

Early Nineteenth-Century Sealing on the Falkland Islands: Attempts to Develop a Regulated Industry, 1820-1834

Anthony B. Dickinson

Introduction

Seals are an important source of skins, meat and oil for various indigenous peoples. In addition, a variety of species, including the Southern elephant seal (*Mirounga leonina*), Southern sea lion (*Otaria byronia*), South American fur seal (*Arctocephalus australis*) and Antarctic fur seal (*Arctocephalus gazella*), have been commercially exploited in the Falkland Islands and Dependencies.

The first cargo of seal products from the Falklands was sent to France in 1766 by temporary settlers from St. Malo, inaugurating an industry that continued sporadically until 1972. Periodic hunting also took place in the Dependencies, terminating at South Georgia in 1964 with closure of the Grytviken whaling station. The rush to make windfall profits during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in the rapid decimation of stocks on the Falklands and later in the Dependencies. The industry was primarily prosecuted by sealing and whaling crews from New England, although British vessels were involved to a limited extent. These collective activities reached a peak at the Falklands in the late eighteenth century, with sealers thereafter moving to exploit other southern hemisphere stocks, including those on the then-Dependencies of South Georgia and the South Shetlands, and to a lesser extent at the South Orkney and South Sandwich Islands. These stocks were also destroyed by the 1830s. Some sealers did, however, continue to visit the Falklands, usually to start or top up cargoes from the Dependencies. But they found the earlier unhindered hunting controlled by the United Provinces de la Plata (later Argentina) and by the permanent British administration established in 1834. This paper examines the ultimately unsuccessful attempts to regulate sealing on the Falklands prior to 1834.¹

United Provinces' Claim, 1820-1822

The first attempt to develop a regulated sealing industry on the Falklands was made by the United Provinces de la Plata, which had formally declared itself independent from Spain on 9 July 1816. The new government assumed it had also inherited Spanish jurisdiction from the Vice-Royalty of Buenos Aires, including sovereignty over the

The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord, IV, No. 3 (July 1994), 39-49.

Falklands, where a Spanish garrison remained until April 1811 at Puerto Soledad (Port Louis under earlier French habitation).² Unlike the Spaniards, who reportedly cared "little about the seal, but are very tenacious of their sovereignty,"³ some in the United Provinces were highly critical of unregulated sealing on "their" territory, expressing particular concerns for the survival of the southern elephant seal:

This great species of seal...is going to suffer everywhere frightful losses which will become more and more irreparable. It will not even have left the means of escape open to the whales, that of being able to take refuge in the midst of polar ice, to surround themselves against man with the horrors of nature...The land is their habitual abode; after having been the cradle of their existence it becomes the theatre of their lovemaking, it receives their last breaths. With such needs, how can they escape the pursuit of their principal enemy?

The new United Provinces government was unable to pay much attention to such issues, since it was faced with domestic strife and a depressed economy. But it occasionally attempted to assert its claim to the Falklands by sending a warship to burn the abundant coastal tussock grass (*Parodiochloa flabellata*) and to destroy potential sites for seal breeding rookeries, presumably to stop foreign sealers from visiting the islands.⁵

The first significant expression of United Provinces' sovereignty came in April 1820, when the government sent New London-born Col. Daniel Jewitt of the United Provinces Marine to the islands in the thirty-gun frigate *Heroína* to lay formal claim. Jewitt was also instructed to capture vessels belonging to enemies of the new regime, particularly those on Spanish registry. *Heroína* took its first prize in August 1820, capturing the Portuguese vessel *Carlotta*, homeward-bound from Bahia. *Carlotta* sailed with *Heroína* under a prize crew until it foundered, leaving *Heroína* to continue alone to the Falklands.⁶

On 6 November 1820, Jewitt laid formal claim to the Falkland Islands on behalf of the United Provinces and immediately sent a letter to the masters of at least fifty American and British sealing vessels, prohibiting them from hunting.⁷ Offenders were to be sent to Buenos Aires for trial.⁸ One vessel, *General Knox* (Capt. W. B. Orne), returned to Salem on 6 June 1821 with 5000 seal skins, 600 barrels of whale oil, and a copy of Jewitt's letter, which was later published locally to warn crews about to leave for the islands of the consequences of "illegal" sealing. The financial rewards still available made it unlikely that Jewitt's order would be respected, especially since fur seals had recently been reported in abundance at isolated rookeries on New, Beauchêne and Sea Lion Islands. Jewitt was in any case unable to enforce his commands, since *Heroína* was in a very dilapidated condition and eighty of its crew of 200 were suffering from scurvy. Returning to Buenos Aires, Jewitt left the United Provinces Marine for Brazilian service. *Heroína* resorted to piracy until captured on 20 March 1822 off Gibraltar. The initial attempt to regulate commercial sealing on the Falklands was therefore unsuccessful.⁹

