the Different Spots Whereon all the Varieties of Cotton which are Brought into the British Market have been Successfully Cultivated* (London: John W. Parker, 1840); Chapman, *The Cotton and Commerce of India: The Cotton Trade of India* (London, 1839); Thomas Williamson, *Two Letters on the Advantages of Railway Communication in Western India, Addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Wharnclyffe, Chairman of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company* (London: Richard & John E. Taylor, 1846); John Briggs, *The Cotton Trade of India: Part I. Its Past and Present Condition; Part II. Its Future Prospects: with a Map of India* (London: John W. Parkter, 1840); Walter R. Cassels, *Cotton: An Account of Its Culture*

- in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 1862), 16–237; *The Economist*, February 2, 1861, 117.
25. 波特的話引自 Manchester, Forty- First Annual Report, 21; 關於這個壓力的證據，另參見 Manchester, Forty- Third Annual Report, 6; Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1858–1867, M8/2/6, Archives of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester; Reclus, “Le coton,” 202; 一八六〇年，英國東印度公司吃下從英國出口來的百分之三十點八三商品；見 Ellison, Cotton Trade, 64; James A. Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain: Its Rise, Progress and Present Extent* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), 112; 關於那格浦爾引述句，見一八六一年七月三十一日致那格浦爾 Englishman 編者的一封信，一八六一年八月二十一日《印度時報》頁三轉載；Charles Wood to Sir Frere, October 30, 1862, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, MSS EUR LB 11, F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London.
  26. Cotton Supply Reporter (June 15, 1861): 532; Arthur W. Silver, *Manchester Men and Indian Cotton, 1847–1872* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), 187.
  27. 關於會議的始末，見 Liverpool Mercury, September 20, 1861, 7; 另參見 Liverpool Mercury, September 23, 1861, 2; Charles Wood to Sir George Clerk, March 18, 1861, in MSS EUR F 78, LB 7, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; 見 Major E. K. Elliot, “Report Regarding the Cultivation of Cotton in Nagpore,” reprinted in Times of India, July 30, 1861, 3–4: “Cotton Cultivation in India,” Calcutta Review 37, no. 73 (September 1861): 89.
  28. 關於在印度建構法律基礎架構的一般情況，可參見 Ritu Birla, *Stages of Capital: Law, Culture, and Market Governance in Late Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009) 此一重要作品；關於法律在殖民地滋生爭議的歷史，見 Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 這本傑出作品；關於農作物質權，見 Charles Wood to William Maine, October 9, 1862, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, MSS EUR LB 11, F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Charles Wood to William Maine, October 9, 1862 in *ibid.*; Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, September 23, 1861, Archives of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Record Group M8, folder 2/6, in Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester; 關於「已收訂金的違約行為應該受罰」，見 Charles Wood to W. J. P. Grant, May 9, 1861, in MSS EUR F 78, LB 7, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; 關於製造業者的努力，見 Charles Wood to William Reeves, March 18, 1861, Letterbook, 18 March to 25 May, *ibid.*; Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, October 25, 1862, Letterbook, 3 July to 31 December 1862, in MSS EUR LB 11, F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Letter from Messrs. Mosley and Hurst, Agents to the Cotton Supply Association, to W. Greq, Esq, Secretary to the Government of India, June 20, 1861, reprinted in Times of India, July 18, 1861, 3; Charles Wood to W. J. Grant, May 9, 1861, in MSS EUR LB 7, F 78, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London. 關於通過立法將攪混棉花訂為刑事罪的辯論，見 Times of India reporting in 1863, 譬如，Overland Summary, February 12, 1863, 6–7; 以及 Times of India, Overland Summary, March 27 1863, 1; 關於施壓要求修訂印度合同法，見 Manchester Chamber of Commerce, The Forty- Second Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1862 (Manchester: Cave & Server, 1863), 13, 37; 見 Charles Wood to William Maine, October 9, 1862, Letterbook, 3 July to 31 December 1862, in MSS EUR LB 11, F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; reprint of a resolution of the Home Department, February 28, 1861, Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, March 2, 1861, in Papers relating to Cotton Cultivation in India, 106, Wood Papers, MSS EUR F 78, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; John Henry Rivett-Carnac, *Many Memories of Life in India, At Home, and Abroad* (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1910), 165–93, 提到一些相關機制；關於戰爭期間製造業者和政府官員之間的辯論，見 Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, October 25, 1862, in MSS EUR LB 11, F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Charles Wood to William Maine, October 9, 1862, Letterbook, 3 July to 31 December 1862, in *ibid.*; Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 167, June 19, 1862 (London: Cornelius Buck, 1862), 767; Manchester, Forty- Third Annual Report, 26; Manchester, Forty-First Annual Report; Liverpool Mercury, September 24, 1862, 6; Charles Wood to Sir George Clerk, March 18, 1861, in LB 7, 18 March to 25 May 1861, in MSS EUR F78, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Peter Harnetty, “The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire, India, and the Cotton Supply Question, 1861–1865,” *Journal of British Studies* 6, no. 1 (1966): 75–76; Dwijendra Tripathi, “Opportunism of Free Trade: Lancashire Cotton Famine and Indian Cotton Cultivation,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 4, no. 3 (1967): 255–63; Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Twelfth Annual Report of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce (Liverpool: Neson & Mallett, 1862), 6; M. L. Dantwala, *A Hundred Years of Indian Cotton* (Bombay: East India Cotton Association, 1947), 46–47; reprint of a resolution of the Home Department, February 28, 1861, Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, March 2, 1861, in Papers relating to Cotton Cultivation in India, 106, Wood Papers, MSS EUR F 78, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
  29. Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, October 25, 1862, in MSS EUR LB 11, F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Times of India, Overland Summary, January 14, 1864, 3; Charles Wood to Sir Charles Trevelyan, March 9, 1863, in MSS EUR F 78, LB 12, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; 關於降低關稅、擴大蘭開郡商品進口和取得更多生棉之間的關係，在 Manchester, Forty- First Annual Report, 24 中有詳盡討論；這裡也預期印度將成為英國製棉紡織品日益重要的市場——生棉的出口可用來支付這些進口。

30. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 167, June 19, 1862 (London: Cornelius Buck, 1862), 767; 關於伍德的「無能」，見“Manchester, Forty- Third Annual Report, 26; Manchester, Forty- First Annual Report; Liverpool Mercury, September 24, 1862, 6; Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, January 10, 1863, in MSS EUR 78, LB 12, January 1 to April 27, 1863, Wood Collection, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Charles Wood to Viceroy Earl Canning, February 18, 1861, in MSS Eur F 78, LB 6, Wood Papers, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Charles Wood to Sir George Clerk, March 18, 1861, in LB 7, March 18 to May 25, 1861, F 78, MSS EUR, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Peter Harnetty, “The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire and the Indian Cotton Duties, 1859–1862,” *Economic History Review* 18, no. 2 (1965): 75–76; 關於整體辯論狀況，見 Tripathi, “Opportunism,” 255–63.
31. *The Economist*, October 4, 1862, 1093–94.
32. Harnetty, “Imperialism, 1859–1862,” 333–49; Manchester, Forty- Second Annual Report, 11, 22; quoted in *Times of India*, February 12, 1863, 3; Silver, *Manchester Men*, 254.
33. U.S. Consulate General Calcutta to William H. Seward, Calcutta, October 28, 1864, in *Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Calcutta to U.S. Secretary of State*, National Archives, Washington, DC; *Times of India*, *Overland Summary*, February 12, 1862, 1, 引述孟買下列棉花出口數字：一八六〇年，印度出口四十九萬七千六百四十九包棉花到歐洲，二十萬五千一百六十一包到中國；一八六一年，它出口九十五萬五千零三十包到歐洲，只有六萬七千兩百零九包到中國，見 *Times of India*, October 3, 1862, 2; Harnetty, “Imperialism, 1861–1865,” 92; Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 103, 112; *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom in Each of the Last Fifteen Years from 1857 to 1871* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872), 48–49; Fohlen, *L'industrie textile*, 287, 514.
34. 關於「內地」整合進全球經濟的重要性，以及這個過程的相對「遲滯」，David Ludden, “World Economy and Village India, 1600–1900,” in Sugata Bose, ed., *South Asia and World Capitalism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 159–77 也有強調；見 *Register of Invoices from the Consulate by Sundry Vessels bound for Ports in the United States*, September 1863, in S 1040 (m168) reel 2, *Despatches from United States Consulate General, Bombay, 1838–1906*, National Archives, Washington DC; 關於調整機器，見 letter from Mr. Baker, Inspector of Factories, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the Present State of the Cotton Districts, in Various documents relating to the distress in the cotton manufacturing districts during the American Civil War, in HO 45: 7523, Home Office, National Archives of the UK, Kew; Neil Charlesworth, *Peasants and Imperial Rule: Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850–1935* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 135; *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872), 48–49; Reichsenquete für die Baumwollen und Leinen- Industrie, *Statistische Ermittlungen*, Heft 1, 56–58; Mann, *The Cotton Trade*, 103, 112, 132; *Times of India*, *Overland Summary*, February 12, 1862, 1; *Times of India*, October 3, 1862, 2; Harnetty, “Imperialism, 1861–1865,” 287, 514; Bombay Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1863–64* (Bombay: Pearse and Sorabjeem 1865), 1; Frenise A. Logan, “India: Britain's Substitute for American Cotton, 1861–1865,” *Journal of Southern History* 24, no. 4 (1958): 476; 另參見 Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *The Forty- Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1864* (Manchester: Cave & Server, 1865), 18; B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750–1970* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), E14; Frenise A. Logan, “India's Loss of the British Cotton Market After 1865,” *Journal of Southern History* 31, no. 1 (1965): 40–50; *Cotton Supply Reporter* (April 15, 1861): 473, reprint of article from *The Standard*, Agra, March 6, 1861.
35. *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 46, no. 2 (February 1862): 166; Edward Atkinson, “The Future Supply of Cotton,” *North American Review* 98, no. 203 (April 1864): 481. 文中沒有說阿特金森是作者，但是從他和 Charles E. Norton 的通信可以明顯看出他是作者。見 N 297, *Letters, 1861–1864*, Edward A. Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
36. 有位觀察家認為，若無這場戰爭，埃及棉花生產的快速擴張，要花上半個世紀時間；見 Edward Mead Earle, “Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War,” *Political Science Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1926), 520–45, 522; 關於把 cantars 轉換為磅，見 E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 89, 382–83; 我在這裡假定一 cantar 等於一百磅；見 Atkinson, “Future Supply,” 481; 另參見 Earle, “Egyptian Cotton,” 521, 532, 534.
37. *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil: Séries econômicas, demográficas e sociais de 1550 a 1988* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1990), 346; 他們受到曼徹斯特商會和羅素勳爵本人的鼓勵；見 Manchester, Forty- First Annual Report, 8; Stanley S. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 43. 二五七頁圖表資料來源為 *Government of India, Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India and Foreign Countries and of the Coasting Trade between the Several Presidencies and Provinces*, vol. 5 (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1872); *Government of India, Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India and Foreign Countries and of the Coasting Trade between the Several Presidencies and Provinces*, vol. 9 (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1876); Owen, *Cotton*, 90; *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil*, 346.
38. Orhan Kurmús, “The Cotton Famine and its Effects on the Ottoman Empire,” in Huri Islamoglu-Inan, *The Ottoman Empire and the World- Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 162, 164, 165, 169; “Note of the Ministère de l'Algérie et des colonies,” Paris, December 23, 1857; Société anonyme, “Compagnie française des cotons algériens” (Paris: Imprimé du corps législatif, 1863), in F/80/737, Fonds Ministériels, Archives d'outre- mer, Aix- en- Provence,

