

EXPANSION OF REGULATED MODERN SHORE-STATION WHALING IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR, 1902-3

C.W. Sanger and A.B. Dickinson

Introduction

"Modern" shore-station whaling began in Norwegian coastal waters in 1868 as a consequence of new technology introduced by Svend Foyn. Subsequent over-exploitation caused Norwegian whaling investors to look elsewhere for profitable unutilized stocks, thus commencing a westward expansion of the industry which reached Newfoundland in 1896. In that year, local and Norwegian entrepreneurs entered into a joint venture to form the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd., which took three seasons from 1898 to establish a viable industry from stations at Snook's Arm and Balaena on the northeast and south coasts of the island (see Figure 1). Its success convinced other Newfoundlanders to make speculative investments in the industry, this time without Norwegian input other than experienced catcher crews. The second company, the Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd., was established in 1900 and operated from a station at Reuben's Cove in Chaleur Bay, also on the island's south coast. This ongoing expansion of the industry led to concerns by shareholders and fishermen about possible over-exploitation of the resource, foreign dominance of the industry and detrimental effects on the inshore fishery. In response, the Newfoundland government attempted to control growth by introducing on 22 April 1902 an "Act to Regulate the Whaling Industry." This legislation defined various operating conditions, including requirements for licences, fees and minimum distances between stations. Catch quotas, however, were not set, although each station could only be supplied by one catcher.¹ This paper documents the continued expansion of this now regulated industry and its consolidation into a locally-important component of the maritime and resource exploitation history of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Continued Expansion: The 1902 Season

Further growth in the industry was fostered by reports of large numbers of whales around the island, particularly off the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula.² These had last been exploited in 1898 when the S.S. *Cabot* first hunted for the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. prior to completion of the Snook's Arm factory in August of that year.³ The company's directors now decided again to exploit this potentially profitable stock, this time by entering into a partner-

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Figure 1: Location Map

Table 1
The Cape Broyle Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd.

Incorporation date: 11 June 1902

Nominal capital: \$60,000(\$100 shares); \$120,000(\$100 shares), 21 October 1903.

Major Shareholders:

a) 24 October 1902

Name	Address	Occupation	Shares
Bowring Bros.	St. John's	Merchants	200
Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.	St. John's	Merchants	150
Michael P. Cashin	Cape Broyle	Merchant	45
John S. Munn	St. John's	Accountant	40
(plus 10 others with 1-6 shares, Total 477)			

b) 1 February 1904

Name	Address	Occupation	Shares
Bowring Bros.	St. John's	Merchants	468
John S. Munn	St. John's	Accountant	88
John Harvey	St. John's	Merchant	88
Kenneth R. Prowse	St. John's	Merchant	63
Michael P. Cashin	Cape Broyle	Merchant	48
Edward J. Harvey	St. John's	Merchant	27
Adolph Nielsen (estate)	-	-	24
William V. Whiteway	St. John's	Barrister	20
(plus 21 others with 2-18 shares, Total 996)			

c) Later Holdings

6 March 1905; 28 February 1906-1,200 (Including Dr. L. Rismuller, 70; Estate Adolph Nielsen, 24).

Dissolution Date:

1 March 1906

Liquidation Accounts:

- a) Debts: \$47,498.79(\$47,435.64owing to Bowring Bros.).
- b) Sales: Factory, machinery, *Falcon*, at Cape Broyle = \$10,000
 Factory, machinery, *Hawk*, at Cape Broyle = \$10,500
 Total = \$20,500
- c) Outstanding balance owing: \$26,998.79

Source: Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 55.

ship on 14 March 1902⁴ with Bowring Bros, of St. John's to form the Cape Broyle Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd. Local investors believed that the industry would continue to generate substantial profits and thus purchased seventy-nine percent of the initial share offer (see Table I).⁵

The company purchased land from J. Kearsy at Admiral's Cove, Cape Broyle, and station construction began in March 1902 under the supervision of a local merchant and major shareholder, Michael P. Cashin.⁶ Processing was scheduled to begin in July, but was delayed by construction problems.⁷ A forty-foot wharf had been constructed by the end of September.⁸ Subsequent progress, however, was slow,⁹ and the factory remained incomplete at the end of the year.¹⁰

The Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. and the Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. meanwhile embarked on their fifth and second seasons, respectively. The *Cabot*, under the command of Captain Bull, continued her spring hunt off the south coast for the former,¹¹ and a catch of eleven whales in Hermitage Bay in the space of one week prompted observers to project even better prospects for the forthcoming 1902 summer fishery from Snook's Arm.¹² Several families consequently moved there from Green Bay in anticipation of employment.¹³ This season, however, the *Cabot* continued to hunt from Balaena, killing at least 109 whales before returning to St. John's on 21 October 1902 for her end-of-season overhaul¹⁴ and subsequent laying-up at Balaena for the winter.¹⁵ The fishery from Snook's Arm was conducted by the newly-built *Viking* (see Table 2), which arrived in St. John's from Norway on 9 July 1902 under the command of Captain Jacobsen.¹⁶

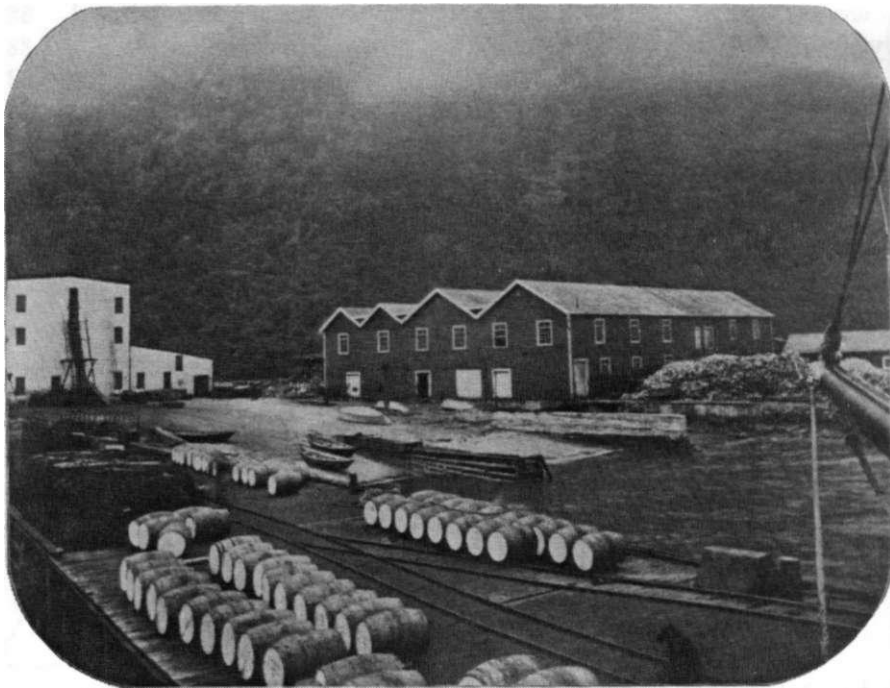


Figure 2: The Cabot Steam Whaling Company's Second Whaling Station: Balaena, Hermitage Bay.

