History records thousands of exploits in remote lands in order for an explorer to bring wealth to himself and his country. Most notes and studies are the spices, sugar, pepper, salt, etc, precious metals, and even people themselves in the form of slaves. Non-spice plants such as tobacco and cotton are studied for their impact in trade and the development of the industrialized free market system in general and the American Slave Plantation in particular.

There are a few lesser known non-spice plants and animals that lead to trading "manias" and "hysterias." The tulip drove the Dutch mad at the height of their Golden Age. Tulip-mania should have served as a warning for Europe and the world on the dangers of speculative buying and what happened when the market explodes too quickly. Tea ad Rubber would drive the British to the ends of the earth and allow them to amass a wealth never equaled by their contemporaries. Exotic animals from Africa and the New World also brought levels of extravagance and luxury that no other good brought, except maybe sugar.

Early in the 17th century, the Dutch began to see the value in trading with the East. Chinese porcelain and their spices could be purchased relatively cheaply in the East and where hardly bulky, and could earn a fortune at home.¹

A single cargo of these goods was worth many times more than the same tonnage of timber, grain, or salt. The year 1610 saw a boom in the number of Dutch outposts in a number of Indonesian islands. One trip from one such outpost brought back a very special cargo: tulip bubs. This simple flow would ignite what scholars call "the bulb craze."

¹ Dash, Mike. *Tulipomania*. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1999), 71.

The scarcity of tulips in Holland in the 17th century is central to understanding the bulb craze. During the Golden Age, the tulip was not a mundane and readily available flower. Far from being commonly associated with Holland as it is today, it was a brilliant newcomer, still bearing the allure of the exotic Far East. The flower was also available in strictly limited quantities.²

By 1630 the Dutch Republic has scores of professional flower growers in almost every town. Most cultivated a variety of flowers, but a large number began to specialize in tulips. Once the specialization took root, horticulturist began working out an export plan.

Most customers were wealthy Dutch merchants in the south of Holland.

More lucrative dealers began selling their flowers to the Holy Roman Emperor.

Slowly the export business grew and by the first part of the 18th century the Dutch were shipping cargoes of bulbs to North America, the Mediterranean, and even the Ottoman Empire.³

The increased professionalism of the bulb trade posed some problems for their growers. Tulips were only in flower for a few days each year. The marketable produt was their bulbs. The plain brown paper packages they were marketed in revealed no clue to the glories concealed within. They were hardly enticing investments.

One professional tulip horticulturalist, Emanuel Sweerts, devised a catalog packed with illustrations portraying his tulips in all their glory. Sweerts persuaded

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² Ibid. 83

³ Ibid. 89

the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, to pay to print the bill.⁴ Rudolf was one of Sweerts most lucrative clients, and he published the catalog, the *Florilegium*, just before his death in 1612.

Mike Dash in his book *Tulipomania* makes careful mention that in greater measure the interest that many Dutchmen had develop in the flower trade owed less to the tulips natural beauty than to the drawing realization that money could be made in bubs.⁵

Dash also points out that growing bulbs was a lot easier than working an eighty-hour week hammering horseshoes or working a loom. Demand for flowers was steadily increasing so, prices, especially for the finer varieties, consistently rose. Many Dutchmen believed they had chanced upon the dram of every gambler: a safe bet.6

The boom in the tulip trade culminated in just two months, December 1636 and January 1637. Contemporary chronicles available to Dash list several species of tulip and their going process during the boom. One bought for 15 guilders was sold for 175. Others' worth increased ten and even twelvefold. One of the most celebrated of all bulbs cost 5,500 guilders a bulb in 1633; the same bulb in 1637 cost an astonishing 10,000 guilders. Only a few dozen people in the whole of the Dutch Republic could have afforded it.⁷

Other accounts are less statistical, but are just as revealing of what the bulbs could be worth. One man's farmland changed hands for a dozen flowers; and

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. 95

⁶ Ibid. 105

⁷ Ibid. 108

another was so addicted to the tulips that the woman he planned to marry left and wed another.8

One of the most important consequences of the rapid price increase of bulbs is that it established companies. These tulip companies were made up of men who had formerly conducted their own flower businesses privately. Once they banded together, these men had maximized their capital and improved their variety of stock.