- France; 另參見 *Ministère de l'Algérie et des colonies, Direction de l'Administration de l'Algérie, 2ème bureau, Paris Décret, 1859*, in *Colonisation L/61, 2, Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Centre des Archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France*; "Culture du Coton," by [illegible], Paris, July 19, 1859, in *ibid.*; Alejandro E. Bunge, *Las industrias del norte: Contribucion al estudio de una nueva política economía Argentina* (Buenos Aires: n.p., 1922), 209–10; 見 *Liverpool Mercury*, November 9, 1863, 6; Thomas Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," *Americas* 30, no. 4 (April 1974): 430, 435; William S. Bell, *An Essay on the Peruvian Cotton Industry, 1825–1920* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, Centre for Latin American Studies, 1985), 80; *Liverpool Mercury*, January 3, 1865, 6; 關於中國生棉進口的重要性，另參見 *Manchester, Forty- Fourth Annual Report*, 16; "Der Baumwollbau in Togo, Seine Bisherige Entwicklung, und sein jetziger Stand," draft article in R 1001/8224, Bunde-sarchiv Berlin.
39. *Manchester Guardian*, May 13, 1861, 4; May 16, 1861, 3; May 17, 1861, 4; May 25, 1861, 5; Céleste Duval, *Question cotonnière: La France peut s'emparer du monopole du coton par l'Afrique, elle peut rendre l'Angleterre, l'Europe, ses tributaires: L'Afrique est le vrai pays du coton* (Paris: Cosson, 1864), 7; *Queensland Guardian*, April 3, 1861, as cited in *Cotton Supply Reporter* (July 1, 1861): 554; Bunge, *Las industrias*, 209–10; *Liverpool Mercury*, November 9, 1863, 6, January 3, 1865, 6; *Manchester, Forty- Fourth Annual Report*, 16; Donna J. E. Maier, "Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production: Cotton in German Togoland, 1800–1914," in Allen F. Isaacman and Richard Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), 75; Peter Sebald, *Togo 1884–1914: Eine Geschichte der deutschen "Musterkolonie" auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen* (Berlin: Akademie- Verlag, 1988), 30; O. F. Metzger, *Unsere alte Kolonie Togo* (Neudamm: J. Neumann, 1941), 242; "Der Baumwollbau in Togo."
40. Samuel Ruggles, in front of the New York Chamber of Commerce, reprinted in *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 45, no. 1 (July 1861): 83.
41. 關於這些討論，見 Henry Blumenthal, "Confederate Diplomacy, Popular Notions and International Realities," *Journal of Southern History* 32, no. 2 (1966): 151–71; Carl N. Degler, *One Among Many: The Civil War in Comparative Perspective* (Gettysburg, PA: Gettysburg College, 1990); Hyman, ed., *Heard Round the World*; Owsley and Owsley, *King Cotton*; Bernarr Cresap, "Frank L. Owsley and King Cotton Diplomacy," *Alabama Review* 26, no. 4 (1973); Charles M. Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998); D. P. Crook, *Diplomacy During the American Civil War* (New York: Wiley, 1975); Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Lynn M. Case and Warren F. Spencer, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970); Löffler, *Preussens*; 關於親南方邦聯的情感，見 *Liverpool Mercury*, June 24, 1861, 3, August 12, 1861, 2, September 20, 1861, 6, October 8, 1861, 5, October 15, 1861, 5, December 18, 1861, 6, April 18, 1862, 6; 關於法國部分，見 *Case and Spencer, United States and France*, 79; 關於施加壓力承認南方邦聯政府，見 *Liverpool Mercury*, July 16, 1862, 5; November 19, 1862, 3. 關於奴隸制度爭議辯論，見 the letters to the editor to the *Liverpool Mercury* printed on February 7 and 9, 1863, both on page 3; *Liverpool Mercury*, May 21, 1863, 7. 見 Pelzer, "Liverpool," 46; 關於支持邦聯的材料，見 copy of letter from Thomas Haines Dudley, U.S. Consulate Liverpool, to Charles Francis Adams, Liverpool, May 4, 1864, in *Seward Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC*; Thomas Haines Dudley to William H. Seward, Liverpool, September 3, 1864, in *ibid.*; *Liverpool Mercury*, May 3, 1864, 6. Fraser, Trenholm & Company 在利物浦營業，從邦聯政府取得資金，替它興建軍艦，並且參與突破北方之封鎖，見 *Fraser, Trenholm & Company Papers, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool*; 利物浦商人和南方邦聯代理人做生意，突破北方之封鎖、買賣棉花；Letter by W. Fernie, Liverpool, to Fraser, Trenholm & Co, B/FT 1/13, *Fraser, Trenholm & Company Papers, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool*. 另參見 *Liverpool Mercury*, February 4, 1863, 3; 關於曼徹斯特的情形，見 *Liverpool Mercury*, May 23, 1863, 6; October 6, 1863, 6; October 17, 1863, 3; February 1, 1864, 7; 關於工人階級支持的情形，見 *Liverpool Mercury*, May 2, 1862, 7; August 9, 1862, 5. 另參見 *Manchester, Forty- First Annual Report*, 21–22; *Rapport de Bigorie de Laschamps, Procureur Général de Colmar*, April 7, 1862, as cited in *Case, ed., French Opinion*, 258; Dunham, "Development," 294; 關於棉花在法國民意和官方意見形成上之重要性，見 *Case, ed., French Opinion*, 257; *Rapport de Bigorie de Laschamps, Procureur Général de Colmar*, July 14, 1862, cited in *Case, ed., French Opinion*, 260; George M. Blackburn, *French Newspaper Opinion on the American Civil War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 114; Donald Bellows, "A Study of British Conservative Reaction to the American Civil War," *Journal of Southern History* 51, no. 4 (November 1985): 505–26; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 171* (1863), 1774; *The Porcupine*, November 9, 1861, 61; 更嚴重的是，*the Money Market Review* 在一八六一年五月聲稱，邦聯「得到英國商業界的同情」；引自 *Liverpool Mercury*, May 17, 1861; 一八六二年十二月，利物浦商會經過冗長、激烈辯論，通過決議，要求變更國際法，應該保護中立國在公海上的私人財產，實質上就是要破壞對南方港口的封鎖；*Liverpool Mercury*, December 4, 1862, 5; *Liverpool Mercury*, December 11, 1862, 3; 見 Tony Barley, *Myths of the Slave Power: Confederate Slavery, Lancashire Workers and the Alabama* (Liverpool: Coach House Press, 1992), 49; *Liverpool Mercury*, May 23, 1863, 6; October 6, 1863, 6; October 17, 1863, 3; February 1, 1864, 7; *Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Report of the Council, 1862* (Liverpool: Benson and Mallett, 1862), 20; *Brown Brothers and Company, Experiences of a Century, 1818–1918: Brown Brothers and Company* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1919), 47.
42. 英國工人，尤其是蘭開郡的棉花工人，大部分並不同意某些商人和製造業者支持南方邦聯的言行，他們經常強烈發言支持北方聯邦，尤其是林肯宣布可能會解放黑奴之後。林

- 肯本人在一八六三年就表示感謝蘭開郡工人的支持。Barley, *Myths*, 67–71，對這一點特別重視；Philip S. Foner, *British Labor and the American Civil War* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981), and Jones, *Union in Peril*, 225；則反對這個說法，但現在大多已遭到批駁；Mary Ellison, *Support for Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).
43. Jones, *Union in Peril*; Owsley and Owsley, *King Cotton*; 關於邦聯政府，見W. L. Trenholm to Charles Kuhn Prioleau (Liverpool), New York, June 21, 1865, B/FT 1/137, Fraser, Trenholm & Company Papers, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool; 關於小麥進口到英國的重要性，譬如參見 William Thayer to William H. Seward, London, July 19, 1862, Seward Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 171, June 30, 1863, 1795; 關於為什麼不承認南方邦聯的廣泛辯論，見Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 171, June 30, 1863, 1771–1842; 見Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 167, June 13, 1862, 543; George Campbell, Duke of Argyll, to Lord John Russell, October 11, 1862, Box 25, PRO 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers, National Archives of the UK, Kew; 關於普魯士希望有個強大的美國可以牽制英國的勢力，見 Löffler, *Preussens*, 59; 另參見 Martin T. Tupper to Abraham Lincoln, May 13, 1861 (Support from England), in Series 1, General Correspondence, 1833–1916, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; 關於歐洲的壓力，見 Lord John Russell Papers, National Archives of the UK, Kew; Lord Richard Lyons to Lord John Russell, Washington, 28 July 1863, in United States, Washington Legislation, Private Correspondence, Box 37, 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers; Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, August 9, 1862, LB 11, Letterbook, 3 July to 31 December 1862, MSS EUR F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London. 美國外交官也經常被提醒，別忘了歐洲迫切需要棉花；Henry S. Sanford to William H. Seward, April 10, 1862, Seward Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, quoted in Case and Spencer, *United States and France*, 290; William Thayer to William H. Seward, London, July 19, 1862, Seward Papers; William L. Dayton to Charles Francis Adams, Paris, November 21, 1862, AM 15236, Correspondence, Letters Sent A - C, Box I, Day-ton Papers, as quoted in Case and Spencer, *United States and France*, 371.
44. Sancton, "Myth of French Worker," 58–80; 關於關切社會動亂以及計畫改善失業棉花工人境遇，見Ménier, *Au profit*; 關於英國工人的集體行動，見Hall, "Poor Cotton Weyver," 227–50; Jones, *Union in Peril*, 55 認為格萊斯頓和里昂都因為擔心紡織工人的社會動亂，才干預美國的衝突；Jones, *Union in Peril*, 167; Address by William E. Gladstone on the Cotton Famine, 1862, Add. 44690, f. 55, vol. 605, Gladstone Papers, British Library, London; William E. Gladstone, Speech on the American Civil War, Town Hall, Newcastle upon Tyne, October 7, 1862, as quoted in Jones, *Union in Peril*, 182.
45. Jones, *Union in Peril*, 114, 123, 129, 130, 133; Lord Richard Lyons to Lord John Russell, Washington, July 28, 1863, in United States, Washington Legislation, Private Correspondence, Box 37, 30/22, Lord John Russell Papers, National Archives of the UK, Kew; Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, August 9, 1862, in LB 11, Letterbook, July 3 to December 31, 1862, MSS EUR F 78, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *William Henry Seward* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 330–31, Abraham Lincoln, "Annual Message to Congress," December 3, 1861, in John George Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works, Compromising His Speeches, Letters, State Papers, and Miscellaneous Writings*, vol. 2 (New York: Century Co., 1894), 94; "The Cabinet on Emancipation," MSS, July 22, 1862, reel 3, Edwin M. Stanton Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. 感謝Eric Foner提醒我注意到這個資料來源。
46. William Thayer to William H. Seward, London, July 19, 1862, Seward Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Henry S. Sanford to William H. Seward, April 10, 1862, Seward Papers, as William L. Dayton to William H. Seward, Paris, March 25, 1862, Despatches, France, State Department Correspondence, National Archives, Washington, DC. 拿破崙認為，得不到棉花，勢必出現社會動亂。Thurlow Weed to William H. Seward, Paris, April 4, 1862, *ibid.*; Imbert-Koechlin is quoted in *Industrial Alsacien*, February 2, 1862, as cited in Sancton, "Myth of French Worker," 76; William L. Dayton to Charles Francis Adams, Paris, November 21, 1862, in AM 15236, Correspondence, Letters Sent A - C, Box I, Dayton Papers, quoted in Case and Spencer, *United States and France*, 371, 另參見374; Owsley and Owsley, *King Cotton*, 16–7.
47. Charles Francis Adams Jr. to Henry Adams, Quincy, Massachusetts, August 25, 1861, in Ford, ed., *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, 34–5, 36.
48. 關於此一有趣的故事，見 Ricky-Dale Calhoun, "Seeds of Destruction: The Globalization of Cotton as a Result of the American Civil War" (PhD dissertation, Kansas State University, 2012), 99ff, 150ff.; 關於引述內容，見William Thayer to William Seward, March 5, 1863, Alexandria, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Alexandria to Seward, National Archives, Washington DC. 另參見David R. Serpell, "American Consular Activities in Egypt, 1849–1863," *Journal of Modern History* 10, no. 3 (1938): 344–63; William Thayer to William H. Seward, Despatch number 23, Alexandria, November 5, 1862, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Alexandria to Seward, National Archives, Washington DC; William H. Seward to William Thayer, Washington, December 15, 1862, Seward Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Ayoub Bey Trabulsi to William H. Seward, Alexandria, August 12, 1862, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Alexandria to Seward, National Archives, Washington, DC; William Thayer to William H. Seward, April 1, 1862, in *ibid.*; 關於呈給西華德討論棉花的電文，參見William Thayer to William H. Seward, Alexandria, July 20, 1861, in *ibid.*; William Thayer to William H. Seward, Despatch number 23, Alexandria, November 5, 1862, in *ibid.*

