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Defining A French Atlantic Empire: Some Material Culture Evidence

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Defining a French Atlantic Empire: some material culture evidence

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Résumé. Des historiens soulignèrent souvent la fragilité—voire l’inexistence—d’un empire français au 18e siècle. Néanmoins, un grand nombre de données, surtout d’ordre commercial et démographique, révèlent l’existence de croissance impressionnante et dans la métropole et dans les colonies atlantiques de la France. Au moyen d’un examen de la consommation du textile dans trois colonies—la Nouvelle France, la Louisiane, et le Saint-Domingue—on peut déceler, au cours du 18e siècle, l’apparition des cultures matérielles spécifiques à chaque colonie, d’une culture matérielle impériale qui unissait le métropole aux colonies, et d’une culture matérielle atlantique commune à tous les empires dans cet espace. Ces tendances suggèrent la naissance simultanée du premier empire français, des colonies françaises diverses, et d’un système atlantique.

The difficulties that France faced in settling, administering, defending, and retaining colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have long been recognized. Recent scholarship has deepened our knowledge of the daunting tasks that colonists and officials alike faced, while it has also confirmed the disappointing results obtained. Thus Kenneth Banks, who focuses on complex flows of enormous amounts of information among diverse places separated by great distances, proposes that the early modern French Atlantic should be understood not as the first French empire but as a collection of overseas claims administered

as separate entities by the Ministère de la Marine in Paris¹. In this view (to borrow David Parker's wonderful formulation about French absolutism), the empire was always in the making but never made².

James Pritchard concurs that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries France did not build a coherent, integrated, centrally directed empire but accumulated a congeries of diverse colonies³. Kings and ministers proved incapable of developing and implementing coherent policies. Inattention was the common experience of many colonies much of the time, and when the metropole did intervene it was typically for the worse, particularly in matters of economic development and integration, which could have underpinned a successful empire. Not only were French overseas possessions geographically divided and ecologically dissimilar. In addition, they developed disparate economies with distinctive social formations and varied (and often weak) connections to the metropole. Further, the vast distances that separated them, together with their different economic and geo-political orientations, discouraged communications and significant linkages among the French possessions while encouraging—indeed, virtually mandating—vigorous commercial interchange with British and Spanish colonies. Financial stringency, wartime lessons wrongly learned, and ministerial blunders prevented the French navy from playing what should have

¹ Kenneth BANKS, *Chasing empire across the sea: communications and the state in the French Atlantic, 1713-1763*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

² David PARKER, *The Making of French Absolutism*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1983.

³ James PRITCHARD, *In Search of Empire. The French in the Americas, 1670-1730*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

been its principal role in colonial defense and imperial integration. In short, according to Pritchard, the whole was less than the sum of its parts. Worse, there was no whole, just parts.

Yet these heterogeneous possessions did display impressive demographic and economic vigor in the eighteenth century, and contacts among them intensified. Colonial populations more than quadrupled during the eighteenth century, thanks both to natural increase in French North America before its cession in 1763 and thereafter to soaring immigration of enslaved Africans and (at a much lower level) Europeans to the Antilles⁴. At the same time, French trade with its empire grew more rapidly than did that of its chief rival Britain. By 1789, colonial trade formed a larger proportion of all foreign trade in France than in Britain. French imports from America and Africa grew more than 28-fold between 1716 and 1772 and exports nearly 17-fold, as compared to an eight-fold increase of French imports as a whole and a seven-fold growth of exports. The share of total French imports accounted for by the Americas and Africa rose from 11.6 to 41.7 percent over the period; their share of total exports from 4.3 to 10.4 percent⁵.

⁴ Gilles HAVARD and Cécile VIDAL, *Histoire de l'Amérique française*, Paris, Flammarion, 2003, pp. 159-69; Edmond DZIEMBOWSKI, *Un nouveau patriotisme française, 1750-1770: La France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de sept ans*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1998; Pierre PLUCHON, *Historie de la colonisation française*. Tome 1. *Le Premier Empire coloniale des origins à la Restauration*, Paris, Fayard, 1991.