Table 2
Registry Specification of S.S. Viking

Official No.		115467
Port of Registry		St. John's, 1902
Built		Christiana (Oslo), Norway, 1902
Construction		Steel
Dimensions (ft.)	Length	91
	Breadth	17
	Depth	10
Gross tonnage		113
Horsepower		35

Source: *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory* (London, 1904).



Figure 3: Balaena, blubber hoist.

Despite the earlier predictions of a successful summer whaling season, the *Viking* did poorly, prompting a St. John's newspaper to report that "the whale factory at Snook's Arm will do nothing this year, for whales are very scarce north. One of the oldest settlers at Bett's Cove states that he has not seen a fish this year; an unprecedented thing in the bay. Some are of the belief that these fish are being killed out by the whaling steamers."¹⁷ Although a pre-

monition of subsequent events, this forecast was premature; the reduced catch was more likely due to Captain Christopherson's inexperience with local whaling conditions. The *Viking* hunted "long distances" from Snook's Arm, but caught only seventy-eight whales in her first northern season,¹⁸ compared to 102 and eighty-six taken in each of the two previous years by Captain Bull in the *Cabot*.¹⁹ The company thus took a seasonal total of 187 whales from both their stations. The *Viking* was only operated by the Cabot Steam Whaling Company Ltd. for this one season. She returned to St. John's on 2 December 1902 after being sold to the Cape Broyle Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd.²⁰ on expiry of a one-year period of grace given to her owners by the government. This provision allowed the company to employ two catchers in 1902 contrary to the terms of the Act passed earlier in the year.²¹

The Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. also enjoyed success off the south coast.²² The *Puma* took seventy-seven whales to Reuben's Cove before it closed in early September 1902.²³ For the remainder of the season the vessel supplied a second factory recently opened at Rose-au-Rue in Placentia Bay.²⁴ In the spring of 1902 the company had decided to expand its operations into these previously unexploited waters. Between March and June, factory and guano plant construction materials and machinery were shipped to the site.²⁵ The new station subsequently employed 160 workers, including at least forty brought in from St. John's, probably due to local labour shortages.²⁶

Whales were abundant in Placentia Bay, and the *Puma* was able to catch thirty-two in just five weeks.²⁷ A guano factory was also established by Dr. L. Rismuller at Rose-au-Rue. According to a St. John's newspaper it was "operating full blast, the machinery is working splendidly, 60 men are employed there and in one week recently the carcasses of 14 whales were converted into fertilizing material of the best quality, shipment of which will soon be sent abroad."²⁸ Catches decreased toward the end of the year and after the plants closed in December, a slipway was built to hold the *Puma* until spring.²⁹ 1902 was her best season thus far, supplying some 155 whales to Rose-au-Rue and Reuben's Cove.³⁰

Despite its operational success, the Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. experienced some difficulties, including a particularly unpleasant industrial accident in which a worker died after falling into "a huge cauldron filled with acid" at Chaleur Bay.³¹ The company was also the subject of two court actions. In the first, a man named Peter Hayes sued, arguing that he had been fraudulently induced into signing a land sale contract. In the second, the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. commenced litigation for alleged infringement of harpoon patent rights held by them.³²

Expansion of the newly-regulated industry had thus far been by existing companies. Other entrepreneurs, however, were quick to recognize the financial rewards possible from exploiting perceived abundant stocks. Such an individual was Anders Ellefsen, who had arrived from Norway in 1901. The government at that time was still pleased to welcome foreigners willing to set up businesses on the island, and gave Ellefsen "full rights as to a British subject to establish himself there without a licence."³³ This was necessary in order to conform with the 1902 Act, which specified that only British subjects could be employed on whaling stations. Ellefsen purchased land at Aquaforte, on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula,³⁴ and construction materials were shipped on 13 February 1902 in the schooner *Fashoda*. Projected to be completed by 25 May 1902,³⁵ construction of the factory, coal store and living quarters were well-advanced by the end of April. The St. John's *Evening Herald* reported that the buildings were "large and commodious. The slip for receiving the fish is almost completed and

about 50 men have been working there the past few months. Thirty permanent hands will shortly be shipped and the new steam whaler will be here by May 20.^{1,36}

The company's newly-built catcher *Humber* sailed into St. John's from Norway on 6 June 1902. Unlike the other catchers, she remained on Norwegian registry, since the new company was purely a Norwegian operation.³⁷ The *Humber* was "a shade smaller than the other whale steamers, being sloop rigged, and 22 tons. She is very fast and capable of doing 12 knots in smooth water."³⁸

The *Humber* began whaling on 17 June with Ellefsen's "54-year-old father as a gunner."³⁹ Two humpback whales were killed on this first voyage, and ten others of undetermined species were taken by 27 June. As the factory was still under construction, the carcasses had to be moored for later processing.⁴⁰ Ninety-three whales were killed in less than three months, mostly in waters between Cape Race and Bay Bulls, although some were taken in the vicinity of Cape Bonavista.⁴¹ Local newspaper reports praised the new operation, particularly relating an incident in which:

...an enormous fish, apparently nothing less than 150 ft. long was harpooned. The fish rose like a small house out of the water, and rushed the steamer. It was necessary to use every precaution and manoeuver clear of the angry monster who seemed determined to do damage. All sorts of things were tried to secure it, but, finally fearing the steamer might receive damage in one of the mad rushes, the line was cut and the ship ran away from the fish.⁴²



Figure 4: An immense Hump-back whale over fifty feet in length and over twenty feet around the body, with fins nearly ten feet long, at the Whaling Company's Station, Aquaforte, N.F.