49. William H. Seward to William Thayer, Washington, December 15, 1862, Seward Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. 另參見 Ayoub Bey Trabulsi to William H. Seward, Alexandria, August 12, 1862, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Alexandria to Seward, National Archives, Washington, DC; William Thayer to William H. Seward, April 1, 1862, in *ibid.*
50. Baring Brothers Liverpool to Joshua Bates, Liverpool, February 12, 1862, in HC 35: 1862, House Correspondence, Baring Brothers, ING Baring Archive, London; Charles Wood to James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, August 9, 1862, in MSS EUR F 78, LB 11, Wood Papers, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London; Dunham, “Development,” 295; Rapport de Neveu-Lemaire, procureur général de Nancy, January 5, 1864, as cited in Case, ed., French Opinion, 285–86; 其他地區也送回類似的報告。
51. Liverpool Mercury, January 4, 1864, 8; Tripathi, “A Shot,” 74–89, 對此也有一般的討論; William H. Seward, March 25, 1871, in Olive Risley Seward, ed., William H. Seward’s Travels Around the World (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1873), 401.
52. 這是讀了曼徹斯特商會年度報告後的印象; 關於棉花業鬆了一口氣, 見 Manchester, Forty-Third Annual Report, 17, 25; Liverpool Mercury, August 8, 1864, 7, August 9, 1864, 7, August 10, 1864, 3, August 31, 1864, 7, September 22, 1864, 7, October 31, 1864, 7. 另參見 Owsley and Owsley, King Cotton, 137, 143; Atkinson, “Future Supply,” 485–86; John Bright to Edward A. Atkinson, London, May 29, 1862, Box N 298, Edward A. Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
53. Bremer Handelsblatt 12 (1862), 335.
54. The Economist, September 21, 1861, 1042. 譬如參見 J. E. Horn, La crise cotonnière et les textiles indigènes (Paris: Dentu, 1863), 14; Leone Levi, “On the Cotton Trade and Manufacture, as Affected by the Civil War in America,” Journal of the Statistical Society of London 26, no. 8 (March 1863): 42; Stephen S. Remak, La paix en Amérique (Paris: Henri Plon, 1865), 25–26; Bremer Handelsblatt, April 22, 1865, 142.
55. 許多歷史學家對奴隸於解放黑奴鬥爭的重要性有很精彩的分析, 尤其可參見 Ira Berlin et al., Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877 (New York: HarperCollins, 2002); Steven Hahn, A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2003); Steven Hahn, The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); 關於南方各州組成的矛盾, 及它在內戰中的弱勢, 參見 Stephanie McCurry, Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
56. London Mercury, September 22, 1863, 7; Ravinder Kumar, Western India in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in the Social History of Maharashtra (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1968), 35, 59, 151, 161; Maurus Staubli, Reich und arm mit Baumwolle: Exportorientierte Landwirtschaft und soziale Stratifikation am Beispiel des Baumwollanbaus im indischen Distrikt Khandesh (Dekkan) 1850–1914 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1994), 58, 68, 114–15, 187; Alan Richards, Egypt’s Agricultural Development, 1800–1980: Technical and Social Change (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), 55, 61; 多年之後, 在突厥斯坦結果非常類似; John Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton in Imperial Russia,” American Slavic and East European Review 15, no. 2 (1956): 190–205; 關於戰後南方經濟的改變, 見 Foner, Reconstruction, 392–411; Gavin Wright, The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Norton, 1978), 166–76; Wright, Old South, 34, 107; Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
57. W. H. Holmes, Free Cotton: How and Where to Grow It (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862), 18; Merivale, Lectures, 315; Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated July 25, 1842, as cited in Alleyne Ireland, Demerariana: Essays, Historical, Critical, and Descriptive (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 150; The Economist, December 9, 1865, 1487, emphasis in original.
58. Holmes, Free Cotton, 16, 18, 22; Commission Coloniale, Rapport à M. le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies sur l’ Organisation du Travail Libre, Record Group Gen 40, box 317, Fonds Ministérielles, Archives d’outre- Mer, Aix- en- Provence, France; Cotton Supply Reporter (December 16, 1861): 722.
59. Holmes, Free Cotton; Auteur de la paix en Europe par l’ Alliance anglo- française, Les blancs et les noirs en Amérique et le coton dans les deux mondes (Paris: Dentu, 1862).
60. 「為重建而排演」這個主題取材自 Willie Lee Nichols Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (Indianapolis: Bobbs- Merrill, 1964); Liverpool Mercury, September 23, 1863, 6; 利物浦愈來愈多人也有這個結論, 一八六三年有許多人投書給《利物浦水星報》編輯, 表達反對奴隸制度的聲音, 見 Liverpool Mercury, January 19, 1863, 6, January 24, 1863, 7; Edward Atkinson, Cheap Cotton by Free Labor (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1861); Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Manchester, Forty- First Annual Report, 33; Atkinson, “Future Supply,” 485–86.
61. 一八六二年, Mr. Caird 已在平民院表示, 「南方各州原先靠奴隸種植得到的優勢, 在相當程度上將宣告終止。」 Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, vol. 167 (1862), 791; 見 Liverpool Mercury, January 3, 1865, 6; Liverpool Mercury, April 25, 1865, 6; Liverpool Mercury, May 13, 1865, 6; 關於價錢, 見 John A. Todd, World’s Cotton Crops (London: A. & C. Black, 1915 (1924), 429–32; XXIV.2.22, RP, Rathbone Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool; Baring Brothers Liverpool to Baring Brothers London, July 19, 1865, in House Correspondence, HC 3 (1865), folder 35 (Correspondence from Liverpool House), ING

- Baring Archive, London.
62. Bremer Handelsblatt, June 17, 1865, 234–35; W. A. Bruce to Lord John Russell, May 10, 1865, in Letters from Washington Minister of Great Britain to Foreign Office, Earl Russell, 1865, in PRO 30: 22/38, Lord John Russell Papers, National Archives of the UK, Kew; W. A. Bruce to Lord John Russell, May 22, 1865, in *ibid.*
63. August Etienne, *Die Baumwollzucht im Wirtschaftsprogramm der deutschen Übersee- Politik* (Berlin: Verlag von Hermann Paetel, 1902), 28; 勞工短缺這個題目在討論美國南北戰爭期間印度棉花生產擴張情形時，也是一個重要主題，見 *Times of India*, October 18, 1861, 3; *Times of India* February 27, 1863, 6; *Zeitfragen*, May 1, 1911, 1; Protocol of the Annual Meeting of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, June 11, 1861, reprinted in “The Cotton Question,” *Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 45 (October 1861): 379; 關於會議的情況可參見 *Liverpool Mercury*, June 12, 1861, 3; 達爾瓦收集區軋棉廠廠長在一八六二年報告：「雖然種植天然棉花可以擴張到相當大程度，可是能夠找到的勞動力卻只勉強足以清理出現在生產的數量」；引自 *Times of India*, February 12, 1863, 3; Bengal Hurkaru, May 11, 1861, as reprinted in *Bombay Times and Standard*, May 17, 1861, 3.
64. *Cotton Supply Reporter* (June 15, 1861): 530; Supplement to *The Economist*, Commercial History and Review of 1865, March 10, 1866, 3; Bremer Handelsblatt, April 22, 1865, 142; 奴隸制度在古巴、巴西和非洲等地方又持續了幾十年；不過，大體上，棉花不再由奴隸種植，見 Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).
65. Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno- Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 59–60; Mathieu, *De la culture*, 25.
66. Bremer Handelsblatt, October 14, 1865, 372.
67. *The Economist*, December 9, 1865, 1487–88; Eric Foner, *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 27–28.
68. Berlin et al., *Slaves No More*, 1–76.
69. Reclus, “Le coton,” 208.
70. Baring Brothers Liverpool to Baring Brothers London, February 4, 1865, in House Correspondence, HC 3 (1865), folder 35 (Correspondence from Liverpool House), ING Baring Archive, London; Gore’s General Advertiser, January 19, 1865, as cited in Hall, “Liverpool Cotton,” 163; *Indian Daily News*, Extraordinary, March 8, 1865, clipping included in U.S. Consulate General Calcutta to William H. Seward, Calcutta, March 8, 1864, in Despatches of the U.S. Consul in Calcutta to U.S. Secretary of State, National Archives, Washington, DC; Letter from Calvin W. Smith to “Dear Friends at home,” Bombay, April 23, 1865, in folder 13, Ms. N-937, Calvin W. Smith Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Samuel Smith, *My Life-Work* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902), 35; Brown Brothers, *Experiences*, 49–50.

71. William B. Forwood, “The Influence of Price upon the Cultivation and Consumption of Cotton During the Ten Years 1860–1870,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 33, no. 3 (September 1870): 371.
72. Horn, *La crise*, 43.

## 第十章 全球重建

- Frederick W. A. Bruce to Earl of Clarendon, British Secretary of State, Washington, DC, December 18, 1865, reprinted in *Cotton Supply Reporter* (February 1, 1866): 1795; Memorandum, W. Hickens, Royal Engineers, to Secretary of State, Washington, DC, December 18, 1865, in *ibid.*
- Edmund Ashworth, as cited in *Cotton Supply Reporter* (July 1, 1865): 1675; Maurice Williams, “The Cotton Trade of 1865,” *Seven Year History of the Cotton Trade of Europe, 1861 to 1868* (Liverpool: William Potter, 1868), 19. 關於威廉斯更多詳情，見 Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain: Including a History of the Liverpool Cotton Market and of the Liverpool Cotton Brokers’ Association* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1886), 255.
- Robert Ed. Buehler, “Die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen Englands, Frankreichs und Deutschlands in ihrer Baumwollversorgung” (PhD dissertation, University of Zürich, 1929), 3; *Cotton Supply Reporter* (June 1, 1865): 1658.
- B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: The Americas, 1750–2005* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 391, 467, 547–49; Elijah Helm, “An International Survey of the Cotton Industry,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 17, no. 3 (May 1903): 417; Gavin Wright, “Cotton Competition and the Post- bellum Recovery of the American South,” *Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 3 (September 1974): 632–33. Douglas A. Farnie and David J. Jeremy, *The Fibre That Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600–1990s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 23, 25.
- 二七九頁統計圖是根據作者對十九個國家棉花紡錠數據的分析而製成。這十九個國家是：奧地利、比利時、巴西、加拿大、中國、法國、德國、印度、義大利、日本、墨西哥、荷蘭、葡萄牙、俄羅斯、西班牙、瑞典、瑞士、英國和美國。由於資料來源很分散、性質又不一致，這只能算是粗略估計。有些數字是外推得來。關於數字，見 Louis Bader, *World Developments in the Cotton Industry, with Special Reference to the Cotton Piece Goods Industry in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1925), 33; Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *Private Investment in India, 1900–1939*, *Cambridge South Asian Studies* 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 234; Javier Barajas Manzano, *Aspectos de la industria textil de algodón en México* (Mexico: Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Económicas, 1959), 43–44, 280; Belgium, *Ministère de l’Intérieur, Statistique de la Belgique, Industrie* (Brussels: Impr. de T. Lesigne, 1851), 471; Pierre Benaerts, *Les origines de la grande industrie allemande* (Paris: F. H. Turot, 1933), 486; Sabato Louis Besso, *The Cotton Industry in Switzerland, Vorarlberg, and Italy*;



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  9. Barbara Fields, "The Advent of Capitalist Agriculture: The New South in a Bourgeois World," in Thavolia Glymph et al., eds., *Essays on the Postbellum Southern Economy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1985), 74; *Southern Cultivator*, February 26, 1868, 61.
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  11. *Southern Cultivator*, January 24, 1866, 5; W. A. Bruce to Earl Russell, Washington, May 10, 1865, in *Letters from Washington Minister of Great Britain to Foreign Office, Earl Russell, 1865* (Private Correspondence), 30/22/38, National Archives of the UK, Kew; J. R. Busk to Messrs. Rathbone Brothers and Co., New York, April 24, 1865, in *Rathbone Papers*, Record number XXIV.2.22, RP, Rathbone Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (August 26, 1865): 258ff.; George McHenry, *The Cotton Supply of the United States of America* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1865), 25ff.; Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Reports, 1864–1866, 809, as cited in Frenise A. Logan, "India's Loss of the British Cotton Market After 1865," *Journal of Southern History* 31, no. 1 (1965): 47; G. F. Forbes to Under Secretary of State for India, August 16, 1866, Secretariat Records Office, as quoted in Logan, "India's Loss of the British Cotton Market," 49.
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  15. Contract of January 29, 1866, in Alonzo T. and Millard Mial Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, as cited in Reid, "Sharecropping as an Understandable Market Response," 108; Susan Eva O'Donovan, *Becoming Free in the Cotton South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 127, 129, 131; James C. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 48–50.
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23. Wright, “The Strange Career,” 172, 176. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place*, 102; Harold D. Woodman, “Economic Reconstruction and the Rise of the New South, 1865–1900,” in John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolan, eds., *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 268; DuBois, “Die Negerfrage,” 41; C. L. Hardeman to John C. Burns, December 11, 1875, John C. Burrus Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, as cited in Cobb, *The Most Southern Place*, 63; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 36.
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26. Steven Hahn, “Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective,” *American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (February 1990): 83, 84, 96.
27. David F. Weiman, “The Economic Emancipation of the Non-slaveholding Class: Upcountry Farmers in the Georgia Cotton Economy,” *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 1 (1985): 72, 76, 78.
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29. Southern Cultivator, June 29, 1871, 221; Cobb, *The Most Southern Place*, 110; Jerre Mangione and Ben Morreale, *La Storia: Five Centuries of the Italian American Experience* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), 185; Aiken, *The Cotton Plantation South*, 61; E. Merton Coulter, *James Monroe Smith: Georgia Planter* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1961), 9, 14, 17, 35, 37, 67–69, 84, 90.
30. Julia Seibert, “Travail Libre ou Travail Forcé?: Die ‘Arbeiterfrage’ im belgischen Kongo 1908–1930,” *Journal of Modern European History* 7, no. 1 (March 2009): 95–110; DuBois, “Die Negerfrage,” 44.
31. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 518, 899; United States Bureau of Statistics, Department of the Treasury, *Cotton in Commerce: Statistics of United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Egypt, and British India* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 29; France, Direction Générale des Douanes, *Tableau décennal du commerce de la France avec ses colonies et les puissances étrangères, 1887–96* (Paris, 1896), 2, 108; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 13 (Berlin: Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, 1892), 82–83; *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom in Each of the Last Fifteen Years from 1886 to 1900* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1901), 92–93.
32. Bombay Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1865–66* (Bombay: Education Society’s Press, 1867), 213; B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Africa, Asia and Oceania, 1750–2005* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 354; F. M. W. Schofield, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Simla, September 15, 1888, 10, in *Proceedings, Part B, Nos 6–8, April 1889, Fibres and Silk Branch, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, National Archives of India, New Delhi*; *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India from 1903–04 to 1912–13* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1915), 188, *Statistical Tables Relating to Indian Cotton: Indian Spinning and Weaving Mills* (Bombay: Times of India Steam Press, 1889), 59; Toyo Menka Kaisha, *The Indian Cotton Facts 1930* (Bombay: Toyo Menka Kaisha Ltd., 1930), 54; Dwijendra Tripathi, “India’s Challenge to America in European Markets, 1876–1900,” *Indian Journal of American Studies* 1, no. 1 (1969): 58; *Bericht der Handelskammer Bremen über das Jahr 1913* (Bremen: Hauschild, 1914), 38; Bombay Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the Year 1865–66* (Bombay: Education Society’s Press, 1867), 213. Maurus Staubli, *Reich und Arm mit Baumwolle: Exportorientierte Landwirtschaft am Beispiel des Baumwollanbaus im Indischen Distrikt Khandesh (Dekkan), 1850–1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 66; James A. Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Extent* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1860), 132; *Statistical Abstracts for British India from 1911–12 to 1920–21* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1924), 476–77, 對這一變化也有詳細描述。有一個不幸的趨勢，大多數文獻討論美國南北戰爭對印度的影響，以致許多人觀點只及於印度和英國之間的關係，完全忽視掉印度和歐洲大陸、以及日本之間生棉交易更為重要。關於「帝國中心論」觀點，可參見 Logan, “India’s Loss of the British Cotton Market,” and also Wright, “Cotton Competition.” 關於歐洲大