Another consequence was the birth of what is called speculative trading today. During the height of the boom, local tavern colleges became auction houses. Weekly sales would draw nearly the entire town to the tavern to conduct their tulip business. People began to trade now just the real, physical tulip bulbs, but also the rights to ownership of bulbs that were still in the ground. Others would sell partial lots of bulbs they had not purchased yet. They would then use the money to purchase a larger lot in which part went to the original buyer. No one ever questioned the people's ability to cover their debt, or if the bulbs they were buying and selling even existed. When rights to undeveloped bulbs began to sell, it allowed the tulip trade, which had been mostly a seasonal affair, to continue all year round: it did not.

The bust arrived much more quickly than the boom. On the first Tuesday of February 1637, a sale was gathered at one of the local tavern-colleges. The first bulbs offered for 1,250 guilders received no bids. The bidding or the bulbs started

⁹ Ibid. 122

⁸ Ibid. 109

¹⁰ Ibid. 144

two more times; the last starting price was for only 1000 guilders. They did not sale. With bulb prices falling to a quarter or even a tenth of what they had been at the peak of the tulip boom, the market for tulips simply ceases to exist.¹¹

The year 1639 saw the liquidation of tulip-mania with the courts deciding who owned the bulbs still in the ground. The people, who had been fighting to own the coveted flowers, now were fighting to get rid of the liabilities. Official proceedings had to clear up the mess that local tavern colleges has strewn due to speculative practices that they had done little, if anything, to regulate. Most Hollanders were left with a distinct aversion to tulips. 12

Many wealthy merchants could still afford rare bulbs and went about their tulip business much as they had before the cycle of boom and bust. Most had never been involved in the public tavern college auctions, so they were unaffected by the synthetically inflated market. Many were growing their tulips out of their love of the flowers beauty and not to get away from hammering horseshoes or working a loom. The private tulip clubs continued on as if the influx of bulbs had never happened.

Exotic trade within the Dutch Republic in the 17th century foreshadowed the power the strange and rare could have over people. Dutch tulips arrived from the area they would colonize and run as the Dutch East Indies. Currently whenever people think of tulips, they think of Holland, not Indonesia. Colonies, especially exotic ones, would become the lynchpin in foreign trade and domestic power of the next two centuries.

¹¹ Ibid. 163

¹² Ibid. 196

The general public would never again get involved in the market of exotic goods as they did in the Dutch Republic in the 1630s. Governments would use exotic goods to manipulate the markets and control prices and trade forevermore. Following the tulip-mania, that ability to control would be the mark of true power.

In order to give a perspective to the nature of the "tulipmania," it is important to see what could have been purchased for the same price. In Amsterdam in 1637 for the cost of an average, *single* tulip bulb (3000 guilders) a person could buy: eight fat pigs, four fat oxen, twelve fat sheep, twenty-four tons of wheat, forty-eight tons of rye, two hogsheads of wine, four barrels of eight-guilder beer, two tons of butter, a thousand pounds of cheese, a silver drinking cup, a pack of clothes, a bed with mattress and bedding, *and* a ship.¹³

The Dutch were not just trading flowers in the 17th century. They had explorers much farther west, in the New World. They were monopolizing the tulip industry, but they had serious competition across the globe from the French and the English, and flowers were not the prize, pelts were.

The North American fur trade was the boom of the west. The fishing industry had given rise to the fur trade with the Native Americans toward the end of the 16th century. In *Fur, Fortune, and Empire* Eric Jay Dolin says that furs were almost the perfect commodities. The Indians did all the work collecting them, they could be bought with relatively inexpensive European wares, they were easy to transport, and commanded high prices back home.¹⁴ Sound familiar?

¹³ Ibid. 159

 $^{^{14}}$ Dolin, Eric Jay. Fur, Fortune, and Empire. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010), 10.

King Henry IV of France was largely responsible for the expansion of the French fur trade in North America. In the hoped that it would strengthen his treasury, provide and outlet for French goods and expand his empire, he granted a group of Frenchmen monopoly rights on the trade. Their rights included the entire region of the St. Lawrence River and carried the stipulation that the men must transport fifty colonists to the area annually.¹⁵

Henry Hudson arrived to find the French fur trade well established. In 1509 he continued to explore the New World and found "as fine a river as could be found." This river and a bay now bear his name. This river was extremely good news for the English. The Dutch, who were still trading with Russian, found it a boon to their plans as well. This "fine" river was hundreds of miles from the French settlements and the area was inhabited by "friendly" Indians, who were eager to trade furs.