As with the three earlier companies, Ellefsen also experienced start up problems. Although the 1902 Act required the construction of guano plants at each station, one was not built immediately. Consequently, complaints were received from local residents about environmental pollution:

Two whales are on the slip at Aquaforte and 46 to date have been put ashore at Ferryland. The people contend that the carcasses of whales should be towed away out to sea. Recently two drove in on the beach, tore up several traps and the people had to keep their windows down owing to the stench arising from them. The ship later towed them to sea.⁴³

Catching slowed by mid-September, and ended in December with a first season's total of 108.⁴⁴

The ongoing successes experienced by the three operating companies stimulated two further licence applications in the last quarter of 1902. The directors of the Colonial Manufacturing Co. of St. John's now proposed the establishment of factories at Cat Cove and Safe Harbour, both in Bonavista Bay.⁴⁵

The 1902 season had been the most productive year for the industry thus far, with a total of 450 whales caught (*Cabot* 109, *Humber* 108, *Puma* 155, *Viking* 75).⁴⁶ Oil yields improved, and product values doubled over the previous season (see Table 3).⁴⁷

As in previous seasons, most of the oil was exported to Scotland. The *Virginia Lake* brought 1009 barrels into St. John's from Balaena and Reuben's Cove, and others arrived from Rose-au-Rue on the schooner *Rosebud*. The S.S. *Buenos Ayrean* took 746 barrels to Glasgow on 17 June and the S.S. *Livonian* transported another 2113 on 19 July. The Norwegian vessel S.S. *Frenad* also sailed from Aquaforte in September for Grangemouth with the first cargo of oil to leave the island.⁴⁸

Table 3
Catch and Product Values from the Newfoundland and Labrador
Shore-Station Whaling Industry, 1901-1902

Season (no.)	Catch	Oil (tons)	Yield (barrels per whale)	Oil (\$)	Whalebone (\$)	Total (\$)
1901 (4)	258	633.5	14.7	54,221	13,550	67,771
1901-2 (5)	450	1275.5	17.0	112,859	12,285	125,144

Source: Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903).

The whaling industry in 1902 was thus "booming,"⁴⁹ with the introduction of control legislation, expansion of hunting to previously unexploited waters, and increased catches, yields and exports. Continued industrial growth was thus inevitable. Between July 1902 and December 1903 the government received forty-five applications to construct new stations or to renew existing licences under the terms of the 1902 legislation (see Figure 2 and Appendix 1).⁵⁰

Those few shares in established companies which came onto the market also attracted high prices. Four \$100 shares in the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd., for example, sold for \$230 each and eight in the Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. were transferred for \$225.53 each.⁵¹

The 1903 Whaling Season

A. The Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.

Existing companies continued their successful operations. The *Puma* began hunting on 2 February 1903 from Rose-au-Rue, particularly in Placentia and St. Mary's Bays, for the Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.⁵² Whales were plentiful and thirty had been taken by the end of March.⁵³ Subsequent catch rates of up to three whales daily enabled Captain Christopherson to increase this total to seventy by the end of May,⁵⁴ when the factory was temporarily closed.⁵⁵ The Chaleur Bay station was then reactivated for the summer fishery⁵⁶ and *Puma* sailed west to continue what was optimistically predicted to be "the best season since the industry started."⁵⁷ An additional eighty-two whales were killed and it was confidently felt that this catch rate would provide enough carcasses to keep one hundred men employed at the station.⁵⁸

Puma returned to Rose-au-Rue at the end of July for the fall fishery and continued her hunting success.⁵⁹ By 1 September, 242 whales were killed, which represented:

...the best record that has ever been achieved in the history of the whale fishery, or it is ever likely to be again...The lucky skipper, who receives a certain sum per whale, in addition to his fixed salary, will make about \$3,000 out of the former arrangement, and the *Puma* company should declare a dividend of at least 100 per cent on this year's transactions.⁶⁰

Whale stocks were still considered large on the south coast, "despite the slaughter among them." For example, the *Evening Herald* reported that "the whaler *Puma*, some little time ago, passed thro a school of no less than 15 'sulphur-bottoms,' the largest kind of these fish, in Fortune Bay, showing that they are still plentiful."⁶¹

The catching rate declined to three in two weeks by mid-October⁶² as the whales migrated out of coastal waters, and the nine man Norwegian crew left for home in November on S.S. *Carthaginian* after completing the three year contract allowable under the 1902 Act.⁶³ The *Puma* continued to hunt from Rose-au-Rue with a "scrap" crew of local factory workers, causing demands that the government ensure that Newfoundlanders be trained for the more lucrative work on the catchers, as specified in the legislation.⁶⁴ There is no record, however, that this local crew killed any whales. Under her experienced Norwegian crew, the *Puma* took 260 during 1903, enabling the company to declare a forty percent dividend and to transfer "a sum equal to another 20 per cent" to its reserve account.⁶⁵

Several shipments of whale products left Reuben's Cove and Rose-au-Rue,⁶⁶ including bones destined for a guano factory established by Dr. Rismuller in Windsor, Nova Scotia.⁶⁷ Products were also sold on the Newfoundland market for the first time. The Colonial Manufacturing Co. of St. John's, for example, stationed a purchasing agent at Rose-au-

Rue in order to buy guano for local use as fertilizer. The product was advertised as being both superior and cheaper compared to imported varieties.⁶⁸

B. The Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.

The Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. began the 1903 spring fishery somewhat later than in previous years, and with consequently less success. The *Cabot* sailed from Balaena at the end of March and killed 116 whales before returning to St. John's on 22 July for "a clean up and some slight repairs."⁶⁹ She then proceeded to Snook's Arm for the summer fishery, increasing her total catch to 211 before again returning to St. John's on 8 December, thus bringing the season to a close.⁷⁰ The oil and guano were primarily shipped to Glasgow and Nova Scotia.⁷¹

Two events made this season noteworthy for the company. Founding shareholder Adolph Nielsen⁷² died from asthma on 2 November at the Crosbie Hotel in St. John's,⁷³ and a plaster cast of a male blue whale and its skeleton were shipped from Balaena to the United States.⁷⁴ These were used to construct a model which was subsequently:

...placed in the American Museum of Natural History. Six months was occupied in constructing the model. The whale, when alive, weighed 64 tons___It was seventy feet long from tip to tip and measured thirty-four feet around the shoulder, the head measuring nineteen feet and the fins eleven. The body contained forty tons of flesh while the blubber weighed eight tons. It was indeed a Monster of the deep.⁷⁵

