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ARTICLE

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Anthony Dickinson and Chesley Sanger

Introduction

Commercial whaling began in the western North Atlantic during the early sixteenth century when the Basques established seasonal stations in the Strait of Belle Isle and Gulf of St. Lawrence from which to catch bowhead and North Atlantic right whales. Vessels from New England with experienced whaling crews arrived in the mid-seventeenth century, to be supplemented during the early eighteenth century by government-supported, small-scale, shore-based initiatives taking the small, long-finned pilot and minke whales. Attempts by local merchants during the mid-1800s to generate income by dispatching their idle sealing steamers to summer whaling grounds in Davis Strait and Baffin Bay, a so-called Arctic industry,[1] were paralleled and expanded by Scottish vessels using St. John's as a base for separate sealing and whaling voyages to the north. This obviated the need to return to Scotland in between. Overexploitation of both seals and whales led to the Scottish departure at the end of the nineteenth century and termination of the traditional small-boat, hand-thrown harpoon whaling practised in various forms hitherto.

Renewal occurred during the early twentieth century after equipment and catching practices refined in Norway were introduced, making it possible for faster species, such as blue, humpback, and fin, which sink when dead, to be targeted. The profit potential of this more mechanized industry, already practised from shore stations elsewhere in the North Atlantic, particularly Iceland and the Faeroe Islands, attracted the first significant whaling investment from the business community, allowing it to continue, albeit sporadically and scaled down due to overexploitation and market factors, until the government of Canada terminated the commercial hunt in 1972 on conservation grounds. While this twentieth-century industry has been well described, less emphasis has been placed on collating those sixteenth- to nineteenth-century activities that led to Newfoundland and Labrador becoming the site of the most productive modern whaling industry in the northern hemisphere. This paper examines the foundations for this dominance.

Pre-Seventeenth-Century Footings

Newfoundland and Labrador's location next to the relatively shallow, resource-productive Grand Banks and Labrador Shelf encouraged the settlement of adjacent coastal areas by Indigenous peoples and the domestic use of whale products.[2] The first to actively hunt whales in these waters by using small boats and hand-thrown harpoons were probably Inuit from the Canadian Arctic and from Greenland who migrated around AD 1500 into coastal Labrador. Norse from West Greenland, the first Europeans to visit North America, circa AD 1000, who established a short-lived settlement at what is now L'Anse aux Meadows on the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula, also attempted to supplement their supplies by the use of cetaceans. One exploration party, for example, made a spring visit to a nearby island to hunt, fish, and search for stranded whales, but although the leader, Thorfinn Karlsefni, reported that "a whale came in," there is no indication that they made use of it.[3]

Nearly five centuries were to pass before John Cabot, upon returning from what was intended to be a voyage to the Orient sponsored by Henry VII and Bristol merchants, proclaimed the discovery in 1497 of a "new isle" — Newfoundland. Although there is no indication that whales were seen or captured, Cabot's account of the abundant cod spread throughout maritime Europe. This led to fishing vessels visiting the Grand Banks and adjacent shores by the early sixteenth century from France, Spain (particularly the Basque regions), and Portugal, then returning home in the fall with salted cod.[4]

These fishers, however, did bring back news of the availability of whales, especially the bowhead and North Atlantic right, docile slow-moving creatures whose high blubber content lets the carcass float, making them easier to retrieve using hand-thrown harpoons and small boats. As a result, Basque whalers, who had been pursuing an eastern stock of North Atlantic right whales in the Bay of Biscay since the eleventh century[5] — a traditional fishery then in decline — embarked upon the first commercial whaling industry in the western North Atlantic[6] from sites on the Labrador coast of the Strait of Belle Isle and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Although English mariners had reported their presence and the commercial potential of whaling on returning home,[7] the lack of expertise and desire to continue the lucrative production of salt cod mitigated involvement. Consequently, the Basques were able to operate seasonally from approximately 1530 to the early seventeenth century, catching primarily bowheads[8] and some North Atlantic right whales from what were likely small populations.[9] Factors such as overexploitation, more profitable whaling opportunities arising at Spitsbergen (Svalbard), growing competition from Dutch and English whalers, domestic strife in Spain, and European wars ended their western North Atlantic whaling presence.[10.]

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Initiatives

Foreign Presence

The lack of a substantial permanent population or expertise, and the continuing focus on the production of salt cod by English merchants controlling the fisheries, meant that the renewal of whaling off Newfoundland was again left to foreigners. By the early seventeenth century, residents of New England, experienced in catching right whales and sperm whales off their shores, made no less than 143 such voyages to the western North Atlantic from 1752 to1794, including 13 where the records specify Newfoundland as the destination. However, despite the lack of domestic involvement, the island did become an important centre for the construction of whaling ships, at least 13 being built from 1771 to 1798 for use in British southern oceans whaling.[11]

The relationships that developed unfortunately but perhaps not surprisingly, were seldom harmonious, largely because local fishermen held the opinion — which continued into the early twentieth century — that whaling interfered with cod fishing by dispersing the schools of fish and fouling the grounds and nets with drifting carcasses.[12] As one crew member of the Nantucket sloop *Seaflower* (Capt. Christopher Coffin) recorded on 27 June 1752:

> There, Irishmen [Newfoundland residents] cussed us at a high rate for they hate the whale men in this harbour [Mosquito Cove, Trinity Bay]. Here we lay till June 27, and in that space of time rose many an Oath of the Paddies and bogtrotters, they swearing we should not cut up one whale in the harbour. However, we cut up one or two! Then on the aforesaid 27th they raised a mob in the evening . . . and fired upon us but through mercy hurt no man.[13]

Control

Such incidents brought about the first attempt to regulate this fishery, when, at the request of Governor Hugh Palliser, Capt. John Hamilton of HMS *Merlin*, on patrol off the Labrador coast in June 1765, informed "whalers from the Plantations" that they should "not leave any carcasses within three leagues of the shore, and depart by 1 November." This command largely went unheeded, causing Palliser to complain to the governor of Massachusetts the following year:

> the great difficulty and trouble I meet with in keeping good order amongst the fishers in a part of this government [Labrador] is occasioned chiefly by a number of disorderly people from your province . . . and beg the enclosed advertisement to be put up within the Towns within your government where the vessels employed in the whale fishery mostly belong.[14]

Nonetheless, despite his request, conflicts, privateers, and legislation intended to prevent American colonists from fishing in waters under the jurisdiction of the Crown,[15] the New England crews continued to arrive, especially off the island's normally ice-free south coast. There, some of at least 12 vessels fitted out from Cape Cod, Marblehead, and Salem during 1796–99 also entered a possibly lucrative sideline, "taking British subjects as passengers out of this country [Newfoundland]. In these vessels I have no doubt that deserters from the Army and Navy find means to escape, also fishermen to the great injury of our commerce."[16]

In an attempt to control these American visitors and their "evil trade," and in response to complaints from area residents, an armed patrol vessel was seasonally stationed on the south coast. Some success was achieved. For example, the sloop HMS *Egeria* arrested the Nantucket vessels *Juno* and *Hannah* in August 1818 for illegally "landing [near Gaultois, Hermitage Bay] and using the shores of the said island for purposes connected with the fishery." Both were later

released "to maintain the amicable relations subsisting between the two countries."[17] Another, after arriving off Burin, Placentia Bay, with "an almost full load," encountered a British warship that ordered the American vessel to proceed to St. John's. However, "the crew being too strong for the Prize Master, they carried her safe to Cape Cod."[18]