- 陸市場的重要性，見John Henry Rivett- Carnac, Report of the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–69 (Bombay: Printed at the Education Society's Press, 1869), 139; C. B. Pritchard, Annual Report on Cotton for the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1882–83 (Bombay: Cotton Department, Bombay Presidency, 1883), 2. 關於日本市場的重要性，見 S. V. Fitzgerald and A. E. Nelson, Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District, vol. A (Bombay: Claridge, 1911), 192, in record group V/27/65/6, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London. 關於歐洲進口印度棉花日益增多，見Tripathi Dwijendra, "India's Challenge to America in European Markets, 1876–1900," 57–65; Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom for Each of the Fifteen Years from 1910 to 1924 (London: S. King & Son Ltd, 1926), 114–15; John A. Todd, World's Cotton Crops (London: A. & C. Black, 1915), 45; 關於印度棉花為什麼在歐洲大陸普獲歡迎的原因，見 "Report by F. M. W. Schofield, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Simla, 15 Sept. 1888," in Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Fibres and Silk Branch, April 1889, Nos. 6–8, Part B, National Archives of India, New Delhi; A. J. Dunlop to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, Alkolale, June 11, 1874 Proceedings, Part B., June 1874, No. 41/42, Fibres and Silk Branch, Agriculture and Commerce Department, Revenue, National Archives of India; "Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1895–96," 109, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London.
33. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: The Americas*, 227, 316.
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35. 一八六六年至一九〇五年期間，巴西紡錠數量增加五十三倍。有關巴西的討論是根據 *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil: Séries econômicas, demográficas e sociais de 1550 a 1988* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1990), 346; 關於紡錠的數量，見 Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 191; E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820–1914: A Study in Trade and Development* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 90, 123, 124, 197; Alan Richards, *Egypt's Agricultural Development, 1800–1980: Technical and Social Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), 31; Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, 91; International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, *Official Report of the International Congress, Held in Egypt*, 125，也都強調此一變化的持久性。
36. Rivett- Carnac, Report of the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–69, 13, 114, 131; Alfred Comyn Lyall, ed., *Gazetteer for the Haiderábád Assigned Districts Commonly called Barár* (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1870), 161; Charles B. Saunders, *Administration Report by the Resident at Hyderabad; including a Report on the Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the year 1872–73* (Hyderabad: Residency Press, 1872), 12.
37. 關於電報，見 Laxman D. Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar, 1850–1900* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 142, 152. *India and Bengal Despatches*, vol. 82, 17 August 1853, pp. 1140–42, from Board of Directors, EIC London, to Financial/Railway Department, Government of India, quoted in Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 142. 關於經費來源，見 Aruna Awasthi, *History and Development of Railways in India* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1994), 92; General Balfour is quoted in Rivett- Carnac, Report of the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–69, 114. 關於鐵路和曼徹斯特商品之間的關係，見 *ibid.*, 155; Nelson, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, 248; Report on the Trade of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the Year 1883–84, p. 2, in record group V/24, in Hyderabad Assigned Districts, India, Department of Land Records and Agriculture. Reports, Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, 6th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2006), 10. 形容卡姆加安的這句話出自 Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 173; 關於商人的資訊來自 John Henry Rivett- Carnac, *Many Memories of Life in India, At Home, and Abroad* (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1910), 166, 169; *Times of India*, March 11, 1870, 193, 199; "Report on the Cotton Trading Season in CP and Berar," June 1874, record group Fibres and Silk Branch, No 41/42, Part B, Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department, National Archive of India, New Delhi.
38. *Journal of the Society of Arts* 24 (February 25, 1876): 260; Rivett- Carnac, Report of the Cotton Department for the Year 1868–69, 100; Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar*, 153.
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- 九九年起，埃及的農業學校(Agricultural School)發行一份雜誌《農業學會雜誌》(Magazine of the Society of Agriculture)，以阿拉伯文提供這方面資訊。見Magazine of the Society of Agriculture and Agricultural School 1 (1899), in National Library, Cairo. 另參見《農業：農工商暨經濟學期刊》(L'Agriculture: Journal Agricole, Industrial, Commercial et Economique)，創刊於一八九一年，大部分為阿拉伯文，蒐藏在National Library, Cairo; International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, Official Report of the International Congress, Held in Egypt, 54.
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- (Bombay: Deccan Riots Commission, 1876); Report of the Committee on the Riots in Poona and Ahmednagar, 1875 (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1876); Roderick J. Barman, “The Brazilian Peasantry Reexamined: The Implications of the Quebra- Quilo Revolt, 1874–1875,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1977): 401–24; Armando Souto Maior, *Quebra-Quilos: Lutas sociais no outono do império* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1978). 埃及農民也感受到稅負上升的壓力，他們在這個過程中已經失去美國南北戰爭期間積累來的大部分利潤。見Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy*, 144; W. H. Wyllie, Agent of the Governor General in Central India, to the Revenue and Agriculture Department, September 9, 1899, in *Proceedings, Part B, Nos. 14–54, November 1899, Famine Branch, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, National Archives of India, New Delhi*; Wady E. Medawar, *Études sur la question cotonnière et l’organisation agricole en Égypte* (Cairo: A. Gherson, 1900), 16, 20–21; William K. Meyers, “Seasons of Rebellion: Nature, Organisation of Cotton Production and the Dynamics of Revolution in La Laguna, Mexico, 1910–1916,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 1 (February 1998): 63; Meyers, *Forge of Progress*, 132–34.
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## 第十二章 新型棉花帝國主義

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2. Dai-Nihon boseki rengokai geppo 173 (January 25, 1906): 1–2; *Annual Report for 1907 on Reforms and Progress in Korea* (Seoul: H.I.J.M.’s Residency General, 1908), 84; Eckert, *Offspring of Empire*, 134–5.
3. Eckert, *Offspring of Empire*, 134; *Annual Report for 1912–13 on Reforms and Progress in Chosen* (Keijo: Government General of Chosen, 1914), 153; Department of Finance, 1909, *Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of the Empire of Japan* (Tokyo: Koide, n.d.), 629; Cotton Department, Toyo Menka Kaisha Ltd., *The Indian Cotton Facts* (Bombay: n.p., n.d.), Japanese Cotton Spinners Association Library, University of Osaka.
4. Rinji Sangyo Chosa Kyoku [ Special Department of Research on Industries], *Chosen ni Okeru Menka ni Kansuru Chosa Seiseki* [ The Research on Cotton in Korea] (August 1918), 1; Eckert, *Offspring of Empire*, 134; No- Shomu Sho Nomu Kyoku [ Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Department of Agriculture], *Menka ni Kansuru Chosa* [ The Research on Cotton] (Tokyo: No-shomu sho noji shikenjyo, 1905), 1–3, 76–83, chapter 2; Chosen sotokufu norinkyoku, *Chosen no nogyo* (Keijyo: Chosen sotokufu norinkyoku, 1934), 66–73.
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9. Muriel Joffe, “Autocracy, Capitalism and Empire: The Politics of Irrigation,” *Russian Review* 54, no. 3 (July 1995): 367; 羅申這句話經Mariya Konstantinovna Rozhkova, *Ekonomich eskaya politika tsarskogo pravitel’sstva na Srednem Vostoke vo vtoroi chetverti XIX veka i russkaya*

- burzhuaziya (Moscow: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1949), 100 引述；關於早先盼望中亞能作為俄羅斯棉花供應者，亦可參見 Pavel Nebol'sin, *Ocherki torgovli Rossii s Srednei Aziei* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1855), 18, 22, 25, 27；紡織品製造業者亞歷山大·席波夫早在一八五七年就強調取得中亞棉花的重要性；見 Aleksandr Shipov, *Khlopchatobumazhnaia promyshlennost' i vazhnost' eco znacheniiia v Rossii, otd I* (Moskva: T.T. Volkov & Co., 1857), 49–50；另參見 Charles William Maynes, “America Discovers Central Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 2 (March/April 2003): 120；Mariya Konstantinovna Rozhkova, *Ekonomiceskie svyazi Rossii so Srednei Aziei, 40–60- e gody XIX veka* (Moskva: Izd- vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1963), 54–55, tables 9–10.
10. 引句出自 Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskie*, 64–65, 150–52；亞洲一磅棉花在一八六一年售價七點七五盧布，但是一八六三年已激漲到二十二盧布；P. A. Khromov, *Ekonomicheskoe razvitie Rossii v XIX- XX vekakh: 1800–1917* (Moscow: Gos. Izd. Politicheskoi Literatry, 1950), 183；在某些區域，譬如高加索的 Erivan gubernia，南北戰爭期間棉花生產量增加為近十倍，從一六八一年的三萬 poods 增加到一八七〇年有二十七萬三千 poods；K. A. Pazhitnov, *Ocherki istorii tekstil' noi promyshlennosti dorrevolyutsionnoi Rossii: Khlopchato-Bumazhnaya l'no-pen' kovaya i shelkovaya promyshlennost* (Moscow: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSR, 1958), 98；Rozhkova, *Ekonomiceskie*, 55–61；關於俄羅斯中亞地區棉花農業的擴張，可參見下列討論：Joffe, “Autocracy,” 365–88；Julia Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams: Irrigation and Cotton Growing in Southern Central Asia, 1860s to 1991* (unpublished manuscript, 2009), chapter 1, 23；Moskva, February 1, 1867；一八六六年一月八日，沙皇亞歷山大二世 (Czar Alexander II) 收到財政部長上呈，建議在中亞發揮更大的影響力，它附上一份支持者名單，列出 Ivan Khludov & Sons, Savva Morozov & Sons, Vl. Tertyakov, and D. I. Romanovskii 等著名棉花業者的東主等一群俄羅斯資本家都支持這一政策，見 N. A. Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii k Rossii: 60–90 gody XIX v* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 211；關於對俄羅斯帝國主義的一般討論，見 Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic Empire* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 175, 193；Dietrich Geyer, *Der russische Imperialismus: Studien über den Zusammenhang von innerer und auswärtiger Politik, 1860–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977)；Thomas C. Owen, “The Russian Industrial Society and Tsarist Economic Policy,” *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 3 (September 1985): 598；Brigitte Loehr, *Die Zukunft Russlands* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), 73；Joffe, “Autocracy,” 372；Bruno Biedermann, “Die Versorgung der russischen Baumwollindustrie mit Baumwolle eigener Produktion” (PhD dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1907), 106.
  11. Shtaba L. Kostenko, *Sredni aia Aziia i Vodvorenii v nei Russkoi Grazhdanstvennosti* (Saint Petersburg: Bezobrazova i kom, 1871), 221；Thomas Martin, *Baumwollindustrie in Sankt Petersburg und Moskau und die russische Zolltarifpolitik, 1850–1891: Eine vergleichende Regionalstudie* (Giessen: Fachverlag Koehler, 1998), 213, 215；Scott C. Levi, *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and Its Trade, 1550–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 249；Jeff Sahadeo, “Cultures of Cotton and Colonialism: Politics, Society, and the Environment in Central Asia, 1865–1923” (presentation, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Annual Convention, Toronto, November 2003), 5；George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London: Cass, 1967), 405–7；Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 40–44；關於水利灌溉，另參見 Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams*；John Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton in Imperial Russia,” *American Slavic and East European Review* 15, no. 2 (April 1956): 194–95, 199；Moritz Schanz, “Die Baumwolle in Russisch- Asien,” *Beihefte zum Tro-penpflanzer* 15 (1914): 8.
  12. Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams*, Chapter 1, 74ff.；這些衝突擺在水利灌溉的問題上來討論，最為生動；見 Joffe, “Autocracy,” 369, 387；Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton,” 194, 198, 201；一八八七年至一八九九年期間，俄屬突厥斯坦、布哈拉 (Bukhara) 和希瓦 (Khiva) 地區投入種植棉花的土地面積增加為五倍；Anlage zum Bericht des Kaiserlichen Generalkonsulats in St. Petersburg, December 26, 1913, R 150F, FA 1, 360, Bundesarchiv Berlin；「棉花殖民地」這句話引自 I. Liashchenko, *Istoriya Narodnogo Khozyaistva SSSR, vol. 2* (Moscow: Gos. Izd. Polit. Literatry, 1956), 542；“Handelsbericht des Kaiserlichen Konsulats für das Jahr 1909,” in *Deutsches Handels- Archiv, Zweiter Teil: Berichte über das Ausland, 1911* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1911), 168；Schanz, “Die Baumwolle,” 11；Annette M. B. Meakin, *In Russian Turkestan: A Garden of Asia and Its People* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), v；Ella R. Christie, *Through Kiva to Golden Samarkand* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1925), 204；Karl Supf, “Zur Baumwollfrage,” in *Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Baumwoll- Expedition nach Togo* (no date, but probably 1900), 4–6, file 332, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L'Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv Berlin；Michael Owen Gately, “The Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry in the Pre- revolutionary Years, 1861–1913” (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1968), 169.
  13. August Etienne, *Die Baumwollzucht im Wirtschaftsprogramm der deutschen Übersee- Politik* (Berlin: H. Paetal, 1902), 35, 36, 37, 41；《哈潑週刊》(Harper's Weekly) 報導，「烏茲別克應該感謝美國南北戰爭」，因為它是那麼強大地依賴棉花；見 Harper's Weekly, April 2002, 42.
  14. Etienne, *Die Baumwollzucht*, 28.
  15. *Ibid.*, 13.
  16. Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 12；“Cotton in British East Africa,” *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, Third Series*, 24 (July– October 1907): 84；Robert Ed. Buehler, “Die Unabhängigkeitstbestrebungen Englands, Frankreichs und Deutschlands in ihrer Baumwollversorgung” (PhD dissertation, University of Zürich, 1929), 57.
  17. Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association, *Report of the Committee, for Year Ending December 31, 1901* (Oldham: Dornan, 1902), 4, in Record group 6/2/1–61m, Papers of the

- Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association, John Rylands Library, Manchester; Buehler, "Die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen," 68; British Cotton Growing Association, Second Annual Report, for the Year Ending August 31st, 1906, (Manchester: Head Office, 1906), 8, 10; Correspondence, File 1, Files Relating to the Cotton Industry, British Cotton Growing Association, 2/5, OLD, Papers of the Oldham Textile Employers' Association, 1870–1960, John Rylands Library, Manchester; Morel, Affairs; for an excellent review of the activities of the British Cotton Growing Association, see Jonathan Robins, " 'The Black Man's Crop': Cotton, Imperialism and Public-Private Development in Britain's African Colonies, 1900–1918," Commodities of Empire Working Paper 11, The Open University and London Metropolitan University, September 2009; Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association, Report of the Committee, for the Year Ending December 31, 1901 (Oldham: Thomas Dornan, 1902), 4, John Rylands Library, John Rylands Library, Manchester; File Empire Cotton Growing Association, 2/6, OLD, Papers of the Oldham Textile Employers' Association, 1870–1960, John Rylands Library, Manchester; N. M. Penzer, Federation of British Industries, Intelligence Department, Cotton in British West Africa (London: Federation of British Industries, 1920); John Harris, Parliamentary Secretary of the Society, to E. Sedgwick, Atlantic Monthly, Boston, November 10, 1924, Papers of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, MSS. British Empire S22, G143, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth & African Studies, University of Oxford; John Harris to Maxwell Garnett, January 20, 1925, mSS. British Empire 522, G446, Papers of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Rhodes House Library, Oxford; D. Edwards-Radclyffe, "Ramie, The Textile of the Future," Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, Third Series, 20 (July–October 1905): 47.
18. Frederic Engel- Dollfus, *Production du coton* (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1867); 路易·費德貝將軍一八八九年曾說：「種植棉花是殖民地能成功最有力的因素」；見 General Faidherbe, *Le Sénégal: La France dans l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1889), 102; Association Cotonnière Coloniale, *Annexe au Bulletin No 3: Les coton indigènes du Dahomey et du Soudan à la filature et au tissage* (Paris: Jean Ganiche, 1904); 見 Charles Brunel, *Le coton en Algérie* (Alger: Imprimerie Agricole, 1910); 關於法國對殖民地棉花的興趣，另參見 Ed. C. Achard, "Le coton en Cilivie et en Syrie," in *L'Asie Française* (June 1922), Supplement; Documents Économiques, Politiques & Scientifiques, 19–64; Bulletin de l'Union des Agriculteurs d'Égypte 159 (March 1925): 73–85; 另參見 Catalogue of the library of the Société Industrielle de Mulhouse, Mulhouse, France; *Zeitfragen: Wochenschrift für deutsches Leben*, May 1, 1911, 1.
19. Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 87–89; J. De Cordova, *The Cultivation of Cotton in Texas* (London: J. King & Co., 1858), 3, 9, 24; National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Planters, *Proceedings of a Convention Held in the City of New York, Wednesday, April 29, 1868, for the Purpose of Organizing the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Planters* (Boston: Prentiss & Deland, 1868); New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, vol. 73 (Waltham, MA: n.p., 1902), 187; New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, vol. 75 (1903), 191; New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, vol. 79 (1905), 159.
20. 另參見 Henry L. Abbott, "The Lowlands of the Mississippi," *The Galaxy* 5 (April 1868): 452; National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Planters, *Articles of Association and By-Laws Adopted by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Planters*, April 29, 1868 (Boston: Prentiss & Deland, 1968); National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Planters, *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Planters, Held in the City of New York, Wednesday, June 30, 1869* (Boston: W. L. Deland & Co., 1869), 17; F. W. Loring and C. F. Atkinson, *Cotton Culture and the South Considered with Reference to Emigration* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1869), 3; New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, vol. 76 (1904), 104. 見 Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, "Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), 1; Records of the Togo Baumwollgesellschaft mbh, Record Group 7, 2016; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Bremen, Germany; Laxman D. Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 55; Thaddeus Raymond Sunseri, *Vilimani: Labor Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002); Sven Beckert, "From Tuskegee to Togo: The Problem of Freedom in the Empire of Cotton," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 2 (September 2005): 498–526; Edward Mead Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," *Political Science Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1926): 520; *Westminster Review* 84, American Edition (1865): 228; *Zeitfragen: Wochenschrift für deutsches Leben*, May 1, 1911), 1; Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen 1902/1903* (Berlin: Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, 1903), 5.
21. Moulvi Syed Mahdi Ali, ed., *Hyderabad Affairs*, vol. 3 (Bombay: n.p., 1883), 112, 404, 451; *Manchester Guardian*, June 30, 1882, 4; Earle, "Egyptian Cotton," 544; Edward Roger John Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820–1914: A Study in Trade and Development* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 89, 130, 141, 213ff., 247.
22. Meltem Toksöz, "The Çukurova: From Nomadic Life to Commercial Agriculture, 1800–1908" (PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2000), 204, 206, 228; Anthony Hall, *Drought and Irrigation in North- East Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

- 1978), 4; Roger L. Cunniff, "The Great Drought: Northeast Brazil, 1877–1880" (PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1970), 79, 83, 87, 88, 89, 91–95; International Institute of Agriculture, Statistical Bureau, *The Cotton- Growing Countries: Production and Trade* (Rome: International Institute of Agriculture, 1922), 125.
23. Michael J. Gonzales, "The Rise of Cotton Tenant Farming in Peru, 1890–1920: The Condor Valley," *Agricultural History* 65, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 53, 55; Oficina Nacional de Agricultura, *El algodón, instrucciones agrícolas* (Buenos Aires: Penitenciaría Nacional, 1897), 1; Alejandro E. Bunge, *Las industrias del Norte: Contribución al estudio de una nueva política económica Argentina* (Buenos Aires: n.p., 1922), 212ff.; Heinz E. Platte, "Baumwollanbau in Argentinien," *Argentinisches Tagblatt* 20, no. 1 (January 1924): 19.
24. Toksöz, "Çukurova," 99; Weaver, *Great Land Rush*, 4.
25. 大致情況見 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, 6th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2009), 10–11; Secretary of the Interior, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 185, accessed May 25, 2009, [http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical\\_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf](http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf); United States Department of Agriculture, National Agricultural Statistics Service, accessed April 28, 2009, [http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/indexby-subject.jsp?Text1=&site=ASS\\_MAIN&select=Select+a+State&Pass\\_name=&Pass\\_group=Crops+%26+Plants&Pass\\_subgroup=Field+Crops](http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/indexby-subject.jsp?Text1=&site=ASS_MAIN&select=Select+a+State&Pass_name=&Pass_group=Crops+%26+Plants&Pass_subgroup=Field+Crops); 由於沒有一八六〇年有多大面積土地用在種植棉花的確實數字，我假定生產一直持續不斷，來估計需要有多少新土地用來種出增產的棉花。南卡羅萊納州面積為兩千零四十八萬四千英畝。
26. Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 34ff., 57; Secretary of the Interior, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 185, accessed May 25, 2009, [http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical\\_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf](http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf); United States Department of Agriculture, National Agricultural Statistics Service, accessed April 28, 2009, [http://www.nass.usda.gov/Quick-Stats/indexbysubject.jsp?Text1=&site?=NASS\\_MAIN&select=Select+a+State&Pass\\_name=&Pass\\_group=Crops+%26+Plants&Pass\\_subgroup=Field+Crops](http://www.nass.usda.gov/Quick-Stats/indexbysubject.jsp?Text1=&site?=NASS_MAIN&select=Select+a+State&Pass_name=&Pass_group=Crops+%26+Plants&Pass_subgroup=Field+Crops); Charles S. Aiken, *The Cotton Plantation South Since the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 59; James C. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), viii, 95, 99, 100; Gavin Wright, "Agriculture in the South," in Glenn Porter, ed., *encyclopedia of American Economic History: Studies of the Principal Movement and Ideas*, vol. I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), 382; Derva Sweat, *White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cottons, and the New Deal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 17–21.
27. U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1921* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 375; Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 306, 308, 311.
28. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 659, 666.
29. Howard Wayne Morgan, *Oklahoma: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1977), 42, 81, 91, 48, 49, 58, 147; United States Department of Agriculture, National Agricultural Statistics Service, accessed April 28, 2009, [http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/indexbysubject.jsp?Text1=&site/NASS\\_MAIN&select=Select+a+State&Pass\\_name=&Pass\\_group=Crops+%26+Plants&Pass\\_subgroup=Field+Crops](http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/indexbysubject.jsp?Text1=&site/NASS_MAIN&select=Select+a+State&Pass_name=&Pass_group=Crops+%26+Plants&Pass_subgroup=Field+Crops); U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, "Agriculture, 1909 and 1910, Reports by States, with Statistics for Counties, Nebraska-Wyoming," *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 7 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 381; Eric V. Meeks, "The Tohono O'odham, Wage Labor, and Resistant Adaptation," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 480; Daniel H. Usner, *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 55.
30. 關於這個議題的探討，見 Sven Beckert, "Space Matters: Eurafrica, the American Empire, and the Territorialization of European Capitalism, 1870–1940" (article in progress).
31. Günter Kirchhain, "Das Wachstum der deutschen Baumwollindustrie im 19. Jahrhundert: Eine historische Modellstudie zur empirischen Wachstumsforschung" (PhD dissertation, University of Münster, 1973), 29–30, 73; Wilhelm Rieger, *Verzeichnis der im Deutschen Reiche auf Baumwolle laufenden Spindeln und Webstühle* (Stuttgart: Wilhelm Rieger, 1909), 72; 有一個數字不同、稍低，可參見 Wolfram Fischer, *Statistik der Bergbauproduktion Deutschland 1850–1914* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1989), 403; *Handbuch der Wirtschaftskunde Deutschlands*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904), 602; 很有意思的是，從許多方面來講都是比較重要的棉花工業，卻在我們對十九世紀末期德國的歷史記憶扮演相當小的角色。另參見 Karl Supf, "Zur Baumwollfrage," in *Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Baumwoll- Expedition nach Togo* (no date, but probably 1900), 4–6, file 332, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand I, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L'Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv Berlin; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 23 (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1902), 24; 一九〇三年，殖民地經濟委員會報告，德國有一百萬名工人依賴棉花工業為生；見 *Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Deutsch- Koloniale*, 5; 棉花工業的產值到一九一三年是二十二億馬克，使它成為德國最重要的工業。見 Andor Kertész, *Die Textilindustrie Deutschlands im Welthandel* (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg, 1915), 13. 另參見 Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 22 (Berlin: n.p.,