C. The Cape Broyle Whaling and Trading Co.

Construction of the oil and guano factories at Cape Broyle had resumed in January 1903,⁷⁶ and both factories became important users of local labour, including thirty men from Toad's Cove (Tor's Cove) hired to begin work on 1 March.⁷⁷ They were offered good wages and preferred "the work to prosecuting the fishery."⁷⁸ People also arrived from St. John's in search of work.⁷⁹ Fifteen labourers who subsequently went on strike in an unsuccessful bid for higher wages were thus easily replaced.⁸⁰

The *Viking*, under Captain Jacobsen, went on drydock in St. John's to be painted and fitted out with ten-inch diameter towing hawsers made at the St. John's ropewalk.⁸¹ Jacobsen departed on 25 February 1903 for Cape Broyle,⁸² and made his first whaling voyage in early March. He was forced to sail back to St. John's for repairs, however, when a harpoon line jammed in the winch.⁸³ The *Viking* returned to the whaling grounds on 13 March,⁸⁴ and two days later Jacobsen killed a blue whale, the first taken by the new company.⁸⁵ Eight whales were killed in the following month,⁸⁶ and by early June a total of seventy-eight had been captured.⁸⁷ Carcasses were often temporarily moored in adjacent Church Cove until the factory could process them.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, however, this smooth beginning to the Cape Broyle operation was short-lived. On 16 July the bunk-house "was destroyed by fire."⁸⁹

Often hunting in company with *Humber* from nearby Aquaforte,⁹⁰ *Viking* brought ninety-eight carcasses back to Cape Broyle during this first year of operation. Although whale

oil and guano production records are unavailable, the S.S. *Retriever*, under the command of Captain Donnelly, took 180 tons of the company's oil to Glasgow in November 1903.⁹¹

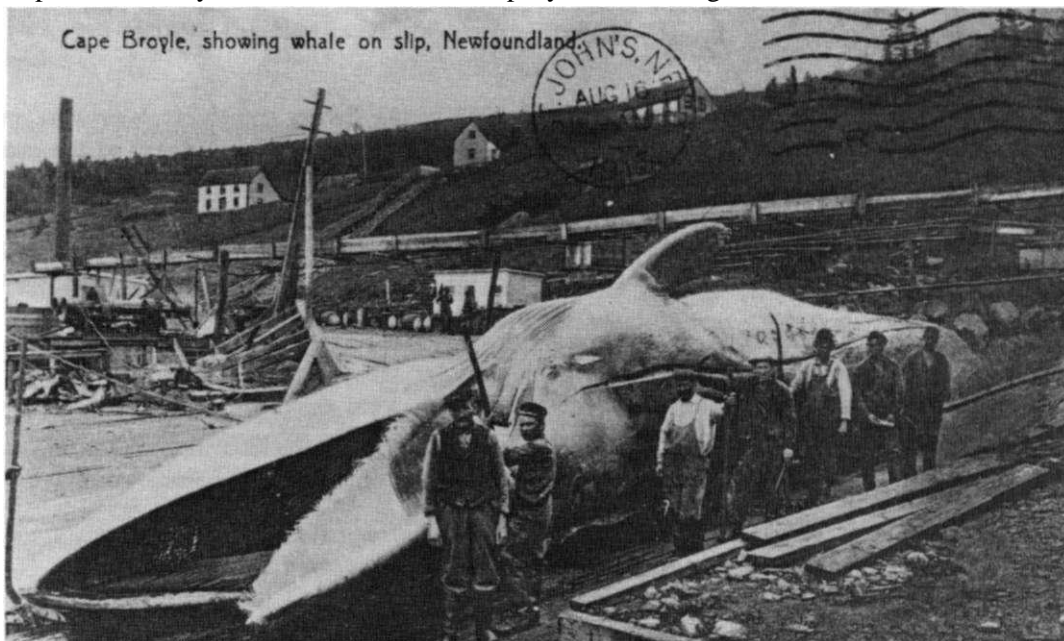


Figure 6: Cape Broyle, showing whale on slip, Newfoundland.

The directors of the Cape Broyle Whaling and Trading Co. made a significant contribution to the expanding industry when they decided to build the first "modern" whaling station on the Labrador coast. The S.S. *Algerine*, skippered by Captain A. Jackman, took construction materials to Cape Charles on 18 September 1903.⁹² Although the factory had been almost completed by the beginning of October,⁹³ a catcher was not immediately available, and hunting therefore did not start until the following summer.

D. Anders Ellefsen's Whaling Operation at Aquaforte

Anders Ellefsen experienced some problems when he and his wife⁹⁴ returned to Aquaforte in January for the 1903 season.⁹⁵ Their house burned down after an oil lamp exploded, and the couple "lost everything only what they had on. Fortunately the east wind and wet weather saved the whale factory. Crowds of people gathered, and with buckets did all they could to save the house, but failed."⁹⁶

Nevertheless, the *Humber* began to hunt immediately, and soon caught a female blue whale off Cape Spear in early February, valued at some \$800.⁹⁷ By 14 May she had caught thirty-two whales from "unusually large" numbers reported in east coast waters.⁹⁸ This kept the factory extremely busy, and it "has all it can do to cut up the carcasses and the prospects are exceptionally good for the company."⁹⁹ Lack of a guano plant, however, made it necessary to tow carcass remnants out to sea where they were set adrift. Nevertheless, fishermen still complained that some subsequently drifted into Placentia Bay and damaged their gear,

though investigations by the recently-appointed Government Whaling Inspector, Charles Way, failed to substantiate their claims.¹⁰⁰

Viking killed 230 whales by the end of the year.¹⁰¹ Although the oil yield is unspecified, *S.S. Gard* loaded 2500 casks, "practically all the whale oil in the place," and some bone for Glasgow during the first week of October.¹⁰²

E. Expansion to New Sites.

Previous opposition to the industry by outport residents¹⁰³ was now changing. Steady work in the oil and guano factories was an attractive alternative to the uncertainties of the inshore fishery. This became particularly evident when the inhabitants of St. Mary's Bay petitioned the government to support the proposed construction of a station¹⁰⁴ by the St. Mary's Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd. Incorporated in St. John's on 27 July 1903, the company had a nominal capital of \$60,000 in \$100 shares. All of the 456 sold went to Newfoundlanders, including Bowring Bros, and Michael P. Cashin, principals in the Cape Broyle Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd. (Table 4).¹⁰⁵