Nineteenth-Century Expansion

Local Initiatives

The termination of hostilities following the War of 1812 saw more American vessels fishing and whaling off Newfoundland the latter being "carried on to a considerable extent and to great advantage on the coast."[19] As a consequence, some fishing concerns on the island's south coast decided to enter the business, among the first being Peter Le Messurier and Co., run from Gaultois for about four years by an American and three Britons.[20] In an attempt to increase participation by offsetting costs, the newly established representative government of 1832 legislated a bounty in 1837 of "£450 to the first three vessels of not less than 150 tons that may be fitted out for the whale and seal fishery, to be continued throughout the season."[21] After reducing the minimum tonnage limit to 90, then to 50, to encourage the participation of small vessel owners, the legislation was modified in 1841 by "An Act to encourage the Whale Fishery in this Colony," which provided 40 shillings per ton up to £200 for "each of the first three vessels to land at least ten tons of oil or fifteen tons of blubber before 10 November."[22]

This first attempt aimed at developing a domestic whale fishery also encouraged two St. John's fishing companies, C.F. Bennett[23] and Job Brothers,[24] to each fit out a single vessel. The whale boats of Bennett's *Blandford*, crewed by south coast residents for the first season and then supplemented by experienced harpooners from England for the second and third, took 39 whales from Gaultois between 1841 and 1844, resulting in at least two bounty payments for 12 and 24 tons of

oil. The loss of *Blandford* at the end of the third season led to the enterprise being abandoned. Job Bros. were less successful, seemingly taking only five whales in 1841.[25]

This fledgling domestic industry received a further boost after Newman and Co., originally of St. John's but headquartered in Harbour Breton from the early nineteenth century and active in other fishing enterprises along the south coast,[26] bought the Le Messurier premises and expanded it to employ, by 1857:

> two vessels and eight whale-boats. They have the necessary apparatus for manufacturing the whale oil. The number of whales annually captured was between forty and fifty. The quantity of whale oil manufactured by this firm in 1830 and 1834, [Le Messurier and Co.] was about 200 tuns [one tun = 252 US/240 Imperial gallons = six oil barrels]. In 1857, the quantity was not more than 50 tuns. The harpoon gun is generally used. The species of whales taken are the Hump Back and Sulphur Bottom [blue]. The latter yield from 4 to 12 tuns of oil, but are seldom taken; the former are more abundant, and yield from two to five tuns.[27]

Another report stated that "as many as fifteen blackfish [long-finned pilot whales, locally, pothead] were taken in a single day, and the total catch for the [unnamed] season equalled 143 blackfish and 12 [?] whales yielding about 380 tuns of oil. Many of the men . . . were brought from England." The company was able to continue until the end of the century, although operations peaked in the late 1870s with "40 to 50 whales captured annually."[28] Attempts to sell the facilities and equipment in 1899, including "two whale boats and appurtenances,"[29] were unsuccessful, the modern industry being in its initial stage of development.[30]

In addition to being the first shore station whaling initiative in Newfoundland and Labrador since the Basques, the south coast hunt advanced traditional whaling by using explosive harpoons fired from

shoulder guns or mounted on the whale boats, methods under development in Europe and the United States since the early nineteenth century. The larger, faster-swimming species could now be caught. The guns used by Newmans' may have been similar to a type sold in St. John's by Job Bros., "a peculiar make, resembling a Blunderbuss, suspended from a swivel supported by two irons which branch off from a large spike intended to be driven into a post to secure it and then to have the barrel lashed down with a rope, or made fast with an iron brace."[31] Unfortunately, none seem to have been particularly successful or easy to use. One resident of Placentia Bay who, after venturing to the United States to buy a "patent whaling gun which was capable of throwing a small bomb and harpoon into the creature," was to see six harpooned whales sink before they could be brought to his schooner for processing, a situation attributed by the press to his crew being unwilling to learn the techniques needed to replace the hand-thrown variety.[32] That one unfortunate master was killed by the recoil when conducting a test firing on a St. John's wharf further emphasized the need for care and attention in the use of the new equipment and techniques.[33]

Lingering Impact of New England Whalers

Although American whalers dominated global whaling in the mid-nineteenth century,[34] their vessels continued to frequent Newfoundland waters, usually en route to the Baffin Bay bowhead grounds, a northern hunt established by the Scots in 1818.[35] The Newfoundland Superintendent of Fisheries, for instance, was to later report that "a large American whaler was moored there [Trinity], having a schooner of one hundred and fifty tons in attendance . . . [and] . . . a crew of forty-five men."[36] Another observed in the Strait of Belle Isle with a carcass alongside had "the men row toward the whale, and when near use paddles which make less noise than oars, and preferred not to use an explosive charge since the whale was often only wounded and escaped."[37]

This continued presence now conferred some economic benefit onto St. John's. The port became an important replenishment site for

vessels destined to overwinter in northern waters,[38] to repair ice damage before returning home,[39] and to hire local crew — at least six serving during 1804–41 on southern hemisphere voyages.[40] In addition, St. John's was the preferred location for both voyages and hospitalization.[41] However, despite their continuing presences the New England whalers had little impact, if any, on developing the expertise needed to expand Newfoundland's domestic whaling initiatives.

The Scottish Factor

Indirect Impact: 1862–75

Prior to 1862, the spring seal hunt,[42] second only to the salt cod fishery in its importance to the Newfoundland economy, also had no bearing on the development of local whaling. This changed after new vessel technology, introduced in Scotland in 1857 and deployed to Newfoundland, inextricably linked the two industries.

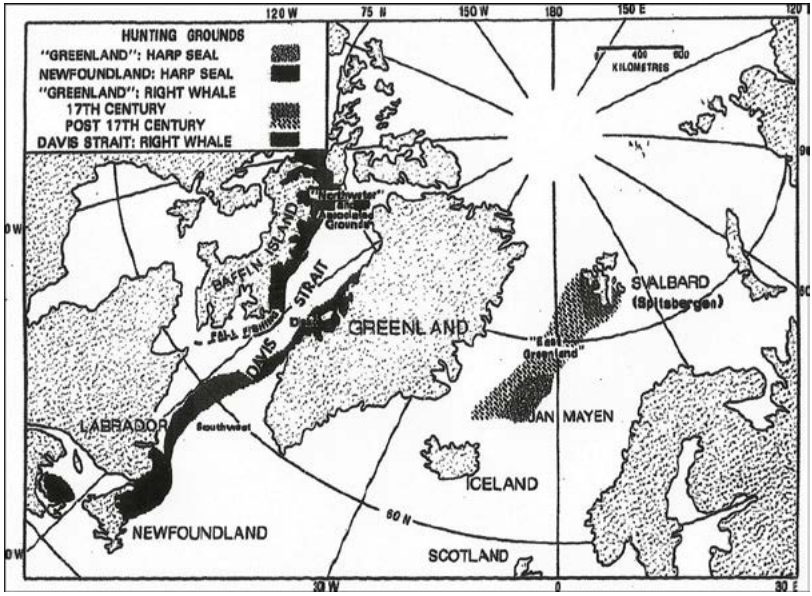


Figure 1. Newfoundland and Scottish seal and bowhead hunting grounds.[43]

Having reduced the eastern Arctic bowhead stock to commercially uneconomic levels by the 1850s using sail-powered craft, the Scots introduced steam propulsion into their fleet and began harvesting harp seals off Jan Mayen, the East Greenland grounds, to subsidize their Arctic whaling (Figure 1).[44] In an attempt to determine how the increased operating costs of these new steamers might be reduced, two Dundee vessels, the *Polynia* and *Camperdown*, were dispatched in 1862 to assess the feasibility of sealing off Newfoundland before proceeding directly to whaling in Davis Strait and Baffin Bay, rather than making separate voyages from Scotland. However, particularly heavy ice conditions[45] caused both to be unsuccessful, leading their owners to discontinue the experiment and concentrate on the closer, less expensive East Greenland harp seal colonies. Nevertheless, the advantage of using steam over sail to navigate through ice had been clearly demonstrated to Newfoundland owners, and "the visit of these steamers, though so far a failure, will necessarily awaken public attention to the present condition of our Seal Fishery, and to the means we must pursue if this formerly prolific source of wealth is to be preserved as a valuable item in our resources."[46]

This new era of Newfoundland whaling began after two of St. John's leading merchants, Walter Grieve and Co.[47] and Baine, Johnson and Co.,[48] introduced steam power to their sealing fleets with the acquisition of *Wolf* and *Bloodhound* from Scotland in 1863.[49] Their success led to sail-powered sealers being replaced by a smaller number of larger steamers,[50] a move that radically altered that fishery.[51] Although the whelping herds could be more easily accessed, and sealers got better-paying berths, albeit fewer, the greater expense of maintaining and operating vessels increased costs, leading to there being:

> no doubt that fishermen have suffered by the introduction of steamers in the prosecution of this industry. The numbers employed have been reduced to more than one half, and now they receive one third of the value of seals taken by each vessel instead one half which was their share in sailing vessels.[52]

Owners were thus faced with the same problem that caused their Dundee counterparts to send ships to Newfoundland. How could these steamers be employed to recover operation and maintenance costs during the nine months when they were not sealing? While the only realistic alternative was to emulate the Scots' dual voyage model of sealing followed by Arctic whaling, just three local companies committed by fitting out six vessels (Table 1) for what ultimately was a short-term involvement.