- 1901), 135; Thaddeus Sunseri, “The Baumwollfrage: Cotton Colonialism in German East Africa,” *Central European History* 34, no. 1 (March 2001): 35; 關於統計數字，見 Reichs- Enquete für die Baumwollen- und Leinen-Industrie, *Statistische Ermittlungen I*, Heft 1, 56–58; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 1 (Berlin: n.p., 1880), 87; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 20 (Berlin: n.p., 1899), 91.
32. 譬如見 Ernst Henrici, “Die wirtschaftliche Nutzbarmachung des Togo-gebietes,” *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft* 3 (July 1899): 320; Sven Beckert, “Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War,” *American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1427; C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 161–65; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 15 (Berlin: n.p., 1894), 45; Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, vol. 20 (Berlin: n.p., 1899), 91.
33. R. Hennings, “Der Baumwollkulturkampf,” in *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft*, vol. 7 (1905), 906–14; Sunseri, “Baumwollfrage,” 32; “Die Arbeit des Kolonial- Wirtschaftlichen Komitees, 1896–1914,” file 579, record group R 150F, *Fonds Allemand I*, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (*L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo*), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv Berlin; Sunseri, “Baumwollfrage,” 49; 關於德國對殖民地棉花的需求，可參見 Verband Deutscher Baumwollgarn- Verbraucher an v. Lindequist, Reichskolonialamt, Dresden, October 22, 1910, file 8224, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv Berlin.
34. Buehler, “Die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen“ 23, 39; Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 9; Bericht der Handelskammer in Bremen für das Jahr 1904 an den Kaufmannskonvent (Bremen: H. M. Hausschild, 1905), 30.
35. Department of Finance, 1920, Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of the Empire of Japan, Part I (Tokyo: n.p., n.d.), 397; Buehler, “Die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen,” 31; Supf, “Zur Baumwollfrage,” 8.
36. Supf, “Zur Baumwollfrage,” 4–6, 8; E. Henrici, “Der Baumwollbau in den deutschen Kolonien,” *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft* 3 (November 1899): 535–36. On Henrici see Herrmann A. L. Degener, *Unsere Zeitgenossen, Wer Ist’s?: Biographien nebst Bibliographien* (Leipzig: n.p., 1911); calls for economic autarky are also reflected in “Einleitung,” Beihefte Zum Tropenpflanzer 16, no. 1/2 (February 1916): 1–3, 71–73, 175–77; Karl Helfferich, “Die Baumwollfrage: Ein Weltwirtschaftliches Problem,” *Marine- Rundschau* 15 (1904): 652; Karl Supf, “Bericht IV, Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, 1903–1904” (1904), reprinted in *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft* 8 (December 1904): 615; “Die Arbeit des Kolonial- Wirtschaftlichen Komitees, 1896–1914.”
37. Sunseri, “Baumwollfrage,” 33; O. F. Metzger, *Unsere Alte Kolonie Togo* (Neudamm: Neumann, 1941), 242; “Bericht über den Baumwollbau in Togo,” enclosure in Kaiserliches Gouvernement Togo, Gouverneur Zech to Reichskolonialamt Berlin, November 23, 1909, 1, 8223, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; “Der Baumwollbau in Togo, Seine Bisherige Entwicklung, und sein jetziger Stand,” undated draft of an article, 8224, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin, [illegible] to von Bismark, March 26, 1890, file 8220, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Tony Smith, *Pattern of Imperialism: The United States, Great Britain, and the Late- Industrializing World Since 1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 15, 35; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 34–55; Isaacman and Roberts, “Cotton, Colonialism,” in Isaacman and Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism*, 8–9; Leroy Vail and Landeg White, “‘Tawani, Machambero!’: Forced Cotton and Rice Growing on the Zambezi,” *Journal of African History* 19, no. 2 (1978): 244.
38. Kendahl Radcliffe, “The Tuskegee- Togo Cotton Scheme, 1900–1909” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 16; 關於斐迪南·高德柏，見“Baumwollen- und sonstige Kulturen im Togo- Gebiet,” *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 2 (1891): 320–21; 關於德國對殖民地棉花興趣的一般探討，見 Donna J. E. Maier, “Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production: Cotton in German Togoland, 1800–1914,” in Isaacman and Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism*, 81; Peter Sebald, *Togo 1884–1914: Eine Geschichte der deutschen ‘Musterkolonie’ auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen* (Berlin: Akademie- Verlag, 1988), 433; 關於這則故事更完整的敘述，見 Beckert, “From Tuskegee to Togo: The Problem of Freedom in the Empire of Cotton,” *Journal of American History* 92 (September 2005), 498–526; 關於這些農場的清單，見 Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee to Handelskammer Bremen, Berlin, July 23, 1913, in “Baumwollterminhandel,” record group W II, 3, Handelskammer Bremen, Bremen, Germany; Sunseri, Vilimani, 1–25; Gerhard Bleifuss and Gerhard Hergenröder, *Die ‘Otto- Plantage Kilossa’ (1907–1914): Aufbau und Ende eines kolonialen Unternehmens in Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Wendlingen: Schriftenreihe zur Stadtgeschichte, 1993), 43, 59.
39. “Encouragement pour la Culture aux colonies, du coton etc. (1906–1908),” 9 AFFECO, *Affaires Économique*, Archives d’outre- mer, Aix- en- Provence, France; 關於引述句，見 *Reseignements sur la Culture du Coton*, 1917, in 9 AFFECO, *Affaires Économique*, Archives d’outre-mer; Marie Philiponeau, *Le coton et l’Islam: Fil d’une histoire africaine* (Algiers: Casbah Editions, 2009), 114; Thomas J. Bassett, *The Peasant Cotton Revolution in West Africa: Côte d’Ivoire, 1880–1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 51, 52; Richard Roberts, “The Coercion of Free Markets; Cotton, Peasants, and the Colonial State in the French Soudan, 1924–1932,” in



- Isaacman and Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism*, 222; Vail and White, “Tawani, Machamero,” 241; League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service, *Statistical Year- book of the League of Nations 1930/31* (Geneva: Series of League of Nations Publications, 1931), 108, accessed August 3, 2009, <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/league/le0267ag.pdf>; A. Brixhe, *Le coton au Congo Belge* (Bruxelles: Direction de l’agriculture, des forêts et de l’élevage du Ministère des colonies, 1953), 13, 15, 19; Secretary of the Interior, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 185, accessed May 25, 2009, [http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical\\_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf](http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf).
40. Hutton, as quoted in Robins, “The Black Man’s Crop,” 15; Cyril Ehrlich, “The Marketing of Cotton in Uganda, 1900–1950: A Case Study of Colonial Government Economic Policy” (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1958), 12, 13; Buehler, “Die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen,” 122; British Cotton Growing Association, *Second Annual Report, for the Year Ending August 31st, 1906*, (Manchester: Head Office, 1906), 23; 關於英國棉花種植協會，見 Robins, “The Black Man’s Crop”; British Cotton Growing Association, *Second Annual Report, for the Year Ending August 31st, 1906*, 32; League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service, *Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations 1930/31* (Geneva: Series of League of Nations Publications, 1931), 108; Secretary of the Interior, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 185, accessed May 25, 2009, [http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical\\_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf](http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1860/1860b-08.pdf).
41. Josef Partsch, ed., *Geographie des Welthandels* (Breslau: Hirt, 1927), 209; B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: The Americas, 1750–1993* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2007), 222, 224, 227, 228; John A. Todd, *The World’s Cotton Crops* (London: A. & C. Black, 1915), 395f, 421; Heinrich Kuhn, *Die Baumwolle: Ihre Cultur, Structur und Verbreitung* (Wien: Hartleben, 1892), 69; John C. Branner, *Cotton in the Empire of Brazil: The Antiquity, Methods and Extent of its Cultivation; Together with Statistics of Exportation and Home Consumption* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1885), 23–27; National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, *The Year Book of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Cotton Manufacturers Manual* (1922), 83, accessed August 3, 2009, <http://ia311228.us.archive.org/1/items/yearbookofnation1922nati/yearbookofnation1922nati.pdf>; International Institute of Agriculture, Statistical Bureau, *The Cotton-Growing Countries: Production and Trade* (Rome: International Institute of Agriculture, 1922), 127; League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service, *Statistical Year- book of the League of Nations 1939/40* (Geneva: Series of League of Nations Publications, 1940), 122; United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook*, vol. 4 (New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, United Nations, 1952), 72; United States Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Service, Table 04 Cotton Area, Yield, and Production, accessed August 3, 2009, <http://www.fas.usda.gov/psdonline/psdReport.aspx?hidReportRetrievalName=Table+04+Cotton+Area%2c+Yield%2c+and+Production&hidReportRetrievalID=851&hidReportRetrievalTempLateID=1>; Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 3.
42. *Revue des cultures coloniales* 12–13 (1903): 302.
43. 關於中亞，譬如參見 Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867–1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 135–36; Toksöz, “Çukurova,” 1, 13, 37, 79; Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus*, 17ff.
44. Nebol’sin, *Ocherki trgovli Rossii*, 25; Kostenko, *Sredniaia Aziia*, 213.
45. Nebol’sin, *Ocherki trgovli Rossii*, 25; Rozhkova, *Ekonomicheskie*, 68; Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton,” 199, 200; Schanz, “Die Baumwolle,” 88, 368; Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 72; Sahadeo, “Cultures,” 3.
46. Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 45, 46, 59.
47. *Handelsbericht des Kaiserlichen Konsulats für das Jahr 1909*, in *Deutsches Handels- Archiv, Zweiter Teil: Berichte über das Ausland, Jahrgang 1911* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1911), 168; Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton,” 200; Biedermann, “Die Versorgung,” 70; Schanz, “Die Baumwolle,” 10, 50.
48. Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton,” 200, 203; Schanz, “Die Baumwolle,” 131.
49. “British and Russian Commercial Competition in Central Asia,” *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (London) 8 (July-October 1889): 439; Whitman, “Turkestan Cotton,” 202; E. Z. Volkov, *Dinamika narodonaselenija SSSR za vosem’desjat let* (Moscow: Gos. izd., 1930), 40, 198–99, 208.
50. Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll- Expedition*, 4; 以下幾頁採用 Beckert, “From Tuskegee to Togo” 許多資料；另參見 James N. Calloway to Booker T. Washington, November 20, 1900, Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee to Washington, October 10, 1900, and December 11, 1900, Booker T. Washington Papers. 關於 “Baumwoll- Expedition” 的計畫，另參見 Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Antrag des Kolonialwirtschaftlichen Komitees auf Bewilligung eines Betrages von M 10,000.-zur Ausführung einer Baumwoll-expedition nach Togo*, Berlin, May 14, 1900, Oktober 1898– Oktober 1900, Band 2, Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, File 594/K81, record group R 8023, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; 故事亦可參見 Booker T. Washington, *Workings with the Hands* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904), 226–30; Louis R. Harlan, “Booker T. Washington and the White Man’s Burden,” *American Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (January 1966): 441–67, 266–95; Edward Berman, “Tuskegee- in- Africa,” *Journal of Negro Education* 41, no. 2 (Spring 1972): 99–112; W. Manning Marable, “Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism,” *Phylon* 35, no. 4 (December

- 1974), 398–406; Michael O. West, “The Tuskegee Model of Development in Africa: Another Dimension of the African/African-American Connection,” *Diplomatic History* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 371–87; Milfred C. Fierce, *The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900–1919: African-American Interest in Africa and Interaction with West Africa* (New York: Garland, 1993), 171–97; Maier, “Persistence,” 71–95; Radcliffe, “Tuskegee- Togo”; Andrew Zimmermann, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and The Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
51. 關於此一改變，見Beckert, “Emancipation,” 1405–38.
52. Supf, “Zur Baumwollfrage,” 8; Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll- Expedition*, 3; see for a similar assessment Hutton, as quoted in Robins, “The Black Man’s Crop,” 4; 非洲裔美國人參與殖民地棉花計畫的其他例子，可參見 Jonathan Robbins, “The Cotton Crisis: Globalization and Empire in the Atlantic World, 1901–1920” (PhD dissertation, University of Rochester, 2010), 220; Booker T. Washington to Beno von Herman auf Wain, September 20, 1900, Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
53. 卡洛威這句話見 James N. Calloway to Washington, April 30, 1901, Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. 另參見 James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, 12 March 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; M. B. K. Darkoh, “Togoland under the Germans: Thirty Years of Economic Development (1884–1914),” *Nigerian Geographic Journal* 10, no. 2 (1968): 112; James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, February 3, 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft; James N. Calloway to Washington, February 3, 1901, Booker T. Washington Papers; James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, May 14, 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft; Melissa Leach and James Fairhead, *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kojo Sebastian Amanor, *The New Frontier: Farmer Responses to Land Degradation: A West African Study* (Geneva: UNRISD, 1994) 對此也有文句雖不同、但大體類似的敘述。
54. John Robinson to Booker T. Washington, May 26, 1901, Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, June 13, 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; James N. Calloway to Mr. Schmidt, Nov. 11, 1901, file 1008, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin; James N. Calloway to Mr. Schmidt, November 11, 1901, file 1008, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo; James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, September 2, 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft; John Robinson to Booker T. Washington, May 26, 1901, Booker T. Washington Papers; James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, March 12, 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft; 有一個來源說，最後足足動員一百零五人才把篷車弄到農場，見 Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll- Expedition*, 24.
55. Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll- Expedition*, 4–5, 26, 卡洛威這句話見頁二八至三六；F. Wohltmann, “Neujahrsgedanken 1905,” *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft* 9 (January 1905): 5; Karl Supf, Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, to Kolonial- Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin, August 15, 1902, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin.
56. *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft* 7 (January 1903): 9.
57. Isaacman and Roberts, “Cotton, Colonialism,” 25; Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Deutsch-Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, Bericht XI (Frühjahr 1909)*, 28, file 8224, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Sunseri, “Baumwollfrage,” 46, 48; Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, “Verhandlungen der Baumwoll-Kommission des Kolonial- Wirtschaftlichen Komitees vom 25. April 1912,” 169; 農民抗拒殖民地棉花計畫的情形，Allen Isaacman et al., “‘Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty’: Peasant Resistance to Forced Cotton Production in Mozambique, 1938–1961,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 4 (1980): 581–615 也有不同的敘述。
58. Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968), 95; “Cotton in British East Africa,” *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, Third Series*, 24 (July– October 1907): 85; Ehrlich, “Marketing,” 1; British Cotton Growing Association, *Second Annual Report, for the Year Ending August 31st, 1906* (Manchester: Head Office, 1906), 23.
59. Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, “Verhandlungen,” 169; Doran H. Ross, ed., *Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1998), 126–49; Agbenyega Adedze, “Cotton in Eweland: Historical Perspectives,” in Ross, ed., *Wrapped in Pride*, 132; 這些數字來自 Maier, “Persistence,” 75; 另參見 Sebald, *Togo 1884–1914*, 30; Metzger, *Unsere*, 242; “Der Baumwollbau in Togo, Seine Bisherige Entwicklung, und sein jetziger Stand,” undated draft of an article, file 8224, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Freiherr von Dankelman, *Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 3 (1890): 140–41; “Bericht über den Baumwollbau in Togo,” Enclosure in *Kaiserliches Gouvernement Togo, Gouverneur Zech, to Reichs-kolonialamt, Berlin, November 23, 1909*, 1, file 8223, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft; Isaacman and Roberts, “Cotton, Colonialism,” 12.