In July 1621, after years of planning the States General charted the Dutch West India Company. This privately owned monopoly was charged with making war on Spain and funding the war by developing trade throughout a huge portion of the globe, including North America.¹⁷

The company needed two things: capital and settlers. Finances for the company were in order in just under two years, but finding Dutchmen willing to leave prosperous 1623 Holland was difficult. One group—the Walloons as the Dutch called them, fit the bill. Fifty-six families of French-speaking Protestant

¹⁵ Ibid. 11

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. 2

refugees from Belgium wanted to set up a colony similar to the one the English

Pilgrims had. In late January 1624, thirty Walloons left Holland under an agreement

with the West India Company for land in exchange for six years work for the

company.¹⁸

The cargo ship the *Arms of Amsterdam* arrived in its namesakes harbor on November 4, 1626. The cargo included 7,246 beaver skins, 853 ½ otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wildcat skins, 33 mink, 19 and 34 rat skins. In addition to the cargo came news that they island of Manhattes was purchased from the Indians for the value of 60 guilder. That sum would scarcely pay for a less than mediocre tulip bulb in Holland within the decade. The island was renamed New Amsterdam. If there was any question as to the prize quarry of the Dutch, one only has to look at their official seal for their new colony; a beaver squarely centered surround by Indian wampum.

The Dutch were not alone in their quest for beaver. The French were working their territory in the north and the English were busy in the south. New English arrivals and the establishment of the Jamestown colony in April/May 1607 should have heralded an Anglo-Indian trade boom. Oddly enough, it did, but not officially.

Despite the Indians eagerness to trade furs, John Smith and other leaders of the colony had little time or interest in such transactions. This drove the trade underground. An illicit fur trade soon developed between the Indians and the crews who manned the supply ships sent from England. The crew and even some of the

¹⁸ Ibid. 33

¹⁹ Ibid. 34

²⁰ Ibid.

colonist stole goods from the ships hold or the colonial fort to trade with the Indians for furs, baskets, and other commodities.²¹

The well of furs was not an inexhaustible one. The latter part of the 1630s saw the New England trades pondering on a particularly troubling sign. The furbearing animals that had been so lucrative were being hunted to commercial extinction over broader areas. This required the Indians to travel longer, over more tenuous and dangerous supply routes, to bring furs to the English trading posts that were scattered all over the countryside. Those in power believed there was one way to improve prospects: If they could take over the lucrative Dutch fur trade, profitability might be ensured.²²

The Dutch were doing well in the fur trade department, but they had problems in other places. The West India Company had established New Netherland as a fur-trading operation first, and as a colony second. From the late 1630s until the mid 1660s the English succeeded in driving the Dutch from the entire continent. Their means and methods of expulsion are not important to this study, but the outcome certainly is.

The removal of the Dutch initiated a new phase in the history of North America and its fur trade. With the Dutch out of the way the English faced the Fren alone. Only the French stood between the English and a total continental monopoly on fur trading. Unlike the Dutch, the French would prove to be more persistent and dangerous foe.²³

²² Ibid. 73

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²¹ Ibid. 36

²³ Ibid. 93

New France had its best fur year ever in 1646. They shipped out 168 casks, or more than 33,000 pounds of pelts, predominately beaver.²⁴ Growing tensions with the natives overshadowed this success. The Iroquois were viciously attacking New France's Indian allies, especially the Huron. The English would use this turmoil to their advantage and strengthen their ties with the New France's enemies.

The result of all the fur trading activities along the eastern half of the continent was that by the late 1680s a nearly three thousand mile battle line had been drawn from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf Coast. The fur trade would remain a constant source of tension between the English and the French. This Tension contributed significantly to the complete expulsion form the continent following the end of the French and Indian Wars.²⁵

With the French completely withdrawn from what is now Canada, Britain maintained fill control on the fur trade, and American interest lay in the doldrums until well after the Revolutionary War. Even after the war, American fur trade remained largely inconsequential until the early 1800s.