Grieve and Co. was the first to follow this course of action by dispatching *Wolf* north in 1863 as soon as its 1,310 seal pelts had been offloaded. The result of that voyage is unknown but it likely was not attractive enough to make the company resume whaling the following year. Their *Lion* appears to have made only one trip, returning to St. John's from its maiden voyage in 1866 after taking three whales of unidentified species.[53] Ridley and Sons, Harbour Grace, also took a chance

Table 1. Whaling voyages by Newfoundland sealing steamers in Davis Strait.

Vessel	Gross Tons	Launched or Completed	Owner(s)	Whaling voyages	Fate
Wolf (1)	400	1863	W.G. Grieve Co., Greenock/St. John's	1863	Crushed by ice and sank, 1871
Retriever	425	1866	Ridley, Son & Co., Liverpool/Harbour Grace	1866, 1867	Sank while sealing, 1872.
Lion	393	1866	W.G. Grieve Co., Greenock/St. John's	1866	Foundered, 1882
Nimrod	334	1867	Job Bros., Liverpool/St. John's	1867	Wrecked, 1919, going aground off Norfolk, England
Eagle	506	1870	Newfoundland Sealing and Whaling Co. (Bowring Bros.), St. John's	1884–93	Crushed by ice in Lancaster Sound. 1893
Wolf (2)	520	1871	W.G. Grieve Co., Greenock/St. John's	1880, 1881 1884, 1885	Crushed in ice sealing off Fogo Head, 1896

with *Retriever* in 1866 following two sealing trips. After catching four whales yielding some 50 tons of oil and 234 tons of bone, the vessel, "one of the most fortunate of the whaling fleet in the Greenland fishery," provided "a saving voyage for a company facing severe financial difficulties due to the collapse of the cod fishery.[54] That done, and after another voyage the following season,[55] *Retriever* continued sealing for the company until it sank on 28 April 1872 at the ice.[56] Job Bros. also sent their *Nimrod*[57] north in 1867 on a voyage in which crew from the wrecked New England whaler *Pioneer* were rescued.[58] Although Grieve continued whaling in cooperation with later Scottish visitors, there is no evidence of further such voyages by the *Retriever* and *Nimrod*, presumably since the Baffin Bay and Davis Strait bowhead stock and catches had declined to a level that the owners felt could no longer be supported by profits from the seal hunt,[59] and a continuing lack of specialized knowledge. As one observer proclaimed following debate in the legislature on the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854–66 between Great Britain and the United States, which in part gave Americans the right to fish off British North America, if this was cancelled:

> American whalers would be prevented from coming here to take our unemployed fishermen off the streets at high wages and give them a knowledge of the whaling business which we stand so much in need of making whaling a valuable auxiliary to our trade, and thus enable Wolf and other steamers to fit out for this voyage which they cannot at present do due to the limited knowledge of our people in this business.[60]

That more local whaling knowledge was still needed was to be reiterated by the St. John's Chamber of Commerce, which postulated in its 1866 Annual Report that:

> There can be little doubt that if our people were skilled in the capture and destruction of the whale, they might

> successfully engage in this pursuit; while those willing to invest in the necessary outfit of the larger vessels would be greatly encouraged from being able to offer them men on the spot, without having recourse to the more expensive means of procuring officers from other places.[61]

However, this lack of experience in "capture and destruction," along with the poor bowhead catch, easily answered the question raised by one St. John's newspaper as to "why could not our fisherman have a hand in this profitable game?"[62] Newfoundland merchants had left it too late to develop the expertise needed to maintain a successful whale fishery.

Direct Participation, 1876–1900

Although attempts to develop local whaling had met with little success, a renewed Scottish sealing/whaling presence brought on a brief resurgence of domestic interest. After receiving reports on the excellent yields of the 1875 Newfoundland sealing season, two Dundee companies, Alexander Stephen and Sons and its principal rival, the Dundee Seal and Whale Fishing Co., decided to replicate the previously unsuccessful deployment of steamers to Newfoundland. Both were experiencing financial difficulties as the catches of bowheads from the Arctic grounds and harp seals from East Greenland declined[63] (Figure 2).

Stephens' took the lead by sending its *Arctic* to St. John's in 1876, a decision later supported by master William Adams's pronouncement that "Newfoundland [was] a very good sealing ground, and would be quite willing to go again."[65] Scottish investors were thus convinced that profits were still possible if they accepted Newfoundland methods and used local sealers,[66] causing the Dundee Seal and Whaling Co. to dispatch its *Esquimaux* and *Narwhal* in 1876. Both companies committed to this new venture by purchasing waterfront properties in St. John's on which to construct facilities for processing pelts and storing whaling equipment during the sealing season.[67] Eleven Scottish vessels

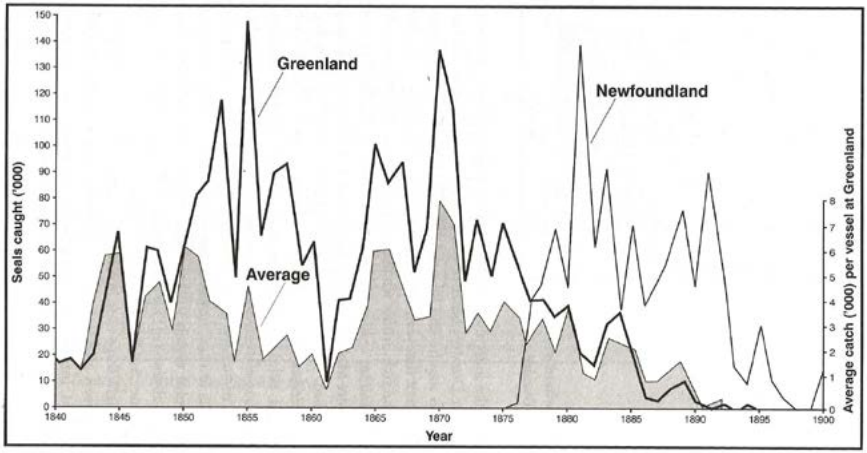


Figure 2: Scottish harp seal catches, East Greenland and Newfoundland.[64]

(Table 2) were to take at least 319 bowhead whales and 1,156,051 seals until 1900 when their owners decided that their Newfoundland presence was no longer economically viable.