⁵ Paul BUTEL, *L'économie française au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, SEDES, 1993, p. 88; some of the 13 percent of French exports—notably linen cloth and silks—that went to Spain in 1772 continued on to Iberian America. In contrast, total English imports barely doubled in value

The effects of this expansion were to be seen throughout the French Atlantic. The colonial trade of Bordeaux grew more than eight-fold between 1722-26 and 1783-88 (an average of 4 percent per annum), whereas the city's trade with Europe only doubled. Equally significant, re-exports grew a remarkable 6.5 percent per year from 1728-30 to 1788-89, as products from French possessions, notably those in the Caribbean, were processed and distributed widely across the Continent. Much of the trade was bilateral, but increasing volumes of multilateral exchange also bound together the various parts of the French Atlantic, as ships took manufactures from Bordeaux to Canada, where they purchased fish and grain that was then taken to the Antilles to be exchanged for so-called « colonial groceries » like sugar, coffee, tobacco, which were shipped to France for processing, re-export, and domestic consumption⁶. Nor was Bordeaux's experience singular. The Atlantic commerce of Nantes, Marseille, and Rouen-le Havre likewise expanded strikingly during the eighteenth century; overall, colonial trade increased tenfold between 1715 and 1789⁷. The

between 1699-1701 and 1772-74 and exports and re-exports rose some two and a half times, while imports from the non-European Atlantic (Africa and the Americas) increased 4.3 times and exports sextupled; Ralph DAVIS, "English Foreign Trade, 1700-1774", *Economic History Review*, vol. 15, no. 2 (1962), pp. 300-303.

⁶ Paul BUTEL, *Les négociants bordelais. L'Europe et les Iles au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Aubier, 1974, esp. pp. 20-26; Dale MIQUELON, *Dugard of Rouen: French Trade to Canada and the West Indies, 1729-1770*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978, p. 93

⁷ Cf. Charles CARRIÈRE, *Négociants marseillais au XVIIIe siècle. Contribution à l'étude des économies maritimes*, 2 vols., [Aix], Institut Historique de Provence, [1973]; John G.

Americas and Africa, which took just 5 percent of France's manufacturing exports in 1716-20, accounted for nearly 40 percent in 1787-89⁸. Little wonder that France's shipping fleet engaged in Atlantic commerce grew dramatically both in numbers and in average ship size. Whereas in 1704 there had been just 700 French ships of 100 tons or more, by 1791 there were 2341⁹.

Much as Atlantic exchanges helped quicken France's economy, so did France's American possessions undergo striking development. Population in the French Antilles, half that of the British West Indies in 1700, was larger by 1790, and the islands took one quarter of all French exports. Saint-Domingue's population, experiencing a growth rate of 6 percent among enslaved Africans (who formed 90 percent of the populace), reached some 560,000 in 1790. By that point, the colony was the largest producer of raw and semi-refined sugar in the world, alone producing some two-fifths of the global crop; its output had at least octupled in the eighteenth century. Saint-Domingue was also the largest single coffee producer in the world. Indigo, though down from its 1740s heights, remained important, and output of cotton, some 1 million pounds in 1768, had doubled by 1788, permitting the notable growth of the French cottons industry. Regular twice-a-week transatlantic mail service began in 1763, and the weekly newspaper, *Affiches Américaines*, which began publication the next

CLARK, *La Rochelle and the Atlantic Economy during the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981; MIQUELON, *Dugard of Rouen*, esp. p. 6

⁸ Robert DUPLESSIS, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 195.

⁹ BUTEL, *L'économie française au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 149.

year, carried news from Europe, particularly the metropole¹⁰. Together with other possessions in the Antilles, French North America also registered pronounced growth in the eighteenth century before the British conquest. Population quadrupled and from the 1730s exports diversified, as an increasingly vigorous trade in grain and peas to the Antilles joined traditional furs, fish, and timber. Even peripheral, generally neglected Louisiana experienced demographic growth, rising production of plantation goods, and growing prosperity, though it, too, was lost as a result of the Seven Years' War¹¹.

