

# Historical Whaling in New England

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### MAIN PAGE

Blue Whale skeleton found in New Bedford coasts in 1987



Richard Ellis, one of America's most celebrated marine artists and writers, states in his book *Men and Whales* (1991) that, since the 9th Century, men have played an enormous role in the lives of whales, so they are as important in the natural history of whales, as whales are in the natural history of many countries. That the effect of whales on men was as important as that of men on whales and that, usually, the location of whales determined the location of men. Therefore, the lives of both were interwoven through history.

Whaling has been linked to human beings from the 9th Century in which the Basques seemed to have crossed the Atlantic to hunt whales close to the New England coast (they were the only ones whaling in this coast), driving to extinction the grey whale. It seems that the Basques were the first commercial whalers, many years before the industry of whaling spread all over the world.

Between the 9th Century and the 16th Century, and following the Basques, many other Europeans visited Greenland waters were the most visited ones for whaling. Although there were whalers from other European countries, most were Dutch. They used to take the whales to Rotterdam to have their blubber processed in facilities called "cookeries." During those centuries, the Dutch processed whale oil for the whole Europe.

The whaling industry started in the New England US coast in the 1700s, and lasted until the 1930s. Among all whaling ports in the east coast of the US, those in Cape Cod were the more fructiferous in this industry, and initially most captures were done in this area. Places in Massachusetts like Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Barnstable, or Darmouth (later New Bedford) were the most important ones although other ports like Newport, RI, Providence, Connecticut, or Long Island, NY, were also important whaling ports.

Since the arrival of the Pilgrims, whaling, although primitive (they used small shallops with a harpooner in the front) and individualistic (whale products were only exchangeable among them), was a very profitable resource as energy oil, for betty lamps, and to maintain leather (this whale oil was called "train oil," and soon would become an article for export). The Plymouth colony knew that they had a great business in whaling. There were a lot of whales in the New England coast and the Pilgrims had been previously guaranteed by the Royal Charter of England, that they could enjoy free fishing. That is why they proceeded to make the first regulation on whaling in the US. For instance, those whales arriving to the coast by themselves (wounded or stranded) could not be touched until they were inspected by the General Court. This General Court must also inspect the scars on those whales abandoned, wounded, or dead by the whalers. Before the authorities arrival the whale could not be cut, then it would be established who could profit from that whale, the one who first discovered it, or the whaler who had wounded it.

The whaling industry in the States started in Buzzards Bay. By 1740 Buzzards Bay had only small farming settlements, being the largest one Acushnet (named after the local river), and, during the second half of the 1700s the Russells, a well known family of the area, established the first small whaling business, in New Bedford. By this time, the whaling industry was already a flourishing industry around the world since almost everything in life was made from whale products: oil was used to proper all type of machines or to conserve them (trains, sewing, clocks...), as well as for lightening and candles; teeth and bones were used for artistic products ("scrimshaw," as we will see later, is the name of this artistic manifestation in which teeth bones and jaws were painted and decorated); baleens, or whale bones, were used for skirt hoops in fashion, umbrella ribs, furniture springs...etc. Baleens were so adapted to these uses that even today there is no perfect substitute. All fashion wardrobe in Europe, mostly in France, used these baleens or whale bones.

But although Buzzards Bay is considered to have hosted the first whaling industry in the United States, there were other ports organizing whale fishing as well. This was the case of South Hampton, in Long Island (New York), which, as the rest of whaling ports, began to employ also American Indians. In fact, around 75% of the hired people were native Americans, *wampanoag* (locals) and *algoquin* speaking. Indians who went whaling were protected by the law under the "Encouragement of Whaling," Act of Parliament of 1709. By this Act, Indians who whaled from Nov. 1st to April 15th would not be arrested and would not be unemployed during the rest of the year.