The presence of the Dundee vessels induced the Newfoundland government to renew its efforts to promote domestic whaling, and although recognizing that "attempts made by Newfoundland houses in recent years to revive the whale fishery have not met with much success,"[69] it again observed that:

> steamers are lying up on the south side of our harbour all the summer, like sharks devouring capital. Whale bone is worth £2,250 per ton at present. Two fish will give one ton. Why do not our steamer owners cooperate and send down [north] to the whaling grounds each summer three or four ships on a joint risk or joint profit venture. Nine fish would pay handsome the outfit of three steamers.[70]

However, the competitive nature of the seal hunt, the associated outfitting costs, and a move to diversify the land-based economy, including by constructing a trans-island railway,[71] prevented formation of the

Table 2. Scottish sealing/whaling vessels active from St. John's, 1876–1900.[68]

Vessel	Owners	Seasons	Sealing voyages[1]	Seals	Whaling voyages[1]	Bowhead whales	Whale oil (tons)
Arctic (2)	AS	1876-87	12	156,275	11	66	768
Aurora	AS	1877-93	17	241,447	14	90	842
Eclipse		1892	1	3,595	0	0	0
Esquimaux	DSW	1878-1900	20	235,239	17	57	692
Jan Mayen		1885	1	100	1	1	18
Narwhal	DSW	1878-84	7	75,728	7	31	292
Polynia	DSW	1884-91	8	71,047	8	25	318
Resolute	DSW	1880-86	7	111,601	4	18	182
Terra Nova	AS	1885-97	13	214,100	8	25	322
Thetis (I)	AS	1881-83	3	46,837	3	6	75
Xanthus		1880	1	532	1	0	0
			90	1,156,051	80	319	4,351

1. Not necessarily each season.
AS = Alexander Stephen and Sons, DSW = Dundee Sealing and Whaling Co.

consortium, despite the possibility "of great advantage to the labouring classes. There would probably be ten steamers employing a crew of fifty each."[72] Although some interested parties, including Grieve and the local Scottish representatives, also proposed that "a vast benefit will be conferred on our people in the expenditure of money, in the employment of labour, in the making of casks, on freight etc.,"[73] by removing the duty on whaling materials brought in, the government rejected this on the grounds that "the Dundee companies should not be granted any privileges over and above those enjoyed by other mercantile firms."[74] This, despite them providing work for "over a thousand men, besides the companies have built extensive premises here, which gave and still give employment to the people."[75] Unfortunately, the initially unwanted sealing competition had led to the Scots still not being "regarded with that degree of favour that they should have been, although the result of their operations so far had been of the greatest advantage to the colony."[76]

Nevertheless, the arrival of more of his countrymen, and their faith in the double voyages from Newfoundland, encouraged Walter Grieve to again try whaling by deploying *Wolf* (2) (Figure 3) north in 1880 when sealing had finished. While only three whales were taken "after a laborious and protracted voyage,"[77] Grieve remained undaunted, sending his ship back again the following year to become the "second most successful vessel of the fleet employed in this most important industry for the season," with a catch of five whales.[78] Crew from the Dundee whaler *Victor* crushed by the ice were rescued,[79] and further income was generated on return to St. John's by the auction of salvaged whaling gear including "twenty whale lines, four harpoons, one rocket gun and case with rockets, seven gun harpoons."[80]

Perhaps influenced by Grieve's efforts, the government continued with its development stance in 1883 by introducing an Act for the Encouragement of the Prosecution of the Whale Fishery. Reversing their earlier position against the refund of customs duties, they now provided for up to $400 remittance on those paid per vessel, regardless

Figure 3. SS *Wolf* (2), c. 1883.[81]

of the number of voyages.[82] Two years later, the government pronounced that further growth of the industry would require the construction of local processing facilities to obviate the need to involve the Scots. Such construction would:

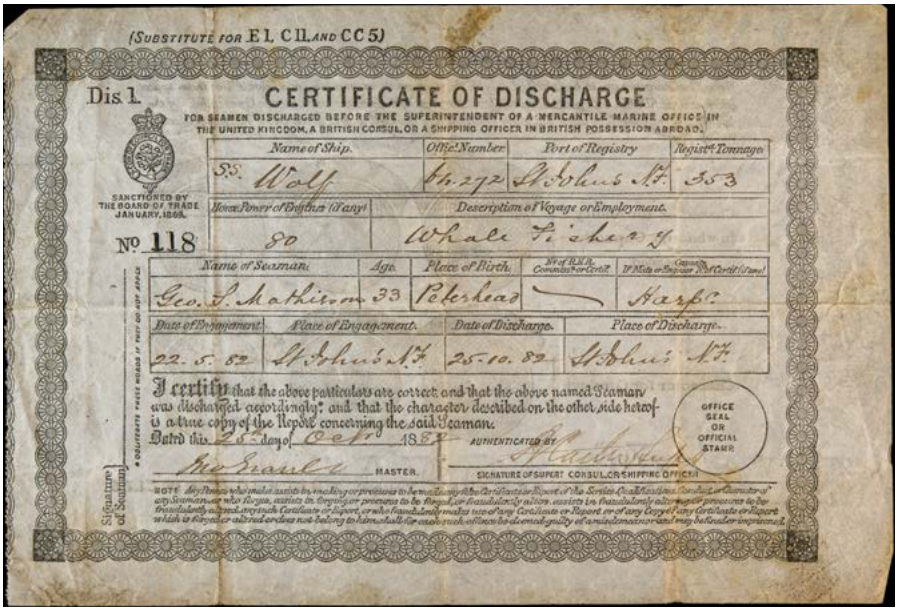
> afford every stimulus and encouragement to the prosecution of this branch industry in the northern seas. . . . Possessed as we are here of a superior position and better ships [compared to New Bedford] for doing the best work in the pursuit and capture of whales, our pre-eminence . . . ought to be only a question of a very short time. Of course, the necessary means of strengthening the enterprise in outfitting could be entirely subordinate to the main object of ensuring the manufacture of the oil and other parts of the whale in Newfoundland.[83]

This "stimulus and encouragement" also came to naught, the continuing reduction of the eastern Arctic bowhead stock mitigating any further investment in an industry already highly subsidized by sealing.[84] Nonetheless, Grieve and Co. continued its involvement by sending *Wolf* (2) on two more voyages, the first returning in 1884 from Lancaster Sound, Baffin Bay, after taking 13 whales, the "most successful whaling trip ever prosecuted from Newfoundland."[85] However, the fickle and unsustainable nature of whaling in these northern waters was again emphasized the following year with only "poor returns as compared with last year's trip . . . there was a great scarcity of whales."[86] Grieve's whaling initiative ended following his death in 1887 and the sale of *Wolf* (2) to the Newfoundland Steam Sealing and Whaling Co., established in 1888 by his nephew the Hon. Sir Robert Thorburn, also premier of Newfoundland from 1885 to 1889.[87] Optimism that this new enterprise might revitalize a "valuable fishery which appears to be a natural adjunct to this colony's maritime enterprises in northern seas, [and] will become a source of employment, for a season or two at any rate, to some of our people," also failed.[88] Although *Wolf* (2) was fitted

out for whaling when sold, it was used instead to fulfill government coastal services contracts[89] and to work seasonally in the seal fishery until lost on 12 March 1896 off Fogo Island.[90]

Perhaps noting Grieve's early success, Bowring Bros. committed their sealer *Eagle*[91] to annual whaling voyages during 1884–93.[92] Though catch and profit information is unavailable, several proved eventful. The vessel returned to St. John's in 1886 without any oil, 20 of the crew afflicted with scurvy, and the crew of the Peterhead brig *Catherine* rescued after being wrecked in Cumberland Sound.[93] Five years later, it arrived home with men from the disabled Peterhead whaler *Germania.* Then, in 1892, it became stuck in the ice, whereupon 36 crew members took three whale boats and headed for land. One party returned to the ship safely, but the others reached shore and tracked south for nine days subsisting on emergency rations cached by previous Arctic expeditions until by chance they were reunited with the now freed *Eagle*.[94] The ship was abandoned on 1 September 1893 while whaling in Davis Strait, the crew being taken to Dundee on the Scottish whalers *Aurora*, *Esquimaux,* and *Eclipse* operating from St. John's.[95]

Most Newfoundlanders who served on these Dundee ships did so as sealing crew, but a small number occupied less skilled whaling positions, the harpooners and other experienced crew being from Scotland (Figure 4). As one commentator noted, "we are glad to notice that our young men are taking advantage of the liberal terms and favourable openings offered by the Dundee Whaling Company,"[96] particularly to earn "larger wages than the average of men employed at the cod fishery, the work is pleasant, and fare (Table 3) on board ships good."[97] However, by 1896 when the Scottish presence was coming to an end, only one of 102 crew on the *Esquimaux* and *Terra Nova*, the only whalers still operating from St. John's, were local men.[98]


(SUBSTITUTE FOR E 1, C 11, AND CC 5)

Dis. 1.