Given the weight of scholarly opinion about the weakness, even non-existence, of any purported « first French empire », how should we make sense of these positive indicators? Were the upbeat economic and demographic data of limited general import, doing little to foster the emergence of a “true” empire? Or did these forms of growth (and the expansion of agriculture and manufacturing that they stimulated on either side of the Atlantic) promote the formation of a more integrated unit with attributes of empire? This is a complicated matter, with many manifestations that individually deserve close study. Here, I want to examine one phenomenon that has been identified as indicating “empire-ness,” namely, material standardization; that is, the diffusion and regular consumption of homologous mass-produced manufactured goods by large groups of people across both metropole and colonies. The

¹⁰ James E. MCCLELLAN, *Colonialism and Science. Saint-Domingue in the Old Regime*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992, pp. 3, 20, 48-49, 63-67, 81; MIQUELON, *Dugard of Rouen*, pp. 6, 15.

¹¹ John G. CLARK, *New Orleans 1718-1812. An Economic History*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1976; N. M. Miller SURREY, *The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Régime, 1699-1763*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1916.

historian Timothy Breen has proposed that just such a process *was* occurring during this period—albeit in the British Atlantic—as what he terms « Anglicization » came to define the British Empire as a common world of goods¹². Did anything similar happen between France and her Atlantic possessions? Did France’s overseas expansion issue in common Atlantic consumption patterns? Or did there grow up diverse metropolitan and colonial worlds of goods that mirrored what is now presented as the fractured nature of initial French colonialism?

It is, of course, impossible to investigate in a brief article the history of consumption in the eighteenth-century French Atlantic as a whole. It *is* possible, however, to get a handle on the subject by examining a commodity that was central to the material life of consumers throughout the French world. For several reasons, cloth is such a commodity. By volume, and usually by value, textiles were by far the largest single consumer manufacture traded in the Atlantic. In addition, rising amounts of textiles were in everyday use by all groups both on their bodies and in their dwellings. Finally, textiles typically were the second largest item, after foodstuffs, in consumer budgets¹³. As a result, there is much to be learned from textile

¹² Timothy BREEN, « An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776 », *Journal of British Studies*, Hartford, Conn., vol. 25, 1986, pp. 467-99. See also BREEN, « 'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century », *Past and Present*, Oxford, no. 119, 1988, pp. 73-102, and his recent synthesis, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, Part One.

¹³ See Lorna WEATHERILL, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London and New York, Routledge, 1988, esp. pp. 119, 133; Daniel ROCHE, *The Culture of Clothing. Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime"*, 1989; Cambridge,

consumption in three leading but diverse French Atlantic colonies—New France, Louisiana, and Saint-Domingue. Two figures summarize the data in two periods: first, early in their histories (the late seventeenth century for New France, the 1730s in Louisiana and Saint-Domingue) and then in 1760-74, when the first two left French control while Saint-Domingue became the dominant French colony.

In their early years of settlement, each colony had a quite distinct textile profile. The pronounced differences in textile holdings are evident both in terms of merchant stocks (Figure 1), which indicate supply, and in terms of garments (Figure 2), which indicate demand. Inhabitants could and did purchase most major types of cloth, but in very different proportions in each colony, even with respect to linens and woolens, the most widely available fabrics and the traditional bases of European textile cultures. Climate played a role in the disparities. For example, residents of New France, where winters were long and frigid, used woolens for all manner of garments,¹⁴ whereas people living in the much warmer Louisiana and Saint-Domingue needed cottons (Fig. 2).