Land was leased at Riverhead, St. Mary's, for forty years from 15 August, and a whaling license was issued in Cashin's name on 26 August 1903.¹⁰⁶ Construction was completed in December and included:

The factory [which] is 45 by 45 feet, 20 feet high and besides he has erected a new wharf, a bungalow, forge, coal shed of large capacity (filled with coal) after completion and a platform 2,000 feet long. The whole was done in 7 weeks, with 12 men at work. A new steamer is now in course of construction for the company at Norway and will be out here in April.¹⁰⁷

Table 4
Major Shareholders in the St Mary's Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd.
20 December 1903

Shareholders	Occupations	No. of Shares
Michael P. Cashin	Merchant	55
Bowring Bros.	Merchants	50
Tasker Cook	Shopkeeper	50
Job Bros.	Merchants	50
Patrick McGrath	Editor	45
Martin Furlong	Solicitor	20
Daniel Ryan	Merchant	20
Frank Connors	Saddler	20
Ludwig Rismuller	Chemist	10
plus 24 others at 10 and below =		456

Source: Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 71.

The industry also expanded to the Burin Peninsula when Dr. L. Rismuller opened his own station at Little St. Lawrence, possibly with assistance from the Harvey family of St. John's, major investors in the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.¹⁰⁸ Construction began in July 1903. Captain T. Bonia, M.H.A., the first station manager,¹⁰⁹ was "a hustler, and in his competent hands the undertaking will speedily be pushed to a successful completion."¹¹⁰ Work was temporarily suspended in early October for unidentified reasons, placing some fifty men out of a job.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the factory continued to be seen by local residents as the solution to a serious unemployment problem.¹¹² An editorial in the St. John's *Evening Herald*, for example, commented that "the people, who did not do over well at the codfishery the past summer, are delighted at this substantial adjunct being provided there."¹¹³

As others had done before, Rismuller purchased a new catcher, the *St. Lawrence* (Captain Nilson), in Norway (see Table 5). She entered St. John's on 6 October¹¹⁴ and was immediately transferred to British registry.¹¹⁵

The *St. Lawrence* arrived at the factory on 15 October 1903,¹¹⁶ and began hunting on 1 November.¹¹⁷ Four whales were killed in the next three days. Catching subsequently declined, however, with only three more being taken by 16 December.¹¹⁸

A third station was now established on the south coast of the island. The Mic-Mac Whaling Co. Ltd. erected their factory at Dublin Cove. The company was incorporated on 29 September 1903 with a nominal capital of \$150,000, in \$100 shares, the largest initial offering to date. Most shares were owned by two St. John's merchants, William and Robert Job (see Table 6),¹¹⁹ already major shareholders in the St. Mary's Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd.

The factory was under construction by December 1903, and was expected to be finished by January 1904, well in time for the start of the next whaling season.¹²⁰ The directors of the company also contributed to the further expansion of the industry into Labrador. Construction began on a factory at L'Anse-au-Loup on 3 November. This establishment was projected to be "a fine structure 53 by 52 feet, 32 feet high, and will be rushed to completion in the spring. Dr. Rismuller will also likely start to erect a [guano] factory there early next summer."¹²¹

Table 5
Registry Specifications, S.S. *St Lawrence*

Official No.	117295
Port of registry	St. John's, 1903
Built	Christiana, 1903
Construction	Steel
Dimensions (ft.)	
Length	93
Breadth	17
Depth	10
Gross Tonnage	111
Horsepower	50
Owner	John Harvey, St. John's

Source: Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory (London, 1904).

A third Labrador station was proposed for Hawke Harbour by Daniel Ryan, a merchant from King's Cove, Bonavista Bay. The operating company was incorporated on 7 July 1904 as the Labrador Whaling and Manufacturing Co. Ltd., with a nominal capital of \$100,000 in \$100 shares (see Table 7).¹²² Construction did not begin, however, until the following year.

Table 6
First Shareholders of the Mic-Mac Whaling Co. Ltd.,
29 September 1903

Shareholders	Occupations	No. of Shares
William C. Job	Merchant	215
Robert B. Job	Merchant	100
Marmaduke G. Winter	Merchant	100
Kenneth R. Prowse	Merchant	100
Colin Campbell	Merchant	75
Alexander McDougall	Merchant	50
Hon. James S. Pitts	Merchant	50

Source: Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 7.

The Atlantic Whaling and Manufacturing Co. Ltd. now proposed a station for Trinity Bay. This company, with a nominal capital of \$250,000 in \$100 shares, was incorporated on 8 February 1904. Dr. Rismuller, who subscribed to three hundred, and Job Bros., which took two hundred, were major shareholders.¹²³ Again, local residents welcomed the employment potential offered by this new industry.¹²⁴

Table 7
Major Initial Shareholders in the Labrador Whaling and Manufacturing Co. Ltd.,
July 1904

Shareholders	Occupations	No. of Shares
W.D. Reid	Railway Contractor	150
Daniel A. Ryan	Merchant	90
James Ryan	Merchant	50
Charles Dawe	Merchant	50
and 31 of 30 or less =		635

Source: Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 2, No. 89.

Two factories were also proposed for Conception Bay. The plan to construct one in the vicinity of Portugal Cove and Bell Island by a Joseph Roper, however, did not materialize.¹²⁵ The other venture was to use Ship's Head, Harbour Grace, where "about an acre in area [would] be devoted to the building of the factory, store, out buildings, etc., the whole to cost about \$50,000."¹²⁶ This station was owned by the Harbour Grace Whaling Co. Ltd., incorporated on 9 August 1904 with a nominal capital of \$100,000 in \$100 shares. Only 185 shares, however, were purchased in the original offer (see Table 8).¹²⁷

Table 8
Initial Shareholders in the Harbour Grace Whaling Co. Ltd., 9 August 1904

Shareholders	Occupations	No. of Shares
W.D. Reid	Railway contractor	50
Dr. L. Rismuller	Manufacturer	50
J.B. Ayre	Gentleman	30
Charles Dawe	Master mariner	20
James Knight	Merchant	20
S. Blandford	Gentleman	10
R.B. McRae	Merchant	5

Source: Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 2, No. 91.