The whaling industry was so important that all men were asked to take turns, in an elevated position, to search if there were whales in the coast because it is important to keep in mind that, in addition to whale products, whaling promoted other adjacent industries. The most important one, besides ship building, was the manufacturing of sails and of cordage. The ropes were manufactured in long and flat buildings called "rope walks." These strands were made from hemp or manila plant fibers, and tied with different knots. Following the whaling industry there was also another, somehow, valuable industry, Yachting. This business began during the 18th Century in Salem (Massachusetts). The influential George Crownshild, one of the first American millionaires built the "Cleopatra's Barge," in which he made the first "tourist" trip to and through the Mediterranean (bringing back with him the old and torn boots of Napoleon Bonaparte as a "souvenir," today exposed at the Peabody-Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts).

As we see, whaling was the most important and profitable industry during those days. It provided the basic products until electricity appeared. Even Benjamin Franklin made his own important contribution to additional uses of whaling products. He is attributed to have invented the whale oil lamp by the end of 18th Century. It was a two-wick system for self-regulation. It saved oil and provided more light, and the candles did neither smoke nor pour out.

Besides the previous by-products mentioned above, the most profitable one was *ambergris* (in the 1880s, 1/8 of pound of ambergris had a value of \$10,000, almost like gold). Ambergris was a substance formed inside the intestinal track of sperm whales. When these whales, who fed on giant squids, swallowed any part of the squid beak, their intestinal system produced a substance that covered that piece of beak to ease its processing through the intestinal track. If whales did not expel it, they died. The main purpose of ambergris was to fix perfume essences. It was so good in this that even nowadays there is no adequate substitute. The expelled *ambergris* sometimes reached the beaches, so many people used to wander on them in order to find it and become rich.

As time passed, this growing industry made New Bedford the whaling capital of the world, in the beginning of the 19th Century, with 329 whaling ships. The city became the center of this business, not only for whaling but its associated jobs and manufacturers, and it grew socially and economically, attracting a great immigration from Japan, Pacific Islands, West Indies, and Europe, being the largest immigration from Cabo Verde and Azores (New Bedford still keeps a large community from these two places). But not only immigrants were hired. Black people, who escaped from slavery, became enrolled in whaling as well; whaling provided them with the possibility of bringing up free children. In fact, there were many all black crews, and they also made huge fortunes by the mid 1800s. It is important to say, however, that although many, people worked in the industry only a few really profited from it.



But which were the processes involved in whaling? Who were the whalers? How were these whales processed and turned into products? What kind of whales were captured?

We have to start by saying that whaling was one of the most dangerous occupations during those days; a lot of men died during the hunts, but, at the same time, it was considered a romantic profession; whalers were heroes. In 1820 the whaler Essex Nantucket was sunk by a whale and, in 1821, Owen Chase, a 1st Mate, wrote a novel about the issue: *Shipwreck of the Whale Ship Essex*, which would be followed in 1851 by Herman Melville's classic, and masterpiece of American literature, *Moby Dick*.

The whale ships were not excessively large. The typical crew was 15-20 men, many of them just 14-15 years old (with the dream of becoming captains) living in very poor conditions inside the ship. They lived in the forecastle. Only the captain, the cook, the carpenter, the harpooners, and the cooper had cabins. The cooper was in charge of assembling and fixing the oil casks, and other products casks, made of strips of curved wood "staves," and rounded by hoops to grasp them. Only the captain was allowed to bring his family, after paying \$1000. The forecastle of the ship was full of rats and cockroaches and badly ventilated. They only ate salt, cod, pork (beyond 5-years-old), and hard bread; no vegetables, for a trip that, during the 18th Century, could last 3 o 4 years. Sometimes, the lack of protein made them eat even worms.