CERTIFICATE OF DISCHARGE

FOR SEAMEN DISCHARGED BEFORE THE SUPERINTENDENT OF A MERCANTILE MARINE OFFICE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, A BRITISH CONSUL, OR A SHIPPING OFFICER IN BRITISH POSSESSION ABROAD.

SANCTIONED BY THE BOARD OF TRADE JANUARY, 1868.

Name of Ship.	Official Number.	Port of Registry	Registered Tonnage
S.S. Wolf	Ft. 272	St. Johns Nfd.	353

Horse Power of Engines (if any)	Description of Voyage or Employment.
80	Whale Fishery

No. 118

Name of Seaman.	Age.	Place of Birth.	No. of R.N.R. Ticket or Certificate.	No. of Mate's or Engineer's Certificate (if any).	Capacity in which he last served.
Geo. S. Mathison	33	Peterhead	—	—	Harpr.

Date of Engagement.	Place of Engagement.	Date of Discharge.	Place of Discharge.
22. 5. 82	St. Johns Nfd.	25. 10. 82	St. Johns Nfd.

I certify that the above particulars are correct, and that the above named Seaman was discharged accordingly; and that the character described on the other side hereof is a true copy of the Report concerning the said Seaman.

Dated this 25 day of Oct. 1882

AUTHENTICATED BY

OFFICE SEAL OR OFFICIAL STAMP.

Geo Mathison MASTER.

SIGNATURE OF SUPERT. CONSUL OR SHIPPING OFFICER.

Signature of Seaman.

NOTE. Any Person who shall assist in making or procure to be made any false Certificate or Report of the Service, Conduct or Character of any Seaman, or who forges, assists in forging or procures to be forged, or fraudulently alters, assists in fraudulently altering or procures to be fraudulently altered any such Certificate or Report, or who fraudulently makes use of any Certificate or Report or of any Copy of any Certificate or Report which is forged or altered or does not belong to him, shall for each such offence be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and may be tried or punished accordingly.

Figure 4. Discharge paper for a Scottish harpooner on *Wolf* (2), 1882.[99]

Table 3. Weekly crew rations, *Esquimaux* from St. John's, 1900.[100]

Day	Water (qts.)	Bread (lb.)	Beef (lb)	Pork (lb.)	Preserved meat (lb.)	Vegetables	Flour (lb.)	Peas (pt.)	Oatmeal	Tea (oz.)	Coffee (oz.)
Sun.	3	1	11/2	-	-	-	01/2	-	-	01/8	01/2
Mon.	3	1	-	11/4	-	-	-	01/3	-	01/8	01/2
Tues.	3	1	11/2	-	-	-	01/2	-	-	01/8	01/2
Wed.	3	1	-	11/4	-	-	-	01/3	-	01/8	01/2
Thurs.	3	1	11/2	-	-	-	01/2	-	-	01/8	01/2
Fri.	3	1	-	11/4	-	-	-	01/3	-	01/8	01/2
Sat.	3	1	11/2	-	-	-	-	-	-	01/8	01/2

The decline in catches from the mid-nineteenth century resulted in only four Dundee steamers being able to operate from St. John's in 1888, with just two making a double voyage.[101] By 1894, the "fleet was but a shadow of its former self," the northern whaling grounds being "played out,"[102] as the Baffin Bay–Davis Strait bowhead populations declined from an estimated 12,000 to several hundred.[103] Attempts to compensate by targeting more abundant smaller species such as the beluga and bottlenose had also failed. The *Aurora*, for example, returned to St. John's in 1884 "after a very poor trip, only securing about eight hundred white whales (beluga), which will clear expenses but nothing more."[104]

On the last double voyage of the *Esquimaux* from Newfoundland in 1900, although 18,040 seal pelts were procured after a two-year pause in the Dundee presence, only three whales were taken for 20 tons of oil. The Scottish whaling presence in St. John's ended after the not insignificant capture of 319 bowheads, some 41 percent of the catch of the entire fleet during 1876–1900 (Figure 5). Stephen's advertised its St. John's premises for sale or lease in 1893, followed in 1898 by the

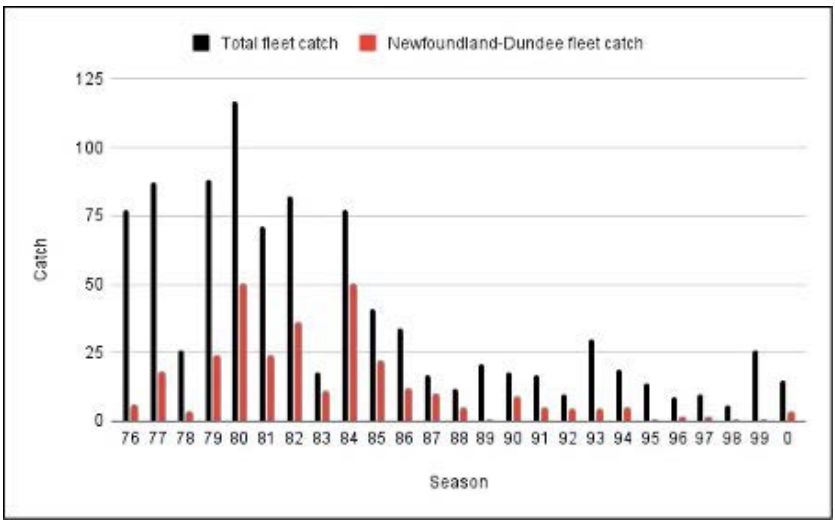


Figure 5.:Comparative bowhead catch, 1876–1900.[105]

Dundee Whaling and Sealing Co.[106] Their remaining vessels were sold and used in various commercial and polar exploration initiatives.

Future Impact

The introduction in Norway in the mid-1860s of the steam-catcher/bow-mounted harpoon combination now made it possible to pursue, catch, and process species such as blue, fin, and humpback only occasionally taken with earlier methods. However, although the Newfoundland government appointed a Commission in 1895 to consider fisheries diversification at a time of declining production, it neglected to consider the possibility that hunting these unexploited stocks seasonally moving along the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts might make a significant contribution.

These "modern" whaling techniques were to arrive in 1898 following a chance meeting between the Commission and a Norwegian fisheries inspector, Adolph Nielsen, visiting on behalf of his government to review the local fishing industry. Subsequently appointed an advisor to the Commission and, later, the first superintendent of the Newfoundland Department of Fisheries, Nielsen and his immediate superior, the Hon. Augustus W. Harvey, convinced the merchant community that investment in this new form of whaling, already in place in Norway, Iceland, and the Faeroe Islands, would generate large profits. For the first time, a significant investment was made in the development of the local industry. In part using equipment and materials left by the Scots, the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd., incorporated in 1896 as the first modern whaling company in North America, built a station at Snook's Arm, Notre Dame Bay, on the island's northeast coast, and began operations two years later. Yet another era in Newfoundland and Labrador's whaling heritage had begun, one where 21 stations (Figure 6) periodically operated from 1898 to 1972 to process some 20,000 whales, primarily fin, until the government of Canada placed a continuing moratorium on commercial whaling at the end of the 1972 season.[108]