The varying economic structures of the individual colonies were equally if not more significant (Fig. 1). In New France, with its large fur trade, merchants had very large stocks of woolens for exchange with Indian hunters, who bartered much of their beaver and other

Cambridge University Press, 1994, chap. 5; Louise DECHÊNE, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth Century Montreal*, 1974; Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

¹⁴ See Yes Landry (éd.), *Pour le Christ et le Roi. La vie au temps des premiers Montréalais*, Montreal, Libre Expression/Art Global, 1992.

peltry for heavy woolen fabrics such as écarlatine, limbourg, mazamet, molton¹⁵. In contrast, woolens were much smaller components of merchant holdings in Louisiana, where the fur trade was much less significant, and in Saint-Domingue, where it did not exist. Again, merchants in the latter two colonies, where slavery was fundamental, had many linens, for both slave codes and low prices encouraged planters to provide enslaved persons with linen clothing¹⁶. But linens were less central for the fur trade and thus comprised a minor proportion of New France merchant stocks.

¹⁵ The importance of woolens to Amerindian consumers is a leitmotif of much scholarship; for quantities, see Dean L. ANDERSON, « Documentary and Archaeological Perspectives on European Trade Goods in the Western Great Lakes Region », Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1992, and ANDERSON, « The Flow of European Trade Goods into the Western Great Lakes Region, 1715-1760 », in Jennifer S. H. BROWN, W. J. ECCLES, and Donald P. HELDMAN (éds.), *The Fur Trade Revisited*, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1994, esp. pp. 107-109. Anderson shows that cloth and clothing (including sewing supplies and ornamentation) were by far the leading trade item at all eight trading posts he analyzes, accounting for nearly two-thirds of total merchant outlays for goods.

¹⁶ Article 25 of the 1685 Saint-Domingue *Code Noir* directed plantation owners to provide each enslaved person two outfits (*habits*) of linen or four ells of that fabric per year (« Les maîtres seront tenus de fournir à chaque esclave, par chacun an, deux habits de toile ou quatre aunes de toile, au gré des dits maîtres »). For the best recent analysis and edition of the *Code Noir*, see Louis SALA-MOLINS, *Le Code noir ou le calvaire de Canaan*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1993. Extensive price information derived from merchant

By 1760-74, differences had not been eliminated, and for many of the same reasons. Not surprisingly, in light of their continued substantial trade with Amerindians, New France's merchant stocks still held many more woolens than their colleagues in either Louisiana or Saint-Domingue (Fig. 1). Again, the preponderance of linens in Saint-Domingue is directly attributable to the facts that slaves constituted the overwhelming majority of the colony's population.

Yet each colony also exhibited some congruence in both textile supply and textile demand. In all three colonies, the degree of dispersion among many types of cloth that were available as well as among many types of cloth that were consumed declined noticeably across the eighteenth century. Though occurring broadly, the convergence is particularly visible in the case of cottons, which during the eighteenth century came to account for about a third of merchant stocks and of individuals' clothing in each and every colony. Its evolution therefore merits a closer look.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, only a few cottons were to be found in the French New World. In the Montreal area, cotton was the primary material of just 4 percent of colonists' garments in 1680-99, and it also comprised only a modest share of their curtains, bedspreads, and table linens. Yet already by the 1730s, the situation had changed impressively: in both Louisiana and Saint-Domingue, cottons were second only to linens in shops and on settlers' bodies. Though hemp linen remained the preferred fabric for dressing slaves, planters' inventories indicate that cheap cottons were beginning to make inroads. Cottons' rise continued thereafter. Even in chilly Montreal, nearly a third of all apparel was made

accounts and probate inventories indicates that on average linens cost just half as much as cottons during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century.

of cotton by the 1760s, as cotton clothing metamorphosed from a novelty donned by a select few into a normal and unremarkable quotidian product worn across the social spectrum¹⁷.