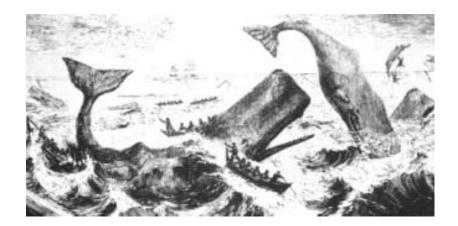
But although "working" with whales was exhausting, the crew also used to have a lot of free time, which allowed sailors to develop the **scrimshaw art**, and to invent like a sub genre in music, the sea songs. Scrimshaw was the art of decorating whale teeth and bones. It consisted in painting and carving these bones. Usually the motifs were counter-drawn by pressure from newspaper drawings. The sea men also used other materials compiled during the trip like coconuts, elephant tusks, walrus tusks, shells, tortoise...etc.

Scrimshaw, artistic painting and carving on whale teeth and decorative objects from baleens.



Regarding the artistic manifestation of whaling, there are many paintings on the issue collected at museums. There was a typical way of picturing the hunting of a whale which was called the "crescent whale," and it was so recurrent in lithographs and paintings, that it turned into a classic still shown in whaling museums. It features a sperm whale, usually upside down, bent, with its mouth open wide. The first artist featuring the crescent whale was Tom Huggins.

Picture of a Crescent Whale.



Going back to the whale ships, they used to carry, attached to a side, a small boat from which the whale was hunted. These small boats were called "blubberhunters," and they were similar to the Indian canoes, double ended to go in any direction. The boats used to take 3 or 4 harpooners. Before 1837, men had to use these harpoons by force, but in this year, the English invented the "greener gun," which could be shot instead, so whalers did not have to come very close to the whale. Years later, in 1848 Lewis Temple invented the "toggle," an harpoon with retractile end (currently used in submarine fishing.) And finally, fire arms were also used. Once the whale was hit, the small boat was towed by the whale sometimes during hours. This run was called "Nantucket-sleigh-ride." Once hit, the whale sounded but, as it lost its strength, it came to the surface more often allowing itself to be further harpooned. Once dead, it was tied to the side of the boat, taken to the ship, and again tied to the side of the ship to take it to land for processing. Finally, its oil was sent to Boston for export (Boston had the world monopoly,)being Amsterdam and London the most significant places to export.



Whaleman cutting into a whale before bringing it to the ship.



Different types of harpoons used in whaling.

This is what happened in the beginning of the industry, the whale was taken to land to its process. Later, at the end of 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th , the "tryworks" were invented and the whales started to be processed in the ships themselves. "Tryworks" implied the processing of the whale, the separation of the blubber and its melting. The ships carried a large furnace with large pots, "trypots," where blubber was melted. To facilitate this melting process, the large pieces of blubber were first minced into small layers of fat called "bible leaves." Then, the oil was placed in casks for refining ashore. The rest was thrown, except bones, teeth, and tongue (the only whale product to eat, considered a delicatessen). Those pieces of blubber which did not melt, "cracklings," were drained with a skimmer and used as fuel. By now, New Bedford and Nantucket merchants were themselves the ones exporting whale products directly to Amsterdam and London (without sending them first to Boston).

Replica of the deck of the whaling ship "Lagoda." The boiler, "tryworks" in the deck can be seen behind the mast.



Mincing knives to cut the blubber.

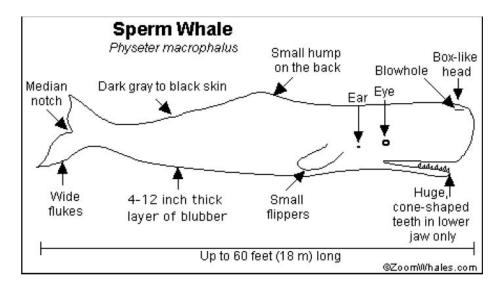


Cask for storing melted whale oil.



The type of whale products depended on the hunted whale, but basically they were the same. During the 18th and 19th Centuries, Americans hunted five species: sperm, right, bowhead (or Greenland whale, as the English called it), humpback, and grey. Blue and fin were incorporated to the whale business later in the 20th Century.