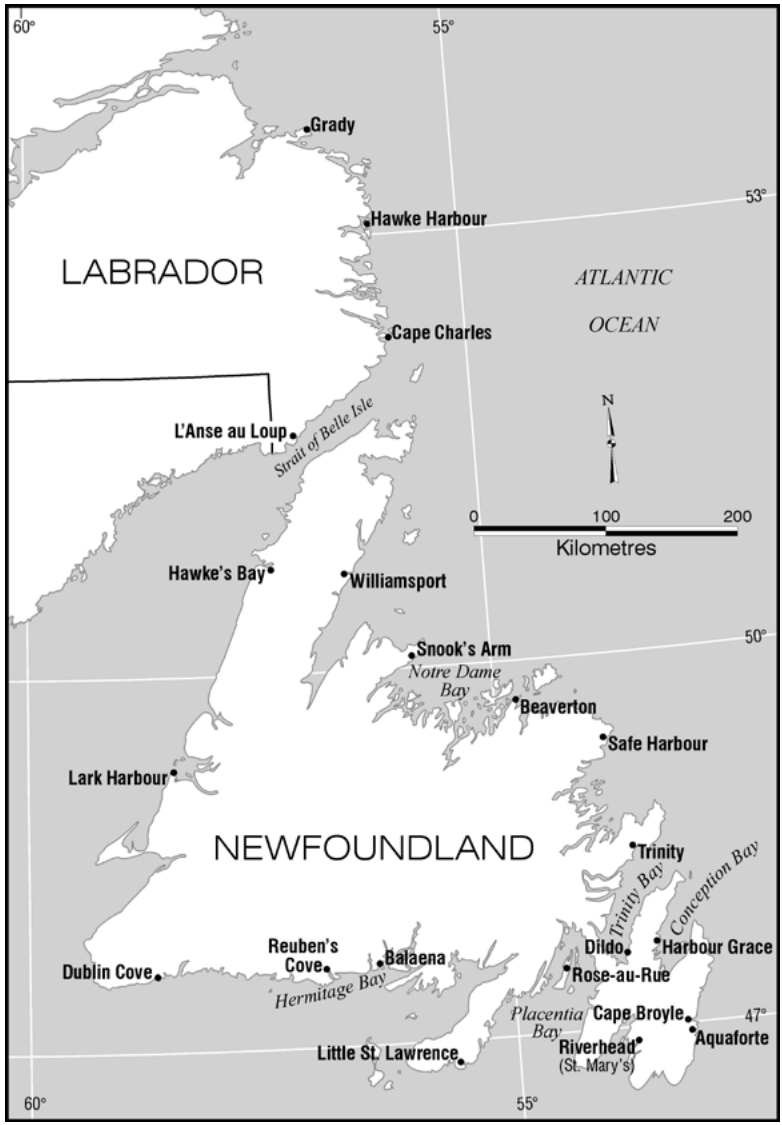


Figure 6. Locations of modern whaling stations in Newfoundland and Labrador.[107]

Conclusion

That a commercial whale fishery was possible in Newfoundland and Labrador had been well-demonstrated by the Basques. Although New England colonists also found it practical and profitable to hunt whales offshore, for reasons of population size, lack of expertise, and an unwillingness to transfer funds from sealing and cod fishing, subsequent attempts by local merchants to develop whaling were inconclusive. The seasonal presence of Scottish sealing/whaling companies during the nineteenth century, while beneficial to the local economy, failed to develop the expertise needed to maintain a domestic industry. Meanwhile, a few Newfoundlanders did find whaling employment on their vessels, but this was largely restricted to non-specialized positions. Furthermore, overexploitation and depletion of the northern bowhead stocks, the whalers' primary target, negated financial investment and continued the supremacy of sealing and cod fishing. It was not, therefore, until the more sophisticated whaling methods became available in the late 1800s, and the realization that large profits could be made from the exploitation of new species, that Newfoundland's merchants made their first significant investment in whaling. However, mirroring the previous centuries, local personnel were restricted to menial labour onshore whereas skilled workers, particularly catcher crews, continued to be imported. Despite the introduction of legislation by the government in 1902, which in part required that locals be trained to occupy specialized positions, Norwegians, and Japanese from 1967, succeeded the Basques, Americans, and Scots as the drivers of commercial whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador. Only when the former began to depart after 1907, due to overexploitation and the availability of better financial opportunities elsewhere, did Newfoundland merchants finally manage to sustain, albeit sporadically and in a reduced form, a domestic industry centred on the use of local expertise accumulated during the early decades of the twentieth century. Those whaling activities that took place from Newfoundland during the previous centuries, therefore, had been largely

inconsequential in producing the specialist expertise needed to develop and continue the major whaling industry in the western North Atlantic.

Notes

1 Although not in the Arctic per se, the pre-twentieth-century hunt in these waters is loosely referred to in the literature as "Arctic or Northern" whaling. That practice is followed here.

2 For example, J.A. Tuck, *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976) and "Ancient People of Port aux Choix," *Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies* 17 (1976). Also, A.P. McCartney, "History of Native Whaling in the Arctic and Sub-Arctic," *Proceedings of the International Symposium Arctic Whaling* (Groningen, 1983), 79–111; and I. Marshall, *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996). A general review of the pre-European occupation of Newfoundland and Labrador is provided by A.B. Dickinson and C.W. Sanger, *Twentieth-Century Shore-Station Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

3 G. Jones, *The Norse Atlantic Saga, Being the Norse Voyages of Discovery and Settlement to Iceland, Greenland, and North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 180. Also, M. Magnusson and H. Paulson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of North America* (London: Penguin Press, 1980), 96.

4 The salt cod trade has been studied exhaustively. A useful summary is in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, vol. 5 (St. John's: Cuff Publications, 1994), 68–70.

5 The first records of French and Spanish Basques whaling are from AD 1059 and AD 1150, respectively. See, for example, C. Markham, "On the Whale-Fishery of the Basque Province of Spain," *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (13 Dec. 1823), 969–76. Also, A. Aguilar, "The Black Right Whale, *Eubalaena glacialis*, in the Cantabrian Sea," *Report of the International Whaling Commission* 31 (1981): 457–59; "A Review of Old Basque Whaling and Its Effect on the Right Whales of the North Atlantic," *Report of the International Whaling Commission* 10, 10 (1981): 191–99. A more recent Basque commentary is provided

by T. Du Pasquieur, *Les Baleiniers Basques* (Paris: SPM, 2000). C.W. Sanger uses a comprehensive survey of early sources to provide a discussion of the likely origins of commercial whaling and the role played by the Basques in developing the Bay of Biscay whale fishery: "The Origins of the Scottish Northern Whale Fishery," (PhD thesis, University of Dundee, 1985), 47–59, 159–62.

6 Analysis of original Basque manuscripts by S. Barkham provided the earliest details of this previously little-known fishery. See, for example, "The Spanish Province of Terra Nova," *Canadian Archivist* 2, 5 (1974); "The Identification of Labrador Ports in Sixteenth Century Documents," *Canadian Cartographer* 14, 1 (1977); "Documentary Evidence for Sixteenth Century Basque Whaling Ships in the Strait of Belle Isle," in G.M. Storey, ed., *Early European Settlement and Exploration in Atlantic Canada: Selected Papers* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982).

7 For the comments (1578) of Anthony Parkhurst, see E.G.R. Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 1, Documents 20 and 21 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935). Richard Whitbourne also reported in 1579 that the Indigenous inhabitants were "ready to assist them with great labour and patience in the killing, cutting, and boiling of whales, and making of train oil, without expectation of other reward than a little bread or some such small hire," quoted by C. Willmore, in *Newfoundland in International Context: An Economic History Reader* (Victoria, BC, 2020), 55.

8 Recent comprehensive re-examinations and reviews of the historical data and sites, and of the conduct of the industry, are in B. Loewen, "Historical Data on the Impact of 16th Century Basque Whaling on Right and Bowhead Whales in the Western North Atlantic," *Canadian Zooarchaeology* 26 (2009): 3–24; B. Loewen and V. Delmas, "The Basques in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Adjacent Shores," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 36 (2012): 351–404. Twenty-seven sites were sampled, including 13 in the Strait of Belle Isle. It is contended, based on DNA analysis from these, that bowhead whales dominated the catch. See also B.A. McLeod et.al. , "Bowhead Whales, and Not Right Whales, Were the Primary Target of 16th- to 17th-century Basque Whalers in the Western North Atlantic," *Arctic* 61, 1 (2008): 61–75.