Revitalisation of the American Sealing Industry

The government of the United Provinces paid no attention to the Falklands and their seal herds after Jewitt's return. Moreover, British sealing and whaling was beginning to decline in the South Atlantic, the southern hemisphere fleet being reduced by half between 1820 and 1825.¹⁰ This was partly due to the increased replacement of marine mammal oil by coal gas for street and domestic lighting from 1817. British demand for seal skins also declined as the production of silk hats, introduced in 1797 by the London hatter John Hetherington, replaced fur seal skin "beaver" hats as formal headwear.¹¹ It was also more difficult to get profitable cargoes from over-exploited fur seal stocks in competition with more numerous American hunters.

Unlike their British counterparts, American sealers remained highly active in southern oceans to meet an increasing domestic demand for fur seal skins. The US trade with Canton was now reduced because of the greater importation of terrestrial mammal furs by the Hudson's Bay Company, the Northwest Fur Company and traders operating from St. Louis. It was also no longer possible to get full cargoes of seal skins for direct shipment to Canton, requiring the additional expense of bringing part cargoes to New England for consolidation and transshipment.¹² Domestic sales of skins therefore became more significant, supporting a growing local hat industry as imports from Britain declined. This "new" American industry largely resulted principally from the enterprise of Denison Williams, a hatter from Albany who began to make cheap seal skin caps around 1820. Unlike manufacturers in Canton and England, Williams neither removed the coarse guard hairs nor produced fine quality (and expensive) underfur skins. His products found a ready market among impoverished blacks in the southern US. Williams also began to dye skins in 1825, although prior to 1835 most were dyed brown.¹³

Several new and highly speculative companies were quickly formed to supply this new domestic industry. New Jersey, for example, passed an act on 15 November 1822 to incorporate "A Company for carrying on the Whale and Seal Fisheries from the port of Perth Amboy, and for banking purposes." The new Commercial Bank of New Jersey was allowed to allocate "a sum not exceeding one-third part, and not less than one-fifth part of the capital stock so subscribed shall be set apart and employed by the company in prosecuting and carrying on, from the port of Perth-Amboy, the fishing for whales, seals and sea fish in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and for no other purposes whatsoever."¹⁴

Although most southern hemisphere fur sealing was now done on the South Shetland and South Orkney Islands, American sealers continued to complete their cargoes from stock remnants on the Falklands. In the renewed absence of authority after Jewitt's departure, they continued their slaughters unhindered.¹⁵

Renewal of Argentinean Activities, 1826-1833

Unregulated and American-dominated sealing was temporarily disrupted by the arrival of Louis Vernet and a party of settlers from the United Provinces de la Plata in 1826.¹⁶

Vernet established a settlement at Port Louis and resolved to "employ all my resources and avail myself of all my connections in order to undertake a formal colonization which should...lay the foundation of a national Fishery which has been at all times and in all countries the origin and nursery of the Navy and Mercantile Marine."¹⁷ The United Provinces' government "awarded" Vernet exclusive sealing rights in the Falklands and the coast of Patagonia south to the Rio Negro in January 1828 and proclaimed him "Governor of the Falkland Islands and Tierra del Fuego" on 10 June 1829¹⁸.