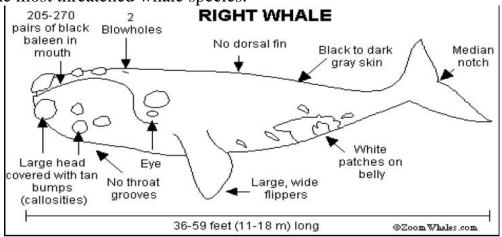
From all whales, the sperm whale was the most important one because it had the most valuable and best quality oil, "**spermaceti**," contained in his enormous head. This oil did not pour out, did not leave residue, and was the best for illuminating candles and for wax candles. It was also used in steam trains, watches, typewriters..etc.



The sperm whale was a deep sea whale (it could sound 1 mile deep), although

it could be seen from the beach, sometimes, when the Gulf Stream made its nearest approach to the coast of New England (this stream makes whales be plentiful because it carries whales food, plankton and krill). The sperm whale is the largest whale with teeth (it belongs to the cetacean suborder of the *odontoceti*) and it was the most dangerous and combative one. *Moby Dick* contributed to this myth.

The other most important whale in the industry was the "right" whale. It was named "right" because when the first hunters saw this species they shouted, "that is the right one to hunt." The right whale is also called the Biscay whale since it was historically abundant in the Gulf of Biscay, where the Basques first hunted whales, and is not very combative. In many cases its hunt implied shore whaling since it travels and rests not far from the coast. From the cetacean suborder of the *mysticeti* (the other whale suborder) this whale does not have teeth but baleens (also called whale bones). Baleens were what made them profitable because their oil was not as good as the sperm's. The right whale was so much hunted that it was driven almost to extinction. Even today is the most threatened whale species.



How did whalers know where whaling grounds (banks) were? They used very curious whaling charts. These charts were maps with painted whales signaling of the most important banks. If the whales of that bank had two nostrils (all species have two, except the sperm whale, which has only one, and not in the back part of the head but on top of it), they were drawn with two blows, and they usually meant right or bowhead whales. If the drawn whale had only one blow it meant a sperm whale. Only the blow, without whale, meant that a whale had been hurt but could not be hunted. Moreover, attached to each whale it was written the initial of the best time to hunt that whale: w (winter), v (spring), s (summer), a (autumn), all (all seasons).

Notwithstanding its great development during the 18th and 19th Centuries in New England, the whaling industry was called to disappear. The Wanderer, of New Bedford, was the last ship built, in 1878; it made its final voyage in 1929, meaning the ending of the whaling industry in this area. The rest of the whaling sites followed and soon it also ended in the entire United States (although the last American whaling ship was built in Richmond, California, in 1971). Much to the contrary, Norway improved this industry by developing factory ships, which made whaling easier and more productive, enabling the hunting of the blue whale, the largest one.

In recent times, the issue of whaling has made Norway, together with Japan, the most controversial countries in the world since 1986, when the International Whaling Commission established a moratorium on commercial whaling which they, both, did not respect, alleging Norway tradition and scientific hunt Japan.

On the other hand, starting in the United States, a very profitable, entertainment, environmental, and cultural industry has developed, whale watching, which every year attracts millions of people (the estimate of visitors to Stellwagen Bank, some miles outside Boston Harbor, is 1.5 million visitors per year).



Whale Watch boat, the Privateer, in Gloucester, MA



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> <u>Main Page</u> <u>Scholars Debate</u> <u>Links to Online Resources</u> <u>Illustration Credits</u> <u>Works Cited & Additional</u>

#### GUIDING STUDENT DISCUSSION

US environmental history, understood as the relationship between its natural environment and humans, if analyzed since the Europeans arrived, could be divided into four periods: encounters and astonishment (1492-1820); era of abundance (1610-1820); overexploitation of natural resources (1820-1900); and birth of the conservation movement and efforts to preserve/conserve nature (1900---). The whaling industry in New England took place