9 See, for example, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, "Recovery Strategy for the North Atlantic Right Whale (*Eubalaena glacialis*) in Atlantic Canadian Waters," Species at Risk Act Recovery Strategy Series (Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2014).

10 For those factors that led to the transition of commercial whaling from Labrador to Spitsbergen (Svalbard), see R. Davis, *The Rise of Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973); H.H. Rowen, ed., *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); C.W. Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2016).

11 Vessels and voyage listings are on https://whalinghistory.org.

12 This unfounded opinion continued to be voiced by those opposing the development of modern whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador. See, for example, C.W. Sanger and A.B. Dickinson, "The Origins of Modern Shore-based Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd., 1896–98," *International Journal of Maritime History* 1, 1 (1989): 129–57.

13 Details of the voyage from 2 June–26 August 1752 are in MSS220, Log 318, Peleg Folger whaling journal, 31. https://archive.org/details/ms220log318.

14 Quoted in D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 327. The three leagues limit was specified in Article V of the 1763 Treaty of Paris as the distance from shore within which French fishermen could not operate.

15 For example, the War of Independence (1775–83), the New England Restraining Acts (1775), the US Embargo Act (1807–09), and the War of 1812 (1812–15). See, for details, A.H. McClintock, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783–1832* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941).

16 Letter, J. Waldron to Governor, 18 Feb. 1797, D'Alberti Papers, 6, 1797, 329–32. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection.

17 Letter, Capt. R.T. Rowley to Vice-Admiral Sir C. Hamilton, 27 Aug. 1818 and correspondence, D'Alberti Papers, 28, 1818, 313–19. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection.

18 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 5th Session (St. John's, 1840), 86; *Patriot*, 7 Mar. 1840.

19 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, (St. John's, 1840), 63.

20 *Patriot*, 7 Mar. 1840. Some archaeological work on the site is described in M. Staniforth and M. McGonigle, *The Gaultois and Balaena Shore-Based Whaling Stations in Newfoundland, Canada* (Adelaide: Flinders University, 2007).

21 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1837), 55.

22 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1841), 68. The Act remained in place until at least 1847. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1846), 90. That amounts were carried over into future budgets suggests incomplete use of the bounty.

23 The founder, C.J. Fox Bennett, a proponent of expanding the economy beyond the traditional production of salt cod, was a strong supporter of attempts to develop a local whaling industry. J.K. Hillier, "Bennett, Charles James Fox," *Dictionary of Canadian Bibliography*, XI, 1881–90 (Toronto, 1982–2022).

24 The foundation of Job Bros., a prominent St. John's merchant firm, dates to the early eighteenth century. L.E. Russell and R.H. Cuff, "Job Brothers and Company Limited," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* 3 (1991), 111–12.

25 *Daily News*, 10 June 1863.

26 *Patriot*, 7 Mar. 1840. Also, *Annual Report of the Newfoundland Department of Fisheries* (St. John's, 1902), http://ngb.chebucto.org/South_Coast/newman.shtml.

27 Quoted in *Western Star*, 15 Mar. 1903.

28 *Western* Star, 15 Mar. 1903. Also, *Annual Report of the Newfoundland Department of Fisheries* (St. John's, 1902); A.B. Dickinson and C.W. Sanger, "Whaling," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* 5 (1994), 547.

29 *Evening Herald*, 5, 9 Jan. 1899. The facilities included "Trying-out Houses" on Whale Island at the entrance to Gaultois Harbour.

30 Dickinson and Sanger, *Twentieth-Century Shore-Station Whaling*.

31 *Star and Newfoundland Advocate*, 15 May 1845. For developments in harpoon-gun technology, see, for example, F.P. Schmitt et al., *Thomas Welcome Roys, America's Pioneer of Modern Whaling* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1980). Also https://whalesite.org/whaling/whalecraft/ Swivel%20Guns/Swivel%20Guns%20and%20Irons.html.

32 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 24 Dec. 1896.

33 *Daily News*, 1 June 1863.

34 In 1847, according to E.P. Hohman, "the whaling fleet of the entire world consisted of about 900 vessels; and of these no less than 722 belonged to the United States." *The American Whalemen* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), 6. See also E.J. Dolin, *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).

35 For the development of Baffin Bay whaling, see, for example, C.W. Sanger, "The Rise of Scotland to a Position of Dominance in British Northern Whaling, 1802–1840," *International Journal of Maritime History* 24, 1 (2012): 173–202.

36 *Journal of the Newfoundland House of Assembly* (St. John's, 1860), 466.

37 *Journal of the Newfoundland House of Assembly* (St. John's, 1860), 487.

38 For the development of over-wintering and shore-based whaling stations by American and Scottish entrepreneurs, see C.W. Sanger, "Scottish Over-Winter Whaling at Cumberland Gulf, Baffin Island, 1853–90," *International Journal of Maritime History* 19, 2 (2007): 161–99.

39 One being the leaking New Bedford brig, *Abbott Lawrence*, forced to leave Hudson Bay in 1881 with only "thirty barrels of oil and some bone," *Evening Herald*, 13 Aug. 1881.

40 See https://whalinghistory.org. Also, for example, *Harbor Grace Standard*, 1 July 1876.

41 In 1881 "the United States whaling brig, *Era*, Capt. Spencer, nine days out from New London, put into this port yesterday forenoon for the purposes of having one of her crew placed in the hospital." *Evening Herald*, 11 July 1881. The charms of St. John's provided temporary relief from shipboard duties, although one excursion ashore by two American whalers in 1879 for "liquoring up" ended with a four-hour fight and the use of a slingshot by one "with painful effect on the cranium of his adversary." *Evening Telegram*, 27 Sept. 1879.

42 S. Ryan provides the most comprehensive overview of the Newfoundland and Labrador harp seal fishery: *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914* (St. John's: Breakwater Press, 1994).

43 Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*, 111.

44 Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*, 24–118.

45 For weeks during the spring of 1862 northeasterly gales had pressed

the ice in along the coast, trapping many of the local sailing-sealing vessels and inflicting serious damage. See, for example, L. Shannon, "Crushed: William Bradford's Sealers Crushed by Icebergs and the Greenland Bay Spring," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 107, 2 (2014). Altogether, an estimated 38 ships were lost, the *Newfoundland Express,* 20 April 1862, describing the season as "the most disastrous on record."

46 *The Newfoundlander*, 3 Apr. 1862.

47 Walter Grieve (1811–87) was born in Scotland. In 1829 he joined Baine, Johnson and Co., St. John's, then formed his own firm in 1855. He retired to Greenock, Scotland, after transferring management to his nephew, Robert Thorburn, but retained an active interest in the business. B. Riggs, "Grieve, Walter Richardson," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, vol. 2 (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1980), 748.

48 The interfamilial Scottish relationships between Grieve and Co. and Baine, Johnson Co. are outlined by J.K. Hillier, "Bennett, Charles James Fox," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 11 (1881–1890) (Toronto, 1982–2022).

49 Grieve and Co. purchased *Wolf*, built by Alexander Stephen and Sons, Dundee (*Dundee Courier*, 23 Jan. 1863) and Baine, Johnson and Co. bought *Bloodhound* from Greenock owners (*Newfoundland Express*, 28 Feb. 1863), both ice-strengthened steamers, in time for the 1863 seal fishery.

50 The steamers reached their peak in 1881 when 27 of them, crewed by 5,815 men, caught 281,949 seals. L. Chafe, *Chafe's Sealing Book: A History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery from the Earliest Available Records Down to and Including the Voyage of 1923* (St. John's: Trade Printers and Publishers, 1924), 55.