Vernet realised that unregulated sealing was destroying a potentially lucrative part of his concession and hence began a campaign to convince foreign crews that they were hunting illegally. His actions arose from a decree issued in Buenos Aires on 22 October 1821 intended to promote the development of indigenous fisheries. The writ specified that "native inhabitants could export or import products of the fishery, including marine mammals, duty free in national vessels," while "a duty of \$1.00 per ton was levied if foreign vessels were used." Foreign citizens "were required to pay a duty of \$6.00 per ton," although this was reduced to \$1.00 if "a settlement of at least six families" resulted. Finally, foreigners who erected "buildings to extract marine mammal oil or prepare skins were required to pay a duty of \$3.00 per ton."¹⁹

Vernet's campaign began with a circular to the masters of foreign sealing vessels in Port Louis harbour informing them of his authority and announcing that henceforth the laws would be enforced. At the same time, however, he offered to sell them supplies "on moderate terms."²⁰ Capt. John Biscoe took Vernet up on his offer to purchase supplies at Port Louis when he visited the islands in 1830 on the sealer *Tula*, but was "disappointed in hopes of taking provisions without much expense, Mr. Vernet the proprietor selling his bullocks at \$1.10 each, which are small and lean and very badly killed, he informed me he had much better to the southwest of the Island, but it was not in his power at the time to send for any."²¹

Although at least forty-four visits were made to Port Louis by sealing vessels between June 1826 and March 1831, Vernet's warning may have had some temporary success, since none were recorded as arriving in 1830.²² But American wholesale prices for fur seal skins, which doubled to about US \$10 between 1831 and 1841, signalled the eventual demise of Vernet's attempt to regulate sealing.²³ To enforce his demands and authority, Vernet made a grave error. In July-August 1831 he arrested the Stonington sealing vessels *Harriet* (Capt. Gilbert R. Davison) and *Breakwater* (Capt. Daniel Carew), and the New York vessel *Superior* (Capt. Stephen Congar), for alleged "illegal" hunting. Brought into San Salvador, Argentina, *Harriet* was stripped of provisions and skins for evidence.²⁴ At the same time, *Superior* returned to sealing at Vernet's request off the west coast of South America, the intention being to allocate proceeds from the sale of any cargo to Vernet if the Americans were ultimately judged guilty of illegal sealing, or to her owners if an innocent verdict were rendered. Meanwhile, *Breakwater's* crew recaptured their vessel and returned to the US after stranding Capt. Carew and four men at Port Louis.²⁵

The British Government had meanwhile been informed of the arrests and condemned Vernet on the grounds that sealing had previously "been pursued without

hindrance or interruption on the coasts of the Falkland Islands for many years past by vessels of all nations, of which a large part have always been North American."²⁶ Vernet did not, however, seize British vessels. This tolerant attitude may have been the direct outcome of a warning from Woodbine Parish, the British Consul in Montevideo, that Port Louis would be attacked by the Royal Navy if British sealers were arrested.²⁷

Vernet sailed with Davison on *Harriet* to Buenos Aires where he proposed that the vessel be considered a prize if a test case for illegal sealing were resolved in his favour. Meanwhile, Davison visited the United States Consul, George Washington Slacum, to inform him of Vernet's arrest of American vessels. Subsequent communications between Slacum and the government of Argentina did not produce an agreement to stop Vernet, resulting in the dispatch of USS *Lexington* (Cmdr. Silas Duncan) for the Falklands on 9 December 1831. Entering Port Louis on 28 December under a French flag, Duncan destroyed the settlement in retribution. The intensely patriotic Duncan had on his own account considered it his duty to "proceed thither with the force under my command for the protection of citizens and commerce of the United States engaged in the fisheries in question."²⁸

News of the arrest of American vessels also reached Washington with the arrival of *Breakwater*, leading to a series of diplomatic exchanges and the severance of relations between Argentina and the US in September 1832.²⁹ Undaunted, Vernet continued from Buenos Aires to condemn unregulated sealing:

Foreigners who only seek present and immediate utilities, without considering the future, effect the slaughter in a pernicious manner. They set fire to the fields and slaughter indiscriminately, and in all seasons, even that of bringing forth the young. In consequence of this and of the constant and great concourse, has ensured the present diminution of seals, of which there are now scarcely the twentieth part of what there were in 1820. It is not impossible that this valuable species may return to its former abundance, by means of a well regulated slaughter, and some years of respite. But whilst foreigners continue to slaughter, it is impossible, and the species will become extinct.³⁰