Conclusion

The early successes experienced by the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. and the Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. convinced St. John's merchant investors that substantial profits were possible from this new industry. Expansion was therefore inevitable, and was particularly encouraged by control legislation introduced in 1902. Increased numbers of stations and catchers further enhanced catches and yields, some 1308 whales being killed in the 1902-03 seasons. The 858 captured in 1903 were primarily fin whales, and yielded products valued at \$265,962, again more than doubling the value of the industry (see Tables 3, 9 and 10).

Table 9
1903 Whaling Season Catch: Newfoundland and Labrador

	Blue	Humpback	Fin	Other	Total
Number killed	225	287	345	1	858
Sex: Male	-	-	-	-	480
Female	-	-	-	-	377
Unknown	-	-	-	-	1

Source: Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903).

Table 10
1903 Whaling Season Production: Newfoundland and Labrador

Item	Tons	Value (\$)
Guano	585	-
Whale bone	773	9,950
Finners	41	-
Oil	2,664	256,372
Total		266,322

Source: See Table 9.

Although some \$550,000 of private capital was now invested, and the government received \$19,500 in licence fees during the 1902-03 seasons,^{128*} some participants began to express concern that "the fishery would, inside of twenty years be a thing of the past."^{128b}

Press reports for the first time also speculated on the continued viability of the industry, since although "whaling stock is regarded as a good investment now...whether it will continue so admits of some doubt."¹³⁰ The potential for decline was further enhanced by poor hunting practices. Crews sometimes only wounded or failed to secure their catch, and drifting carcasses, some of which were retrieved by fishermen, were often reported.¹³¹ Of greater significance, however, was the fact that some forty-four percent of the catch were females. As a consequence, the Newfoundland Department of Fisheries cautioned against further expansion of the industry, recommending that:

In the true interests of this fishery, and with a view to prevent the rapid extinction of the valuable cetaceans frequenting the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Fishery Board would most strongly recommend the limiting of the number of licences to be granted by His Excellency the Governor in Council, and would further recommend that in construing the fifty mile clause of the Whaling Act of 1902, that a restricted constriction be put on the same. In Norway, owing to unrestricted killing, the whale fishery was depleted in fourteen years. This experience should be a guiding light to Newfoundland in the path of prudence.¹³²

Unfortunately, no attention was paid to this warning, and expansion continued into the 1904 and 1905 seasons. As predicted, a rapid decline in catches occurred, leading to withdrawal and eventually the temporary cessation of the industry following the close of the 1916 season.¹³³

NOTES

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1. This earlier period is discussed in two previous articles by the same authors. See 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*, I, No. 1 (June 1989), 129-157; and Dickinson and Sanger, "Modern Shore-Based Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador: Expansion and Consolidation, 1898-1902," *International Journal of Maritime History*, II, No. 1 (June 1990), 83-116.
2. On 9 April 1902, for example, the St. John's *Evening Herald* reported that the schooner *Irene*, recently arrived from Ferryland, had encountered large numbers of whales: "All the way down the shore whales were numerous and if the *Cabot* or *Puma*, [two whale catchers] were about they would have secured good fare."
3. See Sanger and Dickinson, "The Origins of Modern Shore-Based Whaling."
4. St. John's *Evening Herald*, 14 March 1902.
5. Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 55. Some investors also held shares in other whaling companies, particularly the Harvey family and the estate of Adolph Nielsen, which invested substantially in The Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd. See Sanger and Dickinson, "The Origins of Modern Shore-Based Whaling;" Dickinson and Sanger, "Modern Shore-Based Whaling."
6. St. John's *Evening Herald*, 30 April 1902. The factory was considered "a spacious one and will be rushed to completion" (*Ibid.*, 1 April 1902).
7. *Ibid.*, 14 March 1902 and 16 April. In the interim, equipment needed to construct a guano factory was sent to the site and erected under the supervision of Dr. Ludwig Rismuller, later a company shareholder. *Ibid.*, 23 May and 11 September 1902.
8. *Ibid.*, 29 September 1902.
9. *Ibid.*, 12 November 1902. It was also necessary to burn down a house because the previous occupants had an unidentified infectious disease. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1902.
10. *Ibid.*, 5 December 1902. The company may have needed to use its workers at Snook's Arm and Ba-laena, then operating at capacity. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1902.
11. *Ibid.*, 27 May 1902.
12. The northeast coast fishery began in late May, supervised by Adolph Nielsen. *Ibid.*, 16 May 1902.
13. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1902.
14. *Evening Herald*, 22 October 1902. Most were caught in Bay Chaleur and Placentia Bay, and included "a whale killed at Lapoile... [which] had an American harpoon in its body with the letters 'E.H.G.' on one side of it and a single 'N' on the other." *Ibid.*, 11 August 1902.
15. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1902.
16. *Ibid.*, 10 and 11 July 1902.
17. *Ibid.*, 19 August 1902.
18. *Ibid.*, 9 and 10 October 1902.
19. Dickinson and Sanger, "Modern Shore-Based Whaling."
20. *Evening Herald*, 2 and 4 December 1902.
21. *Ibid.*, 3 December 1902. There may have been some confusion in interpreting the Act. It simply states that "The holder of any such [whaling] licence shall not use, employ or operate more than one whaling steamer within the boundaries defined therein." *Acts of the General Assembly of Newfoundland Passed in the 2nd Year of the Reign of His Majesty King Edward VII* (St. John's, 1902), 99-104. It did not appear to prohibit a company owning several catchers, one for use at each station.
22. *Evening Herald*, 28 July 1902.
23. *Ibid.*, 6 September 1902.