Settlers not only owned cotton kerchiefs, cravats, and the occasional shirt or blouse, as did their forebears: in the 1760s they also wore cotton skirts, vests, jackets, breeches. Despite the

¹⁷ For studies of clothing in the French colonies, see Sophie WHITE, « ‘This Gown...Was Much Admired and Made Many Ladies Jealous’: Fashion and the Forging of Elite Identities in French Colonial Louisiana », in Greg O’BRIEN and Tamara HARVEY (éds.), *George Washington’s South*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004, pp. 86-118; WHITE, « ‘Wearing three or four handkerchiefs around his collar, and elsewhere about him’: Sartorial Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans », *Gender & History*, Oxford, vol. 15 (3), 2003, pp. 527-549; Robert DUPLESSIS, « Was There a Consumer Revolution in Eighteenth Century New France? », *French Colonial History*, East Lansing, vol. 1, 2002, pp. 143-159; Suzanne GOUSSE and André GOUSSE, *Costume in New France from 1740 to 1760: a visual dictionary*, Chambly, Qué., Fleur de Lys, 1997; Nicole GENÊT, Luce VERMETTE, Louise DÉCARIE-AUDET, *Les objets familiers de nos ancêtres*, Montréal and Brussels, Les Editions de l’Homme, 1976; Robert SÉGUIN, *La civilisation traditionnelle de l’« habitant » aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 2nd éd., Montréal, Fides, 1967; SÉGUIN, *Le costume civil en Nouvelle France*, Ottawa, Musée national du Canada, 1968; François GIROD, *La vie quotidienne de la société créole, Saint-Domingue au 18e siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1972; Médéric Louis Elie MOREAU DE ST. MÉRY, *Description topographique, physique civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l’isle de Saint-Domingue*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Philadelphia, Chez l’Auteur, 1797, I: 9-10, 58-61, 91.

continuing rigors of the eastern Canadian winter, cotton cloaks and capes, and even the occasional cotton overcoat—all garments that had once been the exclusive preserve of woolens—were now regularly to be found. The use of cottons for domestic purposes likewise increased. On the one hand, the growing taste for cottons to furnish table, bed, and parlor reflected a general emphasis on enhanced domestic comfort no matter what the fabric; on the other, cottons' share of napkins, tablecloths, curtains, towels, sheets—even blankets—rose at the expense of woolens and linens.

It is particularly noteworthy, moreover, that this kind of convergence was not only manifest in the colonies. It was also taking place in metropolitan populations and between colonies and metropole. As Daniel Roche has shown, linens, silks, and woolens were far and away the most common fabrics found in Parisian wardrobes in 1700, but different social strata employed them in very different proportions. Only about a sixth of the garments of domestics and artisans were linens, for example, as against two-fifths for other Parisians. Again, nearly a quarter of artisans' and shopkeepers' clothing was made of woolens, but only a twelfth of nobles' clothes were. All social groups did share one characteristic in 1700, however: they wore almost no cotton garments. By 1789, in contrast, cottons were the most popular fabric in all groups' wardrobes, save nobles', and even there they accounted for one-fourth of all garments; among other Parisians, the proportion ranged from one-fifth to two-fifths. Little wonder that Roche speaks of a « cottons revolution » in eighteenth-century France. Furthermore—and also relevant for our findings in the French New World—in Paris, too, woolens consumption had both fallen and converged across social strata (at between one-quarter and one-third of all garments), as had linens (at between 8 and 17 percent)¹⁸. In

¹⁸ ROCHE, *Culture of Clothing*, pp. 127, 138.

sum, not only had a kind of cottons revolution swept throughout the French Atlantic, touching the colonies as well as the metropole, but the rising trend of cottons' textile consumption was just part of a convergence of textile cultures on both sides of the Atlantic.

Insofar as textiles can be considered emblematic of material culture, then, it seems that a process of material cultural standardization was occurring in the French Atlantic, paralleling that found in the British Atlantic. In some important respects, that is, the material cultures of metropolitan France and its North American and Caribbean colonies were becoming more similar. The circulation of commodities made colonists' daily experience more « French » or, more correctly, more « Franco-imperial ». To adapt Breen's term, we might speak of the « Francization » of the French Atlantic as the linen undergarments that one wore in Port-au-Prince increasingly resembled those worn in Paris, or as one's house in Nantes boasted cotton curtains, just as windows did in New Orleans. And insofar as growing standardization of material culture implies growing imperial integration, as Breen claims, we may discern the emergence of a French Atlantic empire that was more than just a collection of disparate units.