Despite these laudable attempts to regulate sealing from the Falklands, Vernet was also likely motivated by the potential for personal gain.³¹ Defending his position, Vernet justified the arrests of *Harriet* and *Superior* on the grounds that they had been illegally sealing in 1829-1830, acts to which both masters had supposedly confessed. He further argued that the vessels were only plundered to provide provisions for settlers not bribed by Davison to ignore his illegal sealing. Vernet also reputedly contracted Davison to take *Harriet* to Staten Island and collect crew and timber left there by *Superior* before its capture. Although Davison was to be paid a sum equal to 7.5% of the value of the timber, he was prevented from collecting it by the armed New York schooner *Elizabeth Jane*, which attempted to take *Harriet* by force after Davison refused to be voluntarily liberated,

fearing reprisals to those of his crew remaining under Vernet's control on the Falklands. *Harriet* returned to Port Louis at a loss of US \$400 to Vernet.³²

The US continued to claim that its citizens had fishery rights in Falkland Islands' waters because of similar freedoms accorded British crews off North America as well as on historical grounds. But the British government did not recognise this claim.³³

British Repossession to Permanent Government, 1832-1834

The potential for developing the Falklands as a British outpost on the Cape Horn sea route had been noted several times, since "even in time of peace [it] might be of great consequence to this nation, and, in time of war, would make us master of those seas."³⁴ The British now considered that a permanent settlement and administration should be introduced to support further British claims of sovereignty, especially since they could now get American support as a result of US hostility to Argentina. Britain therefore despatched HMS *Clio* (Cmdr. J.J. Onslow) and HMS *Tyne* (Capt. Charles Hope) from the Rio de Janeiro headquarters of the Royal Navy South American squadron on 29 November 1832. The vessels arrived at the Falklands on 20 December, entered Port Louis harbour on 5 January 1833, and expelled the Argentinean military garrison and "Governor" Don Juan Esteban Mestivier. Onslow also reported that "sealing and whaling vessels call at the islands for water and wild hogs...seals are frequently taken, but in consequence of the number of vessels (principally American) employed of late years in this trade, and the indiscriminate destruction of old, young, male and female, they have now become scarce."³⁵

One such vessel may have been *Sun* (Capt. Trott), which returned to New London on 27 September 1833 with 1000 fur seal skins and some oil.³⁶ HMS *Tyne* also encountered the Stonington vessel *Courier* (Capt. Burnham) sealing around Saunders Island. Since this was Burnham's first voyage as master, he had only taken 1600 fur seal skins in fifteen months, mainly from the west coast of Patagonia. Although a small catch, the fifteen-man crew considered the voyage satisfactory since the scarce skins were selling in the US at up to \$16 each. An unidentified officer on HMS *Tyne* subsequently penned a graphic description of sealing methods on the Falklands:

Observing a fire under one of the sea cliffs, I walked towards it, and found there two of the schooner's [*Courier*] crew boiling seal oil for the use of the vessel, using turf and the refuse of the blubber for fuel. The desolateness of the place, the semi subterranean situation, and the whirling gusts of smoke and flame gushing from under the rocky canopy, all contributed to give it a very picturesque look; the men, while writhing about with their grim faces and ash powered hair, stirring their cauldron amid curling smoke like the scullions of Pluto stewing down a dish of the damned for the supper of their infernal master.³⁷

Onslow also realized that the settlement could not prosper if foreign sealers continued their unregulated plunder of the island's resources. He thus asked the British government to station a small garrison to maintain order and protect the settlers. But when this was not done immediately, sealers therefore continued to destroy the island's wildlife, the crews of two unidentified vessels killing 2000 wild hogs for the skins alone. The carcasses "were left to rot, and several hundred horses and a large number of seal pups were killed, whose skins only fetch 1/- each compared to a possible 2 to 3 guineas at 2-3 years old."³⁸

The American demand for skins continued after an employee of the Treadwell Co. of Albany discovered a method for dyeing skins colours other than brown. The finished skins were hard and heavy, and were primarily used to make men's waistcoats, short jackets, gloves, riding rugs and trunk coverings.³⁹ Few now came from the Falklands, however, since fur seal stocks were by now decimated.⁴⁰ For example, *Hamilton* (Capt. Pendleton) returned to New York on 10 October 1834 after two years in the islands with only 1150 fur seal skins, which may have sold for up to US \$20 each.⁴¹ This lack of seals continued to be commented upon by contemporary visitors:

These islands were some years left at the mercy of navigators of all nations, who landed there as suited their convenience, and made use of the supplies which they afforded, in the manner usual to uneducated men left without restraint, in wasting and destroying whatever fell in their hands which could not be rendered available or taken away.⁴²