24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, 28 May and 4 June 1902.
26. *Ibid.*, 18 and 21 August 1902.
27. *Ibid.*, 8 September 1902.
28. *Ibid.* Rismuller had built other guano factories at Snook's Arm and Balaena, where in May 1902 "quite a number of men [were] employed and recently took 19 casks, each containing 60 gallons of oil from the whale handled." *Ibid.*, 31 May 1902. This carcass oil would have been of lower quality than that produced directly from blubber. T.E. Salvesen identified five grades of purity, 0-I from blubber only, II from tongues, kidney fat and residues from blubber boiling, III from flesh and bones and IV from refuse. "The whale fisheries of the Falkland Islands and Dependencies," *Report of the Scientific Results of the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition*, (1914), 479-86.
29. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1902.
30. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1902.
31. *Ibid.*, 21 June 1902.
32. *Ibid.*, 19 August 1902.
33. J.N. Tennesson and A.O. Johnsen, *The History of Modern Whaling* (Los Angeles, 1982), 104. Ellefsen was a member of a well-known Norwegian whaling family, reputedly the owners of the harpoon patent in litigation between the Cabot and Newfoundland Steam Whaling Companies. *Evening Herald*, 3 September, 14 November and 9 December 1902.
34. *Ibid.*, 26 October 1901.
35. *Ibid.*, 8 and 19 April 1902.
36. *Ibid.*, 30 April 1902. Coal also arrived from Cape Breton on the *Helen Isabel*, and oil tanks from Horwood Lumber Co. in St. John's. *Ibid.*, 22 and 31 May 1902.
37. Tennesson and Johnsen (*History of Modern Whaling*, 104) identify Ellefsen's operation as the Atlantic Whale Manufacturing Co. That company was not incorporated until 22 February 1904 as an enterprise of the St. John's merchant company, Job Bros. It did, however, subsequently purchase the Aquaforte site. Newfoundland, Register of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 40.
38. *Evening Herald*, 7 June 1902.
39. Tennesson and Johnsen, *History of Modern Whaling*, 104.
40. *Evening Herald*, 27 June 1902.
41. *Ibid.*, 3 and 20 September 1902.
42. *Ibid.*, 4 July 1902. This and subsequent quoted lengths, were often exaggerated (for example, *ibid.*, 11 July 1902), blue whales killed from Balaena averaged some seventy-five feet. F.W. True, "The Whalebone Whales of the Western North Atlantic," *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, XXXIII (1904), 155.
43. *Evening Herald*, 2 August 1902.
44. *Ibid.*, 27 December 1902.
45. *Ibid.*, 10 September and 28 October 1902.
46. Four hundred and seventy-two were reported by J.G. Millais, *Newfoundland and its Untrodden Ways* (New York, 1907), 163. The species composition of the catch is unrecorded, although E. Mitchell and RR Reeves estimated 105 humpback whales, extrapolated from the catch of 37 out of the 108 total kill from Aquaforte; E. Mitchell and RR Reeves, "Catch History, Abundance and Present Status of Northwest Atlantic Humpback Whales," in M.F. Tillman and G.P. Donovan (eds.), *Historical Whaling Records* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), 166.
47. Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903), Newfoundland, 8.
48. *Evening Herald*, 12 and 17 June, 19 July, 6 and 23 September 1902. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Scottish textile manufacturers concentrated in Dundee had converted to jute processing, a procedure requiring large quantities of whale and seal oil. For full details see C.W. Sanger, "The 19th Century Newfoundland Seal Fishery and the Influence of Scottish Whalers." *Polar Record*, XX (1980), 231-52.
49. *Ibid.*, 8 October 1902.
50. Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903), 47-48.

51. *Evening Herald*, 5 and 7 January, 21 and 25 March 1903.
52. *Ibid.*, 26 January 1903.
53. *Ibid.*, 21 and 30 March 1903. The catch included at least eleven high yielding blue whales. One reportedly ran for 122 miles and twenty-six hours before being killed with a second harpoon. *Ibid.*, 31 March 1903.
54. *Ibid.*, 21 May 1903.
55. *Ibid.* The *Puma* was transferred to the company's other station at Chaleur Bay.
56. "The schooner *Robert T. Mason* brought oil barrels and general supplies to Reuben's Cove in late May." *Ibid.*, 28 May 1903.
57. *Ibid.*, 2 June 1903. See also, 21 May.
58. *Ibid.*, 27 July 1903. A later report indicated that ninety-two had been killed. *Ibid.*, 24 August 1903.
59. Fifteen whales were killed in one week in early August. *Ibid.*, 14 August 1903.
60. *Ibid.*, 3 September 1903.
61. *Ibid.*, 8 October 1903.
62. *Ibid.*, 19 October 1903.
63. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1903.
64. *Ibid.*, 9 November 1903.
65. *Ibid.*, 4 February 1904.
66. For details see: *Ibid.*, 19 and 21 May, 19 and 30 June, 4, 6 and 7 July, 24 August, 19 September 1903.
67. *Ibid.*, 17 September 1903. Rismuller also chartered the barquentine *Antoinette* of St. Pierre to collect oil and guano from Rose-au-Rue and Snook's Arm. *Ibid.*, 23 and 24 October 1903.
68. *Ibid.*, 23 April 1903, and numerous.
69. *Ibid.*, 31 March and 22 July 1903.
70. *Ibid.*, 8 December 1903.
71. For details see: *Ibid.*, 30 March, 15 April, 16 June, 6 and 27 July, 15 September, 16 November, 14 December 1903.
72. Sanger and Dickinson, "The Origins of Modern Shore-Based Whaling."
73. *Evening Herald*, 2 November 1903.
74. *Ibid.*, 11 July 1903.
75. *Ibid.*, 13 May 1907.
76. *Ibid.*, 7 January 1903. For details of machinery and supplies shipped to the site from St. John's see: *Ibid.*, 19 and 20 January, 10 and 28 February, 6 March 1903.
77. *Ibid.*, 28 January 1903.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, 18 May 1903.
80. *Ibid.*, 13 May 1903.
81. *Ibid.*, 14 and 22 January 1903.
82. *Ibid.*, 25 February 1903. On arrival, her first job was to break up the bay ice so that she could bring in her future catch. *Ibid.*, 26 and 28 February 1903.
83. *Ibid.*, 11 March 1903.
84. *Ibid.*, 14 March 1903.
85. *Ibid.*, 16 March 1903.
86. *Ibid.*, 28 April 1903. The catch comprised four blue whales, three humpbacks and one fin.
87. *Ibid.*, 19 June 1903. *Viking* killed up to five whales daily, from a reportedly abundant stock. *Ibid.*, 2, 6, 8 and 12 June 1903.
88. *Ibid.*, 7 January 1903.
89. *Ibid.*, 17, 18 and 23 July 1903. Although the thirty occupants lost most of their belongings, there were no fatal injuries and some insurance was carried.
90. *Ibid.*, 4 September 1903.