Noting the parallels between the French and the British Atlantics suggests something else, however, something beyond two similar processes of material cultural development and imperial emergence: namely, the inadequacy of a perspective focused on singular, discrete colonial empires. Admittedly, mercantilist measures directed many trade flows between individual metropolises and their colonies, while also seeking to prevent the exchange of commodities—many of them textiles—across imperial frontiers. Yet it is striking that such borders restricted neither trends toward greater homogenization nor the goods that embodied them. On the contrary, the material culture of the Atlantic world as a whole converged across and beyond the limits of empire, whether French or British, Spanish or Dutch or Portuguese.

This fact was particularly evident with respect to Indian cottons, which were the rage all over the eighteenth-century Atlantic. As a result, one could find the same varieties of calicoes, in the same colors and patterns, in Saint-Louis or Saint-Domingue, in Detroit or (legally after 1759, actually long before that date) in Dunkerque, or in Cayenne or Curaçao or Charleston or Colchester or Cape Coast Castle. Shops in Buenos Aires and Belém carried the same calicoes as Bordeaux, just as they did in Luanda and Lisbon and Liverpool, not to mention Montreal, Montego Bay, and Madrid, or Elmina and Edinburgh. But the same Atlantic-wide ubiquity was more and more the case with European textiles as well as Asian. Many circulated across imperial borders whether licitly or not. When woolen « limbourgs » were not available for the French trade with Amerindians, « strouds » were bought instead, whether at a great commission house in London or at the Oswego trading post on the shores of Lake Ontario. Other fabrics were copied widely—by the eighteenth century, if not earlier, to say « osnabrig » or « osnaburg » was no longer to say « cheap German hemp linen » but to say « cheap hemp linen from Germany or Scotland or Ireland or France or perhaps one of the American colonies » that could be found at Gorée or in Georgia or in Glasgow.

The processes that unfolded in the eighteenth-century Atlantic did not signify the disappearance of unique local or regional material cultures. Imperial material cultures also exhibited some singular attributes. Most striking, perhaps, both supply and consumption of cottons were highest in the French Atlantic thanks to production and marketing innovations that cut relative prices more sharply than elsewhere—including British colonies¹⁹. But

¹⁹ Robert DUPLESSIS, « Cottons Consumption in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Atlantic World », in Giorgio RIELLO and Prasanna PARTHASARATHI (éds.), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles 1200-1850*, Oxford, Oxford University