Fortunately, not all sealers had such destructive attitudes. Capt. William Low of the British sealer *Unicorn* was "considered to be the most intelligent and enterprising sealer on these shores...The son of a respectable land agent in Scotland, he was brought up as a sailor and possesses strong common sense, quick apprehension, a readiness at description and an extraordinary local memory." Nonetheless, all seal species were "annually becoming scarcer, and if means are not taken to prevent indiscriminate slaughter, at any time of the year, one of the most profitable sources of revenue at the Falklands will be destroyed."⁴³ Despite such comments, the behaviour of the sealers still left much to be desired. One observer commented, for example, that "during the month we remained at Berkeley Sound, I had much trouble with the crews of..small sealing vessels, who all seemed to fancy that...they were at liberty to do as they pleased." Others more charitably considered sealers and whalers to be "a highly intelligent and competent body of men."⁴⁴

Fortune was not always on the side of the sealers, as shown by the fate of Mathew Brisbane, once master of *Beaufoy*, the cutter that accompanied *Jane* (Capt. Weddell) on a sealing expedition to the Falkland Islands and Dependencies between 1822 and 1824. After a varied career, Brisbane returned to the Falklands and ran Vernet's sealing operations, but was murdered on 26 August 1833 during a revolt by Argentinean labourers at Port Louis. His friend Capt. Low was away sealing and survived by taking

refuge at Kidney Island, where he met *Adventure* in February 1834 and signed on as pilot. Sealers passed information on the murder to the outside world. Henry Rea, a naval officer attached to the Enderby Bros, sealer *Hopeful* (Capt. Mallros), which arrived in Berkeley Sound with *Rose* in October 1833, outlined events in a letter to Rear Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, then Commander-in-Chief of the British South America Squadron at Rio de Janeiro. Rea requested that a warship be sent to the Falklands to prevent further massacres.⁴⁵ His letter was transferred from *Hopeful* to the sealer *Susannah Ann* (Capt. Ferguson) and then to Capt. Neilson of *Swallow* on 11 December 1833 for delivery in London. Naval authorities there considered the information to be false, since of the two Capt. Brisbane's listed in their records, one had died in Florence and the other was on half-pay and inactive.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, they despatched HMS *Challenger* (Capt. Sir Michael Seymour) to the Falklands, where it arrived on 9 January 1834. The next day Henry Smith, previously First Lieutenant of HMS *Tyne*, was landed to act as Naval Governor, the first resident British administrator since 1774.⁴⁷ Smith made the first of several concerted attempts by subsequent British officials to regulate sealing and develop an industry which would be undertaken primarily by islanders.

Conclusion

Commercial sealing began on the Falklands in the mid-eighteenth century, and continued sporadically there and in the Dependencies until the mid-twentieth. Early hunting was totally unregulated and resulted in the decimation of stocks. Attempts to introduce regulations did not begin until the 1820s, as part of the initiatives of the United Provinces de la Plata to exert sovereignty over the islands.

The establishment of a permanent British administration in 1834 provided the necessary authority to introduce and enforce regulations for the development of a primarily domestic industry. This continued periodically until 1972. Authority was not immediately transferred to the Dependencies due to lack of manpower and the recognition that these islands were in fact British sovereign territories. Consequently, unregulated sealing sporadically continued there until 1909 when regulations were introduced to control elephant sealing at South Georgia. This enabled the successful and uninterrupted operation of this industry until 1964, except for the 1962 season when the whaling company licensee did not function.⁴⁸

NOTES

* Anthony Dickinson is Director of the Canadian Centre for International Fisheries Training and Development of Memorial University of Newfoundland, an Associate Professor in the Department of Biology and member of the Maritime Studies Research Unit. From 1964-66 he was

Sealing Inspector/Biologist on the Falkland Island's government on South Georgia.