British dominance of the Canadian fur trade and its lucrative beaver lasted until the Americans headed west in earnest. Sea otter pelts from the Pacific Northwest became more attractive than that of the eastern beaver. Americans were also collecting on their own landmass, which made transport and supply much easier than shipping and transatlantic trade. The English would have to look to their other colonies for another golden egg laying goose.

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²⁴ Ibid. 97

²⁵ Ibid. 104.

England had its own beavers, but nowhere the populations that were in America. In most cases England's size restricted what commodities and raw materials it could trade in abundance. That fact is one of the major reasons that England became a worldwide dominating land-grab. There were two positive sides to this coin, not only did England acquire foreign lands, but they were hardly homogenous landmasses, some of the most exotic lands came under the British Empire at its zenith. These facts led to the British Empire's establishment of so many colonies and to spend millions of pounds and lives protecting and exploiting them.

Most industries and plantations set up in her colonies could not be returned or established in England due to its poor climate. To get around this problem, the British would take plants from one colony and establish a plantation or groves of it in another. This was the case for both rubber and tea. The rub was that native workers jealously guarded both of these species' secrets. Both carried a death penalty for anyone caught trying to take the plants out of their home countries. For the British Empire the risk was worth it.

The tea trade was integral to Britain's economy. The empire traded the opium manufactured from poppies grown in India for the tea grown, picked, processed, and exported by China. This uneasy alliance, in addition to both countries depending so heavily on the goods from another, eventually lead to the Opium Wars. China held a monopoly on the tea and Britain ran the monopoly on the Opium. Following the end of the war and the signing of the peace treaty, there was fear that the defeated Chinese Emperor would legalize opium production in his

country. This would devastate the British control of the drug and remove its largest trade good for tea.²⁶

Britain needed healthy Chinese tea specimens that could be transported and cultivated in its Indian colony. How would they ever be able to acquire the finest plants, thousands of seeds, and the centuries-old knowledge of the accomplished Chinese tea manufacturers? The task called for a professional plant hunter, a gardener, a thief, and a spy.²⁷ Robert Fortune was all of these.

What Robert Fortune was not, however, was the usual high-class gentleman that the Royal Society was accustomed to sending abroad. Without this background, his monthly stipend was somewhat lower than less than customary, and he was not judged to an entitlement of "such niceties as a rifle, pistols, bullets, and gunpowder.²⁸

The Society eventually decided that if Fortune died in the process of collecting that all their investments would be forfeit, and they would never receive the data that Fortune had collected. They rather reluctantly provided Fortune with some weapons, but they steadfastly refused to raise his salary.

Fortunes expedition began in Britain's newest colonial possession, Hong Kong, during typhoon season in 1843. His collecting would only last for three years and he would return to London late in 1845. These years transformed the balance of bower and influence in the tea trade. The publishing of Fortunes book *Three Years Wandering in China's Northern Province* changed his life as well.

²⁶ Rose, Sarah. *For All the Tea in China.* (New York: Viking, 2010), 5.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. 11

Traveling as a westerner brought Fortune too much unwanted attention and removed all chances of his gaining access to the tea plantations. China held mandates that no foreigner was allowed to visit any of the provinces where tea was cultivated. In order to get the information that he sought and his hands on some specimens, Fortune had to go undercover.²⁹

Miraculously Fortunes disguise worked and his adventure continued.

Dressed in his best Chinese habiliments he gained access to any district he could visit. He kept copious notes on methods from everything from cultivation to picking, to brewing. Fortune also met with the masters of the tea plantations and discussed the ancient secrets of growing and, more importantly to Fortune, transporting tea. He also visited rural monasteries where tea was almost the religion that the monastery was built around. He wrote down everything he saw, heard, and learned in order to replicate this tea wealth somewhere else.

Almost a decade before Fortune left London for Hong Kong, the East India Company's monopoly in China was nearing its end.³⁰ The governor-general of India established a committee in Calcutta to further investigate the possibility of growing tea in the British held provinces there.

The good news for the company was that tea was already native to India.

The plant did best in the far north of the subcontinent in the shadow of the

Himalayan Mountains. The first India tea auctioned in London in 1839 fetched a

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²⁹ Ibid. 61

³⁰ Ibid. 121

staggering 34 shillings per pound, roughly \$168.31 Such an outbreak of tea hysteria is comparable to the tulip mania 200 years prior.