60. John Robinson quoted in Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, 1902, 1903 (Berlin, 1903), 18; Zeitfragen: Wochenschrift für deutsches Leben, May 1, 1911, 1.
61. 在塔斯基吉專家協助下，德國棉花商人特別積極創辦這些軋棉、榨棉作業，並且早在一九〇二年，德意志多哥協會就在柏林成立，以民間組織身分在多哥建立軋棉廠和棉花代理辦事處。見“Prospekt der Deutschen Togogesellschaft,” Berlin, April 1902, private archive, Freiherr von Herman auf Wain, Schloss Wain, Wain, Germany; Karl Supf, Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, Bericht IX (Berlin: Mittler, 1907), 304. 另參見 G. H. Pape to Bezirksamt Atakpame, April 5, 1909, file 1009, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3 Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin. 一九〇八至〇九年那一季，他們規定已經軋整過的棉花，運送到沿海，最低價是三十便士。見 Verhandlungen des Kolonial- Wirtschaftlichen Komitees und der Baumwoll-Kommission, Nov. 11, 1908, file 8223, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, 1902, 1903 (Berlin, 1903), 17; Radcliffe, “Tuskegee- Togo,” 103.
62. James N. Calloway to Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, June 13, 1901, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin. 約翰·羅賓生在一九〇三年報告說，把棉花從屠瓦運到洛美，需要十至十二天的時間；Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Deutsch- Koloniale, 21; Karl Supf, Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, to Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonial- Abteilung, May 10, 1902, file 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft.
63. 德國棉花業者向外交部殖民事務部門陳情，應該徵用伏役從屠瓦把棉花運到海岸，不得收工資。見 Karl Supf, Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, to Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonial- Abteilung, Nov. 15, 1901, 8221, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin. 另參見 “Station Mangu No. 170/11, May 8, 1911, file 4047, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv Berlin; Supf, “Zur Baumwollfrage,” 12.
64. Radcliffe, “Tuskegee- Togo,” 107; Verhandlungen des Kolonial- Wirtschaftlichen Komitees und der Baumwoll- Kommission, November 11, 1908, file 8223, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Metzger, Unsere Alte Kolonie, 245, 252. 關於第一次世界大戰之後多哥棉花出口的其他統計數字，見 “Togo: La production du Coton,” in Agence Extérieure et Coloniale, October 29, 1925. 多哥棉花生產在二十世紀持續擴大，到了二〇〇二至〇三年它生產八千萬公斤棉花，大約是一九三八年產量的十九倍，更是一九一三年產量的一百六十倍。見 Reinhart, “Cotton Market Report 44” (January 23, 2004), accessed January 30, 2004, [http://www.reinhart.ch/pdf\\_files/marketreportch.pdf](http://www.reinhart.ch/pdf_files/marketreportch.pdf).
65. Maier, “Persistence,” 77. 甚且，多哥大部分地區人口稀疏，缺乏過剩人力可投入棉花生產。見 G. H. Pape, “Eine Berichtigung zu dem von Prof. Dr. A. Ooppel verfassten Aufsatz ‘Der Baumwollanbau in den deutschen Kolonien und seine Aussichten,’ ” file 3092, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin. 關於兼顧耕作，見 Bassett, Peasant Cotton, 57; “Bericht über den Baumwollbau in Togo,” Enclosure in Kaiserliches Gouvernement Togo, Gouverneur Zech to Reichskolonialamt Berlin, November 23, 1909, 2, file 8223, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Beckert, “Emancipation”; Etienne, Die Baumwollzucht, 39.
66. The Dutch merchant is quoted in Adedze, “Cotton in Eweland,” 132; “Der Baumwollbau in Togo, Seine Bisherige Entwicklung, und sein jetziger Stand,” undated draft of an article, 8224, record group R 1001, Papers of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Bundesarchiv, Berlin.
67. Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Baumwoll- Expedition, 44; signed Agreement between Graf Zech and Freese (for the Vietor company), March 1, 1904, file 332, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Vail and White, “Tawani, Machamero,” 241; Roberts, “Coercion,” 223, 231, 236; Bassett, Peasant Cotton, 66; Isaacman and Roberts, “Cotton, Colonialism,” 16.
68. Morel, Affairs, 192 對這一點也有討論；另參見 A. McPhee, The Economic Revolution in British West Africa (London: Cass, 1926), 49; Marion Johnson, “Cotton Imperialism in West Africa,” African Affairs 73, no. 291 (April 1974): 182, 183.
69. Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, Bericht XI (Frühjahr 1909), file 3092, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin; James Stephen as quoted in David Brion Davis, Slavery and Human Progress (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 218.
70. Supf, “Zur Baumwollfrage,” 9, 12; Gouverneur of Togo to Herrn Bezirksamtsleiter von Atakpame, December 9 (no year), file 1008, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo; “Massnahmen zur Hebung der Baumwollkultur im Bezirk Atakpame unter Mitwirkung des Kolonialwirtschaftlichen Komitees,” Verwaltung des deutschen Schutzgebietes Togo, file 1008, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo; 關於多哥總督，見 Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen, 57–59; “Baumwollinspektion für Togo,” file 1008, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 3, Papers of the Administration of the

- German Protectorate Togo. 約翰·羅賓生早在一九〇四年就已經評論說，多哥人民的「習慣不可能一日之內改變」；見“Baumwollanbau im Schutzgebiet Togo, Darlegungen des Pflanzers John W. Robinson vom 26. 4. 1904 betr. die Voraussetzungen, Boden- und Klimaverhältnisse, Methoden und Arbeitsverbesserung, Bewässerung,” Fragment, file 89, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo.
71. Paul Friebel to Togo Baumwollgesellschaft, Atakpame, April 7, 1911, File 7,2016, 1, Papers of the Togo Baumwollgesellschaft mbH, Staatsarchiv Bremen, Bremen, Germany; 英國棉花種植協會在非洲的經驗其實很多方面都像德國人的經驗；這段歷史見 Robins, “The Black Man’s Crop.”
72. 見“Baumwollanbau im Schutzgebiet Togo, Darlegungen des Pflanzers John W. Robinson vom 26. 4. 1904 betr. die Voraussetzungen, Boden- und Klimaverhältnisse, Methoden und Arbeitsverbesserung, Bewässerung,” Fragment 13 and 49, file 89, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Anson Phelps Stokes, A Brief Biography of Booker Washington (Hampton, VA: Hampton Institute Press, 1936), 13; John Robinson to Graf Zech, January 12, 1904, file 332, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo.
73. Bassett, Peasant Cotton, 55, 59; Julia Seibert, “Arbeit und Gewalt: Die langsame Durchsetzung der Lohnarbeit im kolonialen Kongo, 1885–1960” (PhD dissertation, University of Trier, 2012), 186–206; Isaacman and Roberts, “Cotton, Colonialism,” 27; Vail and White, “Tawani, Machamboro,” 252, 253.
74. Isaacman and Roberts, eds., Cotton, Colonialism; yet German cotton experts were still envious of British successes in Africa 對此有第一流的綜覽；見 O. Warburg, “Zum Neuen Jahr 1914,” *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft* 18 (January 1914): 9; Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa- Farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); League of Nations, Economic and Financial Section, *International Statistical Yearbook 1926* (Geneva: Publications of League of Nations, 1927), 72; League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service, *Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations 1939/40* (Geneva: Series of League of Nations Publications, 1940), 122; National Cotton Council of America, accessed April 10, 2013, <http://www.cotton.org/econ/cropinfo/cropdata/country-statistics.cfm>; Etonam Digo, “Togo Expects to Meet Cotton Production Targets as Harvest Avoids Flooding,” *Bloomberg*, October 29, 2010, accessed April 10, 2013, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-10-29/togo-expects-to-meet-cotton-production-targets-as-harvest-avoids-flooding.html>.
75. Isaacman and Roberts, eds., Cotton, Colonialism; Bassett, Peasant Cotton; Ehrlich, “Marketing,” 28–33; 關於法國殖民地棉花協會，見 Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen*, 66–68, 69–71; 關於蘇丹，見 Booker T. Washington to Gladwin Bouton, May 6, 1915, and Leigh Hart to Booker T. Washington, February 3, 1904, Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Radcliffe, “Tuskegee-Togo,” 3, 133, 135; Karl Supf, *Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen*, 295, 297; 德國殖民地棉花業者經常也提到法國、英國和俄羅斯的經驗，譬如參見 Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Deutsch- Koloniale Baumwoll- Unternehmungen*, 66–71; “Anlage zum Bericht des Kaiserlichen General-konsulats in Saint Petersburg,” December 26, 1913, sent to Reichs- Kolonialamt and the Governor of Togo, 360, record group R 150F, Fonds Allemand 1, Papers of the Administration of the German Protectorate Togo (L’Administration du Protectorat Allemand du Togo), Archives Nationales du Togo, Lomé, microfilm copy in Bundesarchiv, Berlin; copy of a report by R. B. D. Morier to the Secretary of State, The Marquis of Salisbury, October 12, 1889, *Compilations Vol 51, 1890, Compilation No. 476*, “Establishment by the Russian Government of a Model Cotton Plantation in the Merva Oasis,” Revenue Department, Maharashtra State Archive, Mumbai; Robins, “The Black Man’s Crop,” 16; Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Direction des Affaires politiques et commerciales*, No. 88, Copie M, Verchere de Reffye, *Consul de France à Alexandrie à M. Pincarem Alexandrie*, August 30, 1912, and *Dépêche de Consulat de France, Saint Petersburg*, June 15, 1912, in 9 AFFECO, *Affaires économiques*, Fonds Ministeriels, Archives d’outre- mer, Aix- en- Provence; The Fourth International Congress of Delegated Representatives of Master Spinners’ and Manufacturers’ Associations, Held in Musikvereinsgebäude, Vienna, May 27th to 29th, 1907 (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans, & Co., 1907), 306; International Cotton Congress, *Official Report of the International Cotton Congress, Held in Egypt, 1927* (Manchester: Taylor Garnett Evans & Co. Ltd., 1927), 179–89.
76. 關於蘇聯增產棉花的努力，見 Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams*; Maya Peterson, “Technologies of Rule: Empire, Water, and the Modernization of Central Asia, 1867–1941” (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2011); Christof Dejung, “The Boundaries of Western Power: The Colonial Cotton Economy in India and the Problem of Quality,” in Christof Dejung and Niels P. Petersson, eds., *The Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration: Power, Institutions, and Global Markets, 1850–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 156; Rudolph Asmis and Dr. Zeller, *Taschkent*, April 10, 1923, mailing of colonial cotton brochures, Berlin, May 7, 1923; memo, *Der heutige Stand der Baumwollkultur in Turkestan und das Problem einer deutschen Mitarbeit an ihrem Wiederaufbau*; minutes of the meeting of the Baumwoll- Kommission des Kolonial- Wirtschaftlichen Komitees, June 28, 1923; minutes of the meeting of the Baumwollbau- Kommission, Diskonto Gesellschaft, Berlin, July 12, 1923, all in Kolonial- Wirtschaftliches Komitee, R 8024/25, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; *Ekonomitscheskaja Shisnj*, July 12, 1923, translated by the German embassy in Moscow, in Kolonial- wirtschaftliches Komitee, R 8024/25, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; 檔案裡有文件顯示，中亞的棉花專家因對付蝗蟲肆虐不力遭到處決。

77. 凱蓮·韋金也以相當不同的方式敘述日本特定地區併入全國及全球經濟的故事，見Kären Wigen, *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
78. Buehler, “Die Unabhaengigkeitsbestrebungen,” 91; Bleifuss and Hergenröder, *Die “Otto-Plantage Kilossa,”* 39; Pierre de Smet, *Les origines et l’organisation de la filature de coton en Belgique*. Notice publiée à l’occasion du 25ème anniversaire de l’Association Cotonnière de Belgique (Brüssel 1926), 1; Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams*, chapter 1, 67; E. R. B. Denniss, “Government of the Soudan Loan Guarantee,” *Parliamentary Debates*, Fifth Series, vol. 52, col. 428, April 23, 1913.
79. 見第十章註5。

### 第十三章 南方再起

1. Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 69; Makrand Mehta, *The Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Industry: Genesis and Growth* (Ahmedabad: New Order Book Co., 1982), viii, 33–34, 43, 50, 53; Dwijendra Tripathi, *Historical Roots of Industrial Entrepreneurship in India and Japan: A Comparative Interpretation* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 108; Sujata Patel, *The Making of Industrial Relations: The Ahmedabad Textile Industry, 1918–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 21–22.
2. Mehta, *The Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Industry*, 54, 57; *Times of India*, June 12, 1861.
3. Mehta, *The Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Industry*, 6, 8–9, 14, 20.
4. *Ibid.*, 66, 67, 77ff., 80, 85–87, 96–102; Salim Lakha, *Capitalism and Class in Colonial India: The Case of Ahmedabad* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1988), 64–66; Patel, *The Making of Industrial Relations*, 13, 21, 22, 23, 24; Tripathi, *Historical Roots of Industrial Entrepreneurship in India and Japan*, 107; Irina Spector-Marks, “Mr. Ghandi Visits Lancashire: A Study in Imperial Miscommunication” (Honors Thesis, Macalester College, 2008), 23.
5. Stephan H. Lindner, “Technology and Textiles Globalization,” *History and Technology* 18 (2002), 3; Douglas A. Farnie and David J. Jeremy, *The Fibre that Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600–1990s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 23; Lindner, “Technology and Textiles Globalization,” 4; John Singleton, *Lancashire on the Scrapheap: The Cotton Industry, 1945–1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 11; Douglas A. Farnie and Takeshi Abe, “Japan, Lancashire and the Asian Market for Cotton Manufactures, 1890–1990,” in Douglas Farnie et al., eds., *Region and Strategy in Britain and Japan, Business in Lancashire and Kansai, 1890–1990* (London: Routledge, 2000), 140, 147.
6. Farnie and Jeremy, *The Fibre That Changed the World*, 23; David L. Carlton and Peter A. Coclanis, “Southern Textiles in Global Context,” in Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds., *Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 153, 155; Gary R. Saxonhouse and Gavin Wright, “New Evidence on the Stubborn English Mule and the Cotton Industry, 1878–1920,” *Economic History Review*, New Series, 37, no. 4 (November 1984): 519. 有一點很重要，日本的紡錠生產的紗線，多過印度紡錠的成績。
7. Arno S. Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India, Being the Report of the Journey to India* (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans, 1930), 3.
8. Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India*, 101; Philip T. Silvia, “The Spindle City: Labor, Politics, and Religion in Fall River, Massachusetts, 1870–1905” (PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1973), 7; Thomas Russell Smith, “The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River, Massachusetts: A Study of Industrial Localization” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1943), 21; William F. Hartford, *Where Is Our Responsibility?: Unions and Economic Change in the New England Textile Industry, 1870–1960* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 7–8, 54; John T. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880–1930* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979), 54.
9. Hartford, *Where Is Our Responsibility?*, 12, 28; Mary H. Blewett, *Constant Turmoil: The Politics of Industrial Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 183; Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Thirteenth Annual Report* (Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1882), 195.
10. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America*, 105, 118; Dietrich Ebeling et al., “The German Wool and Cotton Industry from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century,” in Lex Heerma van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus, and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds., *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650–2000* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 227; 麻薩諸塞州勞動統計局估計，一個家庭至少需要年所得四百美元以支付食、衣、住、行需求。見 Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Sixth Annual Report* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1875), 118, 221–354, esp. 291, 372, 373, 441.
11. Hartford, *Where Is Our Responsibility?*, 7–17, 29; Isaac Cohen, “American Management and British Labor: Lancashire Immigrant Spinners in Industrial New England,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27, no. 4 (October 1, 1985): 611, 623–24; Blewett, *Constant Turmoil*, 112; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 163.
12. R. B. Forrester, *The Cotton Industry in France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1921), 100; Claude Fohlen, *L’industrie textile au temps du Second Empire* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1956), 412; David Allen Harvey, *Constructing Class and Nationality in Alsace, 1830–1945* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2001), 3, 64, 65.
13. Ebeling et al., “The German Wool and Cotton Industry,” 228; R. M. R. Dehn, *The German Cotton Industry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1913), 71–72.