91. *Ibid.*, 7 July, 9 and 26 November 1903.
92. *Ibid.*, 18 September 1903.
93. *Ibid.*, 1 October 1903.
94. Ellefsen married one Miss Melvin of St. John's at the Anglican Cathedral on 5 January 1903. *Ibid.*, 5 January 1903.
95. *Ibid.*, 9 January 1903.
96. *Ibid.* Work continued despite these incidents, oil casks and lumber arriving at Aquaforte in the schooner *Trixie H.* and S.S. *Ethie*. *Ibid.*, 6 and 7 February 1903.
97. *Ibid.*, 7 February 1903.
98. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1903. Whales were "quiet and easily obtained," (*Ibid.*, 16 June 1903) and up to thirteen caught per week, including four humpbacks and one blue in a day, "the best work for one day in the history of the fishery." *Ibid.*, 18 May 1903.
99. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1903.
100. Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903), 4.
101. *Evening Herald*, 25 November 1903. A later report places the catch at 217. *Ibid.*, 18 December 1903.
102. *Ibid.*, 8 October 1903.
103. Sanger and Dickinson, "The Origins of Modern Shore-Based Whaling;" Dickinson and Sanger, "Modern Shore-Based Whaling."
104. *Evening Herald*, 28 March and 1 April 1903.
105. Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 71.
106. *Ibid.* An original lease and licence held by Cashin were transferred by him to the company on 15 July 1904 in return for forty-five \$100 shares.
107. *Evening Herald*, 22 December 1903.
108. Sanger and Dickinson, "The Origins of Modern Shore-Based Whaling."
109. *Evening Herald*, 2 September 1903.
110. *Ibid.*, 18 July 1903.
111. *Ibid.*, 19 October 1903.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, 9 November 1903.
114. *Ibid.*, 6 October 1903.
115. *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory* (London, 1904).
116. *Evening Herald*, 19 October 1903.
117. *Ibid.*, 9 November 1903.
118. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1903.
119. Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 1, No. 7. Messrs. Winter and Prowse also were investors in the Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.
120. *Evening Herald*, 14 December 1903.
121. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1903.
122. Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 2, No. 89. Ryan was also a shareholder in the St. Mary's Whaling and Trading Co. Ltd.
123. *Ibid.*, Drawer 2, No. 90.
124. *Evening Herald*, 4 February 1903.
125. *Ibid.*, 27 November 1903.
126. *Ibid.*, 12 November 1903.
127. Newfoundland, Registry of Companies, Drawer 2, No. 91. Some shareholders, e.g. Charles Dawe, W.D. Reid and Dr. L. Rismuller were again involved in other companies.
128. Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903), 8.
129. *Evening Herald*, 30 March 1903.
130. *Ryid.*, 15 April 1903.
131. See, for example, *Ibid.*, 29 April, 4 June, 8 September, 12 October and 15 December 1903.

132. Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903), 9.

133. See, for example, public debate and call for international whaling regulations in the press following the close of the 1916 whaling season. *Evening Herald*, 27 November 1916.

Appendix I
Whaling Licence Applications, Newfoundland and Labrador, 1902/3

Factory Site	Co.	Application Date	Factory Site	Co.	Application Date
Little Burin Bay	CSW	22/07/02	Northwest Arm		
NW Arm, Trinity Bay	CMC	02/09/02	(Lapoile)	KRP	16/03/03
Cat Cove, Indian Bay	CMC	09/09/02	Curlew Harbour	TNW	23/03/03
Safe Harbour	CMC	28/10/02	Harbour Grace	WHW	23/03/03
Balaena*	CSW	06/12/02	Little St. Lawrence*	SLW	31/03/03
Snook's Arm*	CSW	09/12/02	St. Paul's Bay		
Bay Cahaleur*	NSW	15/12/02	(Dublin Cove)	JB	05/04/03
Rose-au-Rue*	NSW	15/12/02	Bell Island (Grey Islands)	CC	07/04/03
Beaver Cove	HJE	15/12/02	Gold Cove, White Bay	CC	23/05/03
Aquaforte*	AE	22/12/02	Adlavik, Lab.	BIB	21/07/03
Temple Bay, Lab.	^{D D T}	13/01/03	Hopedale, Lab.	BTB	21/07/03
Curlew Hr., Lab.	u w c	23/01/03	Tuaving Ayualvk, Lab.	CC	21/07/03
Lark Harbour	c c	26/01/03	Caplin Bay	CC	21/07/03
Cape Ray	c c	26/01/03	Okak Mission, Lab.	HDC	21/07/03
Mark's Harbour, Lab.	CAD	29/01/03	Hebron	HDC	21/07/03
St. Barbe's Bay	JRK	02/03	Raman, Lab.	HDC	21/07/03
St. Mary's (Rr/head)*	MC	02/03	Eclipse Hr., Lab.	HDC	21/07/03
Hawke Harbour, Lab.	DAR	06/02/03	Old Perlican	WBG	04/08/03
Port Saunders	JRK	02/03	Barrow Hr., B.B.	WBG	04/08/03
Cape Charles*	BBL	17/02/03	Hopping Hr., W.B.	AE	11/09/03
Cape Broyle*	CBT	23/03/03	Rencontre, F.B.	EWR	28/09/03
Quirpon	CC	03/03/03	Cottles Cove, N.D.B.	EWR	28/09/03
St. Lunaire Bay	NSW	03/03/03	Portugal Cove	JR	27/11/03
Blanc Sablon (L'Anse-au-Loup)*	JB	10/03/03	Bell Island, C.B.	JR	27/11/03

Notes: * denotes whaling stations either active or under construction in 1903. The following abbreviations are used in this appendix: AE (Anders Ellefsen); BBL (Bowring Bros. Ltd.); BTB (B.T. Byers); CAD (C & A Dawe); CBT (Cape Broyle Trading and Whaling Co. Ltd.); CC (Colin Campbell); CMC (Colonial Manufacturing Co. Ltd.); CSW (Cabot Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.); DAR (Daniel A Ryan); EWR (E.W. Roberts); HDC (H.D. Crowe); HJE (Henry J. Earle); JB (Job Bros.); JR (Joseph Roper); JRK (James R Knight); KRP (K R Prowse); MC (M. Cashin); NSW (Newfoundland Steam Whaling Co. Ltd.); SLW (St. Lawrence Whaling Co.); TNW (Terra Nova Whaling Co.); UWC (United Whaling Co. Ltd.); WBG (W.B. Grieve); WHW (W.H. Whitely);

Source: Newfoundland, *Annual Fisheries Report* (1903).