1. A.B. Dickinson, "A History of Sealing in the Falkland Islands and Dependencies" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1987); Dickinson, "The Development and Administration

- of Elephant Sealing in South Georgia" (Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 1984); Dickinson, "Some Aspects of the Origin and Implementation of the Eighteenth-Century Falkland Islands Sealing Industry," *International Journal of Maritime History*, II, No. 2 (December 1990), 33-68; Dickinson, "Nineteenth-Century Sealing in the Falkland Islands Dependencies," *The Great Circle*, XV, No. 1 (1993), 1-17; A.G.E. Jones, "Fur Sealing in the Falkland Islands in the 1820's and 1830's," *Falkland Islands Journal* (1992), 39-47.
2. A.B. Dickinson, "The Port Louis Settlement, 1842," *Falkland Islands Journal* (1988), 34-41.
 3. E. Townsend, "The Diary of Mr. Ebenezer Townsend Jr., The Supercargo of the Sealing Ship *Neptune* on Her Voyage to the South Pacific and Canton," *New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers*, IV, No. 3 (1888), 28.
 4. F. Péron, "Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands...during the Years 1800 to 1804," in H.M. Micco (ed.), *King Island and the Sealing Trade, 1802* (Canberra, 1971).
 5. V.F. Boyson, *The Falkland Islands, with Notes on the Natural History by Rupert Vallentin* (Oxford, 1924).
 6. For further details on Jewitt and the history of nineteenth-century Argentine claims, see B. Gough, *The Falkland Islands/Malvinas. The Contest for Empire in the South Atlantic* (London, 1992); Gough, "American Sealers, the United States Navy and the Falklands 1830-32," *Polar Record*, XXVIII (1992), 219-228; Gough, "British Reoccupation and Colonization of the Falkland Islands, or Malvinas 1832-1843," *Albion*, XXII, No. 2 (1990), 261-287; J.J. Goebel, *The Struggles for the Falkland Islands. A Study in Legal and Diplomatic History* (New Haven, 1927).
 7. These included *Jane* of Leith, commanded by Capt. James Weddell, who assisted *Heroína* into Port Louis harbour and described Jewitt's ceremonial claim to the islands; J. Weddell, *A Voyage towards the South Pole, 1822-24* (London, 1825).
 8. L. Vemet, "Report of the Political and Military Commandant of the Malvinas," *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX (1836), 369-436.
 9. "Possession of the Falkland Islands," *Salem Gazette*, 8 November 1821; F.B. Robotti, *Whaling and Old Salem. A Chronicle of the Sea* (Salem, 1950); B. Morrell, *A Narrative of Four Voyages ...from the Year 1822-1831* (New York, 1832). Information on Beauchêne Island is found in R.I. Lewis Smith, "Beauchêne Island — A Historical Account," *Falkland Islands Journal* (1989), 14-22; W.R. Manning (comp.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs 1831-1860*. I: Argentina: Docs. 1-387 (Washington, DC, 1932).
 10. G. Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade* (London, 1978).
 11. According to W. Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions with a History and Description of the Northern Whale Fishery* (London, 1820), prices fell from £46 per ton in 1817 to around £20 per ton in 1820. See also J.G. Links, *The Book of Fur* (London, 1956).
 12. See, for example, A.C. Laut, "Concerning Fur Seals," *American Fur Trader* (1921), 125-133; S.E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921); R.A. Rydell, *Cape Horn to the Pacific: The Rise and Decline of an Ocean Highway* (Los Angeles, 1952).
 13. J.H. Partridge, "Furs and Their Wearers," *Popular Science Monthly*, IV (1873), 143-156. The now low wholesale prices for skins, up to US \$4.25 each (*Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current [1815-54]*) enabled him to make US \$60,000 prior to retiring from hatmaking in 1827; C.H. Stevenson, "Utilization of Skins of Aquatic Animals," in *Report of Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries for Year Ending 30 June 1902* (Washington, DC, 1904), 283-352.
 14. H.B. Weiss, *Whaling in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1974). The Bank closed in October 1857 after incurring heavy financial losses from speculative construction of property and railroads.