14. M. V. Konotopov, et al., *Istoriia otechestvennoi tekstil' noi promyshlennosti* (Moscow: Legprombytzdat, 1992), 179; Dave Pretty, "The Cotton Textile Industry in Russia and the Soviet Union," in Van Voss et al., eds., *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers*, 435–37, 439; Dave Pretty, "The Cotton Textile Industry in Russia and the Soviet Union" (presentation, Textile Conference, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, November 2004), 17, 33.
15. Andreas Balthasar, Erich Gruner, and Hans Hirter, "Gewerkschaften und Arbeitgeber auf dem Arbeitsmarkt: Streiks, Kampf ums Recht und Verhältnis zu anderen Interessengruppen," in Erich Gruner, ed. *Arbeiterschaft und Wirtschaft in der Schweiz 1880–1914: Soziale Lage, Organisation und Kämpfe von Arbeitern und Unternehmern, politische Organisation und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 2, part 1 (Zürich: Chronos, 1988), 456ff., 464; Angel Smith et al., "Spain," in Van Voss et al., eds., *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers*, 465–57; Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, Lex Heerman van Voss, and Els Hiemstra-Kuperus, "The Netherlands," in Van Voss et al., eds., *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers*, 388.
16. T. J. Hatton, G. R. Boyer, and R. E. Bailey, "The Union Wage Effect in Late Nineteenth Century Britain," *Economica* 61, no. 244 (November 1994): 436, 449; Farnie and Abe, "Japan, Lancashire and the Asian Market for Cotton Manufactures," 134, 136; William Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage on the Shop Floor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 115, 136;
17. Charles Tilly, "Social Change in Modern Europe: The Big Picture," in Lenard R. Berlanstein, ed., *The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 54–55; Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, Lex Heerma van Voss, and Els Hiemstra-Kuperus, "Covering the World: Some Conclusions to the Project," in Van Voss et al., eds., *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers*, 773–92.
18. Dehn, *The German Cotton Industry*, 94; Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 261; Günter Kirhhain, "Das Wachstum der deutschen Baumwollindustrie im 19. Jahrhundert: Eine historische Modellstudie zur empirischen Wachstumsforschung," (PhD dissertation, University of Münster, 1973), 86; Patricia Penn Hilden, "Class and Gender: Conflicting Components of Women's Behaviour in the Textile Mills of Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing, 1880–1914," *Historical Journal* 27, no. 2 (June 1984): 378; Smith et al., "Spain," 468.
19. Dehn, *The German Cotton Industry*, 82; Kirhhain, "Das Wachstum der deutschen Baumwollindustrie," 159–60. 每年工資實質成長（以一九一三年馬克為準），從每年五六三點五八馬克：上升至八六〇馬克。見 implicit deflator of net national product in Table A.5, *Cost of Living Indices in Germany, 1850–1985* (1913 = 100), Appendix, in P. Scholliers and Z. Zamagni, eds., *Labour's Reward: Real Wages and Economic Change in 19th- and 20th-Century Europe* (Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1995), 226; 如果我們假設每兩星期工作十二天，亞爾薩斯一八七〇年的每日工資在二點五至三法郎之間（以一九一〇年法郎為準），一九一〇年則每日工資在五點四至六點二五法郎之間。要計算實質工資，見 Table H1, *Wholesale Price Indices*, in B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750–2005* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 955–56. Smith et al., "Spain," 469; Smith, "The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River," 88. 一八九〇年代，非技術性工人的日薪是三十五點九二美元（以二〇一一年美元為準），一九二〇年的日薪則是五十三點七二美元。織布機調整員的日薪，從一八九〇年的四十二點三九美元，上漲至一九二〇年的八十一點九二美元。見 Table III. *Classified Rates of Wages per Hour in Each State, by Years, 1907 to 1912*, in Fred Cleveland Croxton, *Wages and Hours of Labor in the Cotton, Woolen, and Silk Industries* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913).
20. Harvey, *Constructing Class and Nationality in Alsace*, 82; Dehn, *The German Cotton Industry*, 94; Georg Meerwein, "Die Entwicklung der Chemnitzer bzw. sächsischen Baumwollspinnerei von 1789–1879" (PhD dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1914), 94; Beth English, "Beginnings of the Global Economy: Capital Mobility and the 1890s U.S. Textile Industry," in Delfino and Gillespie, eds., *Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South*, 177; Walter Bodmer, *Die Entwicklung der schweizerischen Textilwirtschaft im Rahmen der übrigen Industrien und Wirtschaftszweige* (Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1960), 397.
21. English, "Beginnings of the Global Economy," 176; W. F. Bruck, *Die Geschichte des Kriegsausschusses der deutschen Baumwoll-Industrie* (Berlin: Kriegsausschuss der Deutschen Baumwoll-Industrie, 1920), 11; John Steven Toms, "Financial Constraints on Economic Growth: Profits, Capital Accumulation and the Development of the Lancashire Cotton-Spinning Industry, 1885–1914," *Accounting Business and Financial History* 4, no. 3 (1994): 367; J. H. Bamberg, "The Rationalization of the British Cotton Industry in the Interwar Years," *Textile History* 19, no. 1 (1988): 85; M. W. Kirby, "The Lancashire Cotton Industry in the Inter-War Years: A Study in Organizational Change" *Business History* 16, no. 2 (1974): 151.
22. Kirhhain, "Das Wachstum der deutschen Baumwollindustrie," 95, 166; Gregory Clark, "Why Isn't the Whole World Developed? Lessons from the Cotton Mills," *Journal of Economic History* 47, no. 1 (March 1987): 145, 148; Hermann Kellenbenz, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (München: Beck, 1981), 406; Meerkerk et al., "Covering the World," 785.
23. Gisela Müller, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Wiesentäler Textilindustrie bis zum Jahre 1945" (PhD dissertation, University of Basel, 1965), 49; *Deutschen Volkswirtschaftlichen Correspondenz* 42 (Ulm: Gebrüder Rübling, 1879), 8; Brian A'Hearn, "Institutions, Externalities, and Economic Growth in Southern Italy: Evidence from the Cotton Textile Industry, 1861–1914," *Economic History Review* 51, no. 4 (1998): 742; Jörg Fisch, *Europa zwischen Wachstum und Gleichheit, 1850–1914* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2002), 65; Tom Kemp, *Economic Forces in French History* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1971), 184; Auguste Lalance, *La crise de l'industrie cotonnière*

- (Mulhouse: Veuve Bader & Cie., 1879), 6.
24. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Manufactures, and W. A. Graham Clark, *Cotton Goods in Latin America: Part 1, Cuba, Mexico, and Central America* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909), 6–7, 14; Jordi Nadal, “The Failure of the Industrial Revolution in Spain, 1830–1914,” in Carlo M. Cipolla, ed., *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, vol. 4, pt. 2, *The Emergence of Industrial Societies* (Great Britain: Fontana, 1973), 612–13; M. V. Konotopov, et al., *Istoriia otechestvennoi tekstil’ noi promyshlennosti* (Moscow: Legprombytizdat, 1992), 268–69; 關於阿特金森，見 Edward Atkinson, *Cotton: Articles from the New York Herald* (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1877), 31.
  25. As reflected, for example, in the Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; in M8/2/1/16, Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1919–1925, Manchester Library and Local Studies, Manchester.
  26. *Times*, September 6, 1927, 13; 另參見 James Watt Jr. to Richard Bond, Esq., July 7, 1934, in DDX1115/6/26, Liverpool Records Office, Liverpool; as quoted in Spector- Marks, “Mr. Gandhi Visits Lancashire,” 44.
  27. “Textile Shutdown Visioned by Curley: New England Industry Will Die in Six Months Unless Washington Helps, He Says,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1935. 工資成本對紡織生產地理位置的重要性，也是阿姆斯特丹社會史研究所（Institute for Social History）一項歷時多年的研究，得到的三大核心發現之一。見 Meerkerk et al., “Covering the World,” 774.
  28. 關於歐洲和美國之間此一衝突，見 Sven Beckert, “Space Matters: Eurafrika, the American Empire and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870–1940,” (article in progress).
  29. Carlton and Coclanis, “Southern Textiles in Global Context,” 160, 167ff.; Alice Carol Galenson, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry from New England to the South, 1880–1930* (New York: Garland, 1985), 2; Timothy J. Minchin, *Hiring the Black Worker: The Racial Integration of the Southern Textile Industry, 1960–1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 9; Robert M. Brown, “Cotton Manufacturing: North and South,” *Economic Geography* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 1928): 74–87.
  30. Mildred Gwin Andrews, *The Men and the Mills: A History of the Southern Textile Industry* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 1; Galenson, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry, 189–90*; Carlton and Coclanis, “Southern Textiles in Global Context,” 155, 156, 158; 關於 “labor agitation” 這句話，見 *Commercial Bulletin*, September 28, 1894, as quoted in Beth English, *A Common Thread: Labor, Politics, and Capital Mobility in the Textile Industry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 39; *Lynchburg News*, January 18, 1895, as cited in English, “Beginnings of the Global Economy,” 176; Hartford, *Where Is Our Responsibility?*, 54.
  31. Elijah Helm, “An International of the Cotton Industry,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 17, no. 3 (May 1903): 428; Galenson, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry*, 186; Melvin Thomas Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1966), 40, 46. 另參見 Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Gavin Wright, “The Economic Revolution in the American South,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1987): 169. 南方農村的轉型如何影響到美國南方受薪工人的出現，見 Barbara Fields, “The Nineteenth-Century American South: History and Theory,” *Plantation Society in the Americas* 2, no. 1 (April 1983): 7–27; Steven Hahn, “Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective,” *American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (1990): 75–88; *Southern and Western Textile Excelsior*, December 11, 1897, as cited in English, “Beginnings of the Global Economy,” 188; English, *A Common Thread*, 116.
  32. Galenson, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry*, 141; Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry*, 42; Katherine Rye Jewell, “Region and Sub-Region: Mapping Southern Economic Identity” (unpublished paper, 36th Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Boston, 2011).
  33. Geoffrey Jones and Judith Vale, “Merchants as Business Groups: British Trading Companies in Asia before 1945,” *Business History Review* 72, no. 3 (1998): 372; 關於葡萄牙，見 Board Minutes, vol. 1, 1888–1905, Boa Vista Spinning & Weaving Company, Guildhall Library, London. 關於鄂圖曼帝國，見 Necla Geyikdagi, *Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations, 1854–1914* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 131; E. R. J. Owen, “Lord Cromer and the Development of Egyptian Industry, 1883–1907,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 2, no. 4 (July 1966): 283, 289; Arno S. Pearse, *Brazilian Cotton* (Manchester: Printed by Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., 1921), 29; Speech at Konferenz der mitteleuropaeischen Wirtschaftsvereine in Dresden, am 17. und 18. Januar 1916, Protokolle der Verhandlungen, Auswärtiges Amt, 1916–1918, Akten betreffend den Mitteleur-paeischen Wirtschaftsverein, Auswärtiges Amt, R 901, 2502, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Michael Owen Gately, “Development of the Russian Cotton Textile Industry in the Pre-revolutionary Years, 1861–1913” (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1968), 156; Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, “Wirtschaftsbürger und Bürgerlichkeit im Königreich Polen: Das Beispiel von Lodz, dem Manchester des Ostens,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 31 (2005): 175, 177, 178.
  34. 體制對經濟發展、及政治的重要性，以及殖民主義的傷害效應，Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, “Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117, no. 4 (November 2002): 1231–94，有很詳盡的討論；不過，我在本文所強調的則是不同的體制。
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