This hysteria would help fuel the Opium side of the tea-for-opium trade. This trade method was fortune making for both sides. As the opium was smoked and the tea drank, profits went up in smoke in China and down the drain in Britain.

Fortune's success in obtaining the tea from china and its successful transplant to other native fields in India allowed the East India company to dominate the subcontinent for decades to come.

Fortune's actions in China helped to democratize a luxury. Tea also helped extend British colonialism to include countries such as Burma, Ceylon, East Africa, and others where tea could be grown.³² These countries would soon be working double duty for the empire when the British relocated another plant from its native habitat. This time Britain would have to brave the jungles of the Amazon.

Halfway around the world another plant was growing silently in the tropical rainforest, patiently waiting to change the world. Once the world industrialized and discovered rubber, it could not get enough of it. The miracle substance was used in nearly everything. Whoever could control the world's supply of natural rubber would be poised to control worldwide trade.

The French were rubber's first press agent. In 1735 the French geographer Charles Condemine, journeyed to the new world to determine the true shape of the

³¹ Ibid. 123

³² Ibid. 228

earth. He returned with samples of rubber coining the term "latex" from the Spanish for "milk."33

Twenty years later the French botanist, Jean Baptiste Aublet described the genus and its first species found in French Guiana. For the next few decades chemists worked on ways to dissolve and control natural rubber and find any viable uses. Boiling it into a paste was the most lucrative. When the paste was applied to any material it would make it virtually waterproof. By the 1750s, army boots, knapsacks, and other military items flowed to Para from Lisbon for waterproofing.³⁴

Only after Charles Goodyear's 1839 accidental discovery of what he called "vulcanization" did rubber solidify its place in history as an "industrial material" and not just an exotic novelty.

Two decades after Goodyear's accident, Britain began a two-year quest to smuggle native red-bark tress and seeds from the Andes. These *cinchonas* could be used to produce quinine, a miracle drug for Europeans living and working in tropical regions. The *chinconas* were successfully smuggled out of South American and transplanted into India. ³⁵

American interests in territories to the south were only wetted after the end of the American Civil War. Some confederate regiments, rather then surrender to the Union, fled into South America and tried to establish colonies. The first confederate colony in Venezuela was chartered on February 5, 1866. The Price Grant, as it was named for the colony's leader Dr. Henry M Price, was also the first

³³ Jackson, Joe. *The Thief at the End of the World.* (New York: Viking), 22

³⁴ Ibid. 23

³⁵ Ibid. 38

colony to fail. The United States would not be a major player in the natural rubber game for some time. Henry Ford's failed attempt at an on -site American plantation in the Amazon failed shortly before synthetic rubber revolutionized the market yet again. Fordlandia now exists as a ghost town slowly being reclaimed by the jungle.³⁶

For nearly ten years Henry Wickham dedicated himself to getting *Havea* seeds out of the Amazon. While he worked at it he published his travelogue on jungle life. This work contained the key to his future: his illustration of a leaf, seedpod, and seed of *Havea brasiliensis*.

After years of toiling in the rainforest, and struggling to survive and maintain his lifestyle Wickham was successful. The Kew Botanical Gardens in London notes "70000 seeds of *Havea brasiliensis* were received from Mr. H.A. Wickham on June 14 [1876].³⁷" By July 7 that same year, more than 2700 of the seeds had germinated. Totaling to only about 3-4% of the total shipment, it still accounted for 2700 more rubber plants than Kew had ever grown in its greenhouses before.³⁸

By the end of the 19th century, new and improved ways of tapping the rubber trees were being introduced. Some on the practices included alternating sutures in the bark, or twice cutting. In either case sometimes a single tree could produce 4 pounds of rubber annually. At the same time production was increasing so were the plantations' distributions. *Havea* was now growing in Selangor in Malay, Malacca, British Borneo, Burma, India, German East Africa, Portuguese Mozambique, and Java.

³⁷ Ibid. 199

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³⁶ Ibid. 162

³⁸ Ibid.