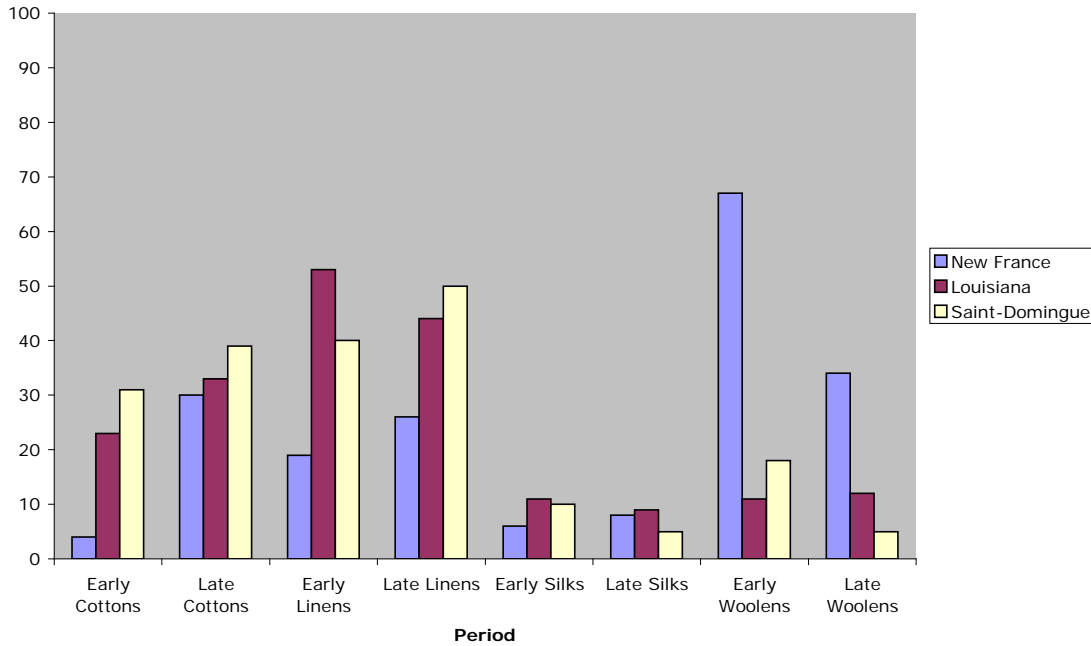
something else both fascinating and complex was also happening. This was the *simultaneous* creation of colony-specific, empire-specific, and Atlantic-wide material cultures that contributed to underpinning both distinctive *intra*-colonial and *intra*-imperial, and convergent *trans*-colonial and *trans*-imperial structures. From a material cultural perspective, in sum, the birth of a congeries of diverse French colonies was also the birth of the first French empire, *and* it also marked the birth of an Atlantic—and indeed an incipiently global—system.

Press, 2009, chap. 11; David RICHARDSON, « West African Consumption Patterns and Their Influence on the Eighteenth-Century English Slave Trade », in Henry GEMERY and Jan HOGENDORN (éds.), *The Uncommon Market. Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, New York, Academic Press, 1979, pp. 303-330.

Robert S. DuPlessis
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Figure 1

**Textiles in Merchant Stocks in Three French New World Colonies
 (Percentage of Total Textile Holdings)**



Sources:

Early New France (1677-97): Archives Nationales du Québec, Montréal, Not. A. Adhémar, Basset, Bourguine, Mauge, Moreau, Pottier

Late New France (1760-74): Archives Nationales du Québec, Montréal, Not. Chatellier, Duvernay, Foucher, Hodiesne, Mezières, Panet, Racicot, Simonet, Vautier

Early Louisiana (1730-39): Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, French Superior Council Records, Inventories, 1730-39; New Orleans Notarial Archives Research Center, New Orleans, Inventories