51 On the impact of steamers on the sailing vessel seal fishery and the transition from sail to steam, see C.W. Sanger, "Technological and Spatial Adaptation in the Newfoundland Seal Fishery during the Nineteenth Century" (MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973). Also, Sanger, "The 19th Century Seal Fishery and the Influence of Scottish Whalemen," *Polar Record* 20, 126 (1980): 231–51; Sanger, "Technological and Spatial Adaptation"; Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*.

52 M. Harvey, "The Seal Fishery of Newfoundland," in L.G. Chafe, *Report of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery* (St. John's: Government of Newfoundland, 1894), 4. Echoing fears that profits would no longer be widely shared throughout the colony, Judge D.W. Prowse lamented that "when Mr. Walter Grieve sent the first sealing steamer to the ice it was a poor day for Newfoundland." Prowse, *History*, 453.

53 *Lion* continued sealing for the company until disappearing without trace on 6 January 1882 in transit from St. John's to Trinity on a calm night, perhaps capsizing due to a boiler explosion. For example, *Harbor Grace Standard*, 28 Jan. 1882.

54 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 12 Sept. 1866, and 31 Oct. 1866. Also, https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/ridley-offices.php.

55 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 5 June 1867.

56 *Evening Telegram*, 27 Mar. 1895.

57 *Nimrod* was built under the supervision of Capt. Edward White of Tickle Cove, Bonavista Bay, and launched in December 1866 before being transferred to Job Bros. R. Bryan, *Ordeal by Ice: Ships of the Antarctic* (Dobbs Ferry: Sheridan House, 2011), 203.

58 *Daily News*, 28 Dec. 1867.

59 Unregulated hunting reduced the Baffin Bay bowhead stock to the extent that 13 Dundee vessels could only average 1.9 whales each in 1863. Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*, 112.

60 *Patriot*, 19 June 1864.

61 *Daily News*, 11 Aug. 1868.

62 *Patriot*, 13 Jan. 1866.

63 Many vessels returned "clean." As the master of one Dundee whaler at East Greenland reported in 1875, "had two large vessels got all the seals seen this year . . . they would not have been filled. The establishment of a close time . . . has already been too long delayed." *Dundee Advertiser*, 19 Apr. 1875. The difficulties of attempting a close season were widely discussed in other editions of that same chronicle.

64 Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*, 119.

65 *Dundee Advertiser*, 3 May 1876.

66 Adams and his compatriots were impressed by the skills and industriousness of the Newfoundland sealers. Capt. James Fairweather found it "perfectly wonderful in the way they jumped from 'pan to

pan', barely touching the smaller ones in passage." *Dundee Advertiser*, 3 May 1876. See also J. Fairweather, *With the Scottish Whalers, the Story of a Shipmaster's Fifty-Two Years at Sea* (Dundee: University of Dundee Archives, MS 254/5/5/6/42).

67 *Dundee Advertiser*, 7 Feb. 1877.

68 Compiled from Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*, 122, and www.whalinghistory.org. Two steam-assisted *Arctic* vessels were built by Stephen, the first, completed in 1867, operated during 1867–74 from Dundee off east Greenland and in Davis Strait until lost in the latter.

69 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 26 Apr. 1879. An earlier report (27 Apr. 1878) in the same paper noted that "a few years ago, attempts were made here [Harbour Grace] to prosecute the whale fishery, but without any success, and consequently enterprise in that direction was abandoned.".

70 *Colonist*, 18 Dec. 1886.

71 See, for example, J.K. Hiller, " Sir William Vallance Whiteway," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 13, 1901–1910 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994–2023) for a summary of economic and political events of the time.

72 *Evening Telegram*, 17 Apr. 1883.

73 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 26 Apr. 1879.

74 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 26 Apr. 1879.

75 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 12 Apr. 1879.

76 *Terra Nova Advocate*, 2 Apr. 1881.

77 *The Register*, 12 Nov. 1880.

78 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 3 Sept. 1881. The identity of the most successful vessel is not given.

79 Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling.* Also www.whalinghistory.org

80 *Evening Telegram*, 3 Dec. 1881.

81 Image from Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, PF-381.001.

82 *Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland*, 1st session (St. John's, 1883), 85. Also *Statutes of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1883), 147–48.

83 *Evening Telegram*, 18 May 1885.

84 Analysis of the decline of Arctic bowhead whaling, including the

Newfoundland factor, is facilitated by Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling*; and www.whalinghistory.org.

85 *Evening Telegram*, 8 Sept. 1884.

86 *Evening Telegram*, 9 Oct. 1885. On a more positive note, seven men from the wrecked Dundee whaler *Cornwallis* were rescued.

87 Riggs, "Grieve, Walter Richardson."

88 *Evening Telegram*, 24 Nov. 1887.

89 *Colonist*, 30 May 1888, and *Evening Telegram*, 10 Oct. 1895, contain details of monies owed to the Union Bank of Newfoundland, which ceased operations (1894) after the bank crash of that year. The company appears to have raised £10,000 by 17 December 1887 to purchase the ships, the shares being bought only by Thorburn. See *Evening Telegram*, 11 May, 1 June 1888, for further details.

90 *Evening Herald*, 7 Feb. 1895. *Harbor Grace Standard*, 3 Mar. 1896.

91 Bowring Bros. also owned two additional versions of *Eagle*. The first, a schooner, carried freight to and from the west of England from 1823, while the last worked during 1902–50 as a sealer and played a central role in establishing and supplying permanent British bases in Antarctica. A.B. Dickinson, *North Ice to South Ice, the Antarctic Life and Times of the Newfoundland Ships Eagle and Trepassey* (St. John's: DRC Publishing, 2016).

92 *Evening Telegram*, 5 June 1884, 25 Apr. 1885; *Colonist*, 13 May 1886, 11 May 1887; *Evening Telegram*, 31 Oct., 4 Nov. 1891; *Harbor Grace Standard*, 15 Nov. 1892.

93 *Colonist*, 17 Nov. 1886.

94 *Evening Telegram*, 13 Jan. 1893. The catch consisted of "three large black whales [North Atlantic right whales] and one sucker [calf], yielding over two tons of bone at about $10,000 per ton and forty tons of oil. The crew of the Dundee whaler *Maud* was also rescued and returned to St. John's, along with two polar bears, eventually shipped to a future home in New York's Central Park Zoo.

95 *Evening Telegram*, 13 Jan. 1893.

96 *Terra Nova Advocate*, 16 May 1878.

97 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 11 May 1878.

98 *Evening Herald*, 11 Mar. 1892, 30 Apr. 1896.

99 Image from McManus Museum, Dundee, 1969, 124-4.

100 A. Barclay Walker, *The Cruise of the Esquimaux (Steam Whaler) to Davis Straits and Baffin Bay, April–October 1899* (Liverpool: Liverpool Printing and Stationary Co., 1900), 12.

101 *Harbor Grace Standard*, 25 Feb. 1888.

102 *Evening Telegram*, 3 Mar. 1896.

103 See, for example, R.W. Moshenko, "Conservation Strategy for Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) in the Eastern Canadian Arctic," Species at Risk Program, National Recovery Plan 24 (Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2003).

104 *Evening Herald*, 15 Nov. 1894. The Scottish fleet took some 12,600 beluga and 1,600 bottlenose whales during 1876–1900. Voyages from Newfoundland accounted for 51 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively. www.whalinghistory.org.

105 At least 942 bowheads were taken over 369 voyages by the entire fleet. www.whalinghistory.org.

106 Although first advertised in 1893 (*Evening Herald*, 10 Nov. 1893), five years later there had been no takers for the St. John's property "comprising two wharfs, stores etc. . . . glass roofing . . . 100 tons of stone ballast." *Evening Telegram*, 6 Oct. 1898.

107 Dickinson and Sanger, *Twentieth-Century Shore-Station Whaling*, 18.

108 See J.N. Tonnessen and A.O. Johnsen, *The History of Modern Whaling* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), for a comprehensive account of the modern global industry, and Dickinson and Sanger, *Twentieth-Century Shore-Station Whaling*, for the local.