15. Dickinson, "Nineteenth-Century Sealing."
16. Additional information and references on Vernet are available in Gough, *The Falkland Islands/Malvinas*.
17. Vernet, "Report."
18. R.R. Caillet-Bois, *Una tierra Argentina—Las Mas Malvinas* (Buenos Aires, 1948).
19. Goebel, *The Struggles for the Falkland Islands*.
20. L. Vernet, "Circular to Foreign Fishing Vessels, 1 August 1829," in Caillet-Bois, *Una Tierra Argentina*.
21. A.G.E. Jones, "John Biscoe in the Falkland Islands, 1830-1832," *Falkland Islands Journal* (1977).
22. Great Britain, Public Record Office (PRO), Colonial Office (CO) 78/1, W. Parish, "Arrivals at Port Soledad in the Falkland Islands from June 1826 to March 1831," 14 December 1831. It is more likely, however, that vessels sailed directly to their sealing grounds without entering Port Louis, or that the list is inaccurate.
23. Indeed, prices reached US \$12 in 1835-1836; see *Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current*.
24. F. Baylies, American Chargé d'Affaires to the Buenos Aires Minister, 20 June 1832, *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX (1836), 330-338. Two hundred pup skins from her cargo were auctioned at Stonington in 1831 for US \$0.37 each; *Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current*.
25. They were eventually shipped to Rio de Janeiro on the British vessel *Elbe*, Vernet, "Report." According to Goebel, *The Struggles for the Falkland Islands*, news of the arrests was also published in the *Columbian Sentinel* (Boston), 25 September 1832.
26. PRO, CO 78/1, W. Parish to Viscount Palmerston, 31 December 1831.
27. Caillet-Bois, *Una Tierra Argentina*; PRO, CO 78/1, Parish to Palmerston, 14 December 1831. The settlement was, in fact, later attacked, albeit from a different quarter.
28. S. Duncan to George W. Slacum, 1 December 1831, *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX (1836), 317.
29. See, for example, *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX (1836), 311-441; Goebel, *The Struggles for the Falkland Islands*, Manning (comp.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*; A.G. Langenheim, *Elementos para la historia de nuestra Islas Malvinas, Tomo I* (Buenos Aires, 1939); Caillet-Bois, *Una Tierra Argentina*.
30. Vernet, "Report."
31. *Ibid.*
32. Additional information on the political background to the Vernet sealing affair is available in Gough, *The Falkland Islands/Malvinas*.
33. PRO, CO 78/1, H.J. Fox to Palmerston, 15 October 1832.
34. G. Anson, *A Voyage Round the World in Three Years* (London, 1748).
35. PRO, CO 78/1, B.H. Wilson to Palmerston, 26 January 1833.
36. R.O. Decker, *The Whaling City: A History of New London* (Chester, CT, 1976). Although fur seals were now very scarce in the Falkland Islands and Dependencies, at least 25,491 skins were auctioned in the United States in 1832, and prices rose to US \$11.75 each in the following year. It is not recorded how many of these came from the Falklands. See also Dickinson, "A History of Sealing in the Falkland Islands."
37. *Athenaeum* (London, 1833), 479.

38. G.T. Whittington, *The Falkland Islands, Compared from Ten Years Investigation of the Subject* (London, 1840); PRO, CO 78/1, Whittington to R.W. Hay, 13 June 1834.
39. United States, House of Representatives, 50th Congress, 2nd Session, Report 3883, *Fur Seal Fisheries of Alaska* (Washington, DC, 1889); E. Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London, 1981).
40. L.B. Mackinnon, *Some Account of the Falkland Islands, From a Six Months Residence in 1838 and 1839* (London, 1840).
41. Weiss, *Whaling in New Jersey; Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current*.
42. Mackinnon, *Some Account of the Falkland Islands*, condemned the sealer's destructions after he visited on the surveying vessel HMS *Arrow*.
43. Capt. Fitzroy [R.N.], *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836* (London, 1839). Fitzroy bought *Unicorn*, renamed it *Adventure* and took on some of Low's crew. Others, including Low, decided to remain at Port Louis to do their own sealing.
44. W.P. Snow, *A Two Years' Cruise off Tierra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, Patagonia and the River Plate* (London, 1857).
45. PRO, CO 78/1, M. Seymour, "Report to the Admiralty on the Port Louis Massacre, [1834];" Boyson, *The Falkland Islands*; A.G.E. Jones, "Captain Mathew Brisbane," *Falkland Islands Journal* (1975), 1-4; H. Rea (Lieut., RN) to Rear Admiral Sir Michael Seymour (Commander-in-Chief, South America, *Nautical Magazine* (June 1834), 376-377; Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages*.
46. "Massacre at the Falkland Islands," *Nautical Magazine* (March 1834), 181; Boyson, *The Falkland Islands*; Jones, "Captain Mathew Brisbane," describes the efforts of John Brisbane to obtain information about the murder of his brother.
47. See Dickinson, "Some Aspects."
48. A.B. Dickinson, "The Demise of Elephant Sealing at South Georgia," *Polar Record*, XXV (1989), 185-190; Dickinson, "A History of Sealing in the Falkland Islands."