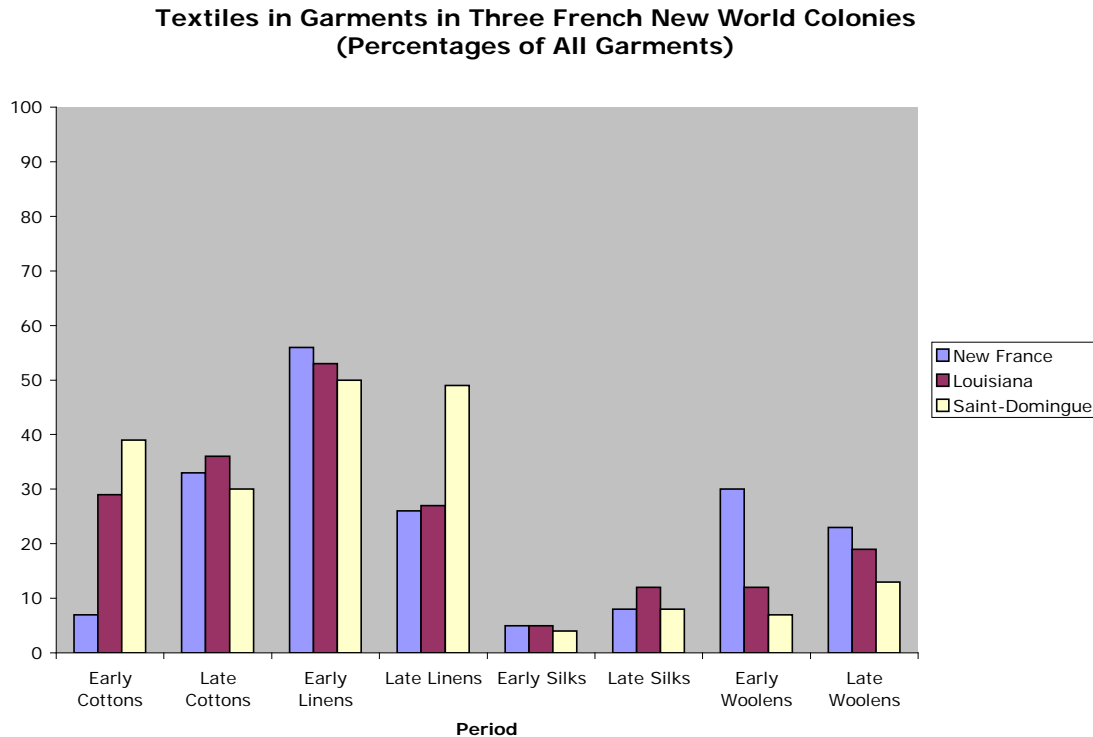
Late Louisiana (1760-69): Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, French Superior Council Records, Inventories, 1760-69; New Orleans Notarial Archives Research Center, New Orleans, Inventories; Natchitoches Parish Court House, Louisiana, Conveyance Record Book 1

Early Saint-Domingue (1730-39): Archives Nationales, France, Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, Collection Saint-Domingue, Not. Delinois, Martin, Saunier

Late Saint-Domingue (1760-74): Archives Nationales, France, Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, Collection Saint-Domingue, Not. Beaulieu, Belin de Ressort, Bugaret, Daudin de Bellair, Dupuis de Lavaux, Laroque, Le Jeune Duparnay, Legendre (Cayes), Legendre (St Louis), Martigniat

Robert S. DuPlessis
 Defining a French Atlantic Empire: some material culture evidence

Figure 2



Sources:

Early New France, 1651-1700 (1400 garments): Archives Nationales du Québec, Montréal, Not. A. Adhémar, Basset, Bourguine, Closse, De Saint Pierre, Gastineau-DuPlessis, Mauge, Moreau, Pottier

Late New France, 1760-74 (5798 garments): Archives Nationales du Québec, Montréal, Not. Blanzay, Bouvet, Chatellier, Cherrier, Coron, Courville, Deguire, Duvernay, Foucher, Grise, Hantray, Hodiesne, Jehanne, J. Lalanne, P. Lalanne, Legacy, Loiseau, Mezières, Panet, Racicot, Sanguinet, Simonet, Soupras, Souste, Vautier

Early Louisiana, 1730-39 (1958 garments): Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, French Superior Council Records, Inventories, 1730-39; New Orleans Notarial Archives Research Center, New Orleans, Inventories

Late Louisiana, 1760-69 (3218 garments): Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, French Superior Council Records, Inventories, 1760-69; New Orleans Notarial Archives Research Center, New Orleans, Inventories; Natchitoches Parish Court House, Louisiana, Conveyance Record Book 1

Early Saint-Domingue, 1730-39 (1183 garments): Archives Nationales, France, Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, Collection Saint-Domingue, Not. Carier, Casamajor, Delinois, Delorme de Roissy, Laille, Martin, Saunier, Vieilhomme

Late Saint-Domingue, 1760-74 (7575 garments): Archives Nationales, France, Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, Collection Saint-Domingue, Not. Beaulieu, Belin

de Ressort, Berton, Bugaret, Daudin de Bellair, Dubernes de la Greffière, Dupuis de Lavaux, Duval, Flanet, Guilleau, Ladoué, Laroque, Le Jeune Duparnay, Legendre (Cayes), Legendre (St Louis), Mallet, Martigniat, Michel, Rivet, Sennebier, Sibire de Morville