Sometimes the plants themselves were on as an adventurous a journey as the men that searched for it. In 1883, five seedlings wrapped in brown paper and bound for the Buitzenzurg Botanical Gardens in the Dutch East Indies aboard the German paraffin carrier ship *Berbice* were caught in the fire and ash of Krakatoa's volcanic eruption. The captain put an island between the volcano and his ship, and despite lightning strikes and at least 8 inches of volcanic dust on the ship's deck, both the ship and the seeds survived.³⁹

Those who planted rubber in the 1890s were rich men in 1905. Their wealth only grew afterwards. Asian plantations began producing "plantation rubber" in 1900. Only 4 tons were produced from Henry's original seeds, compared with Brazil's 26,750 tons of wild. Seven years later Asian markets were up to 1000 tons and Brazil had 38,000.⁴⁰

Production continued at a trickle during the war years, 1914-1917, but following the end of the war, the Amazon was finished as the world's rubber center. Singapore was king.⁴¹ Once again the British Empire had successfully transplanted a lucrative cash crop from one area of the world not under their domain, to one where they had a bit more control.

Colonial trade studies such as this require a focus on several different aspects of history. A researcher must be aware of political stability within the home country, in this case Holland, France, and Britain. Political issues on the ground within the colonies are also of concern. There are also scientific issues that must be

⁴⁰ Ibid. 275

³⁹ Ibid. 267

⁴¹ Ibid. 277

addressed. Questions about who is funding an expedition are paramount in understanding whether or not the results were adequate. Was the collecting of flora, fauna, and/or spices for novelty purposes or were they driven by profit? What type of clout did novelty collections bring the collector? How does that compare with trade profits and raw material access for an empire?

During the 19th century the world saw the height of imperialism. Countries were carving up vast swatches of land in exotic places. Each piece of a new continent was tamed and ruled over by a European power. The "Scramble for Africa" as it has been called, is the most famous of these land grabs. The issues discussed above show that Africa was not the only place that held riches for the mother country.

Tea from China led to British control of the market once it was transplanted into India. A side effect was a small war and control of the port at Hong Kong. Victorian politics and science stole away the control of the world's natural rubber production as well. In both cases, people were sent abroad to territories not controlled by the English government, and told to bring the plants to a part of the globe that was.

Britain acquired some of their colonial trading empire in less devious methods. They forced out the Dutch traders, renamed New Amsterdam New York, and gained control of the eastern Beaver fur trade. Similar to the altercation with the Chinese, the British trouble with the French in North America ended up with the British Empire holding all the cards. Following the French and Indian wars the

French were required to give up their land holdings on the continent. Britain now controlled Canada.

Victoria ruled over lands that spanned the entire globe. "The sun never sets on the British Empire" was more than just an expression. In a world that did not work online, have email, or even transatlantic cable, trade happened twenty-four hours a day. Somewhere within her colonies some merchant was trading goods, some ship was setting sail, or some plantation was harvesting its crop.

Land was power and Britain was out of the gate trying to claim as many shares as she could. Making that land profitable for Imperial endeavors was a chief concern of British Consuls of governors. Exotic goods and scientific enterprise gave Britain one of the edges that it needed to hold on to power.

The restrictions that face a study like this are not numerous, but they are important. This research deals with many different countries. Receiving permission to access primary sources that are housed in these country's capitals is nearly impossible. If access was granted travel to so many foreign countries is not always practical. Even if each country's archives were available to visit, and travel not a hindrance, without a working knowledge of at least three languages, the scholar would be at a loss to interpret any of them.

So the nature of such work is to look at secondary sources. The sources must be looked at from a research perspective and not that of a mere historiography. The important thing is what is written within these sources, not how they compare with other sources written about the same material. In many cases, some of these

sources are the only ones written on their specific topic, and access to the primary material may be restricted or in some cases impossible.

Length is also a limiting factor in a work such as this. All of the material that needs to be included cannot be. This works only includes four sources, and they are all secondary. If more sources had been used, then the explanations for why each was important would have been diluted, and connections could not have easily been made.

The goal of this work is to provide a very strong foundation on which to build a thorough study of colonial trade and its importance to imperialism and how they both shaped the world. There are many other works that will be added at a later date. These include works on collecting plants and animals from Australia, as well as a discussion on the Holy Roman Empire under Rudolf II and his patronage of the sciences. To maintain a high standard of explanation with the sources that were used it was necessary to reduce the number used, and add to this work in the future. During that time, the search for access to primary sources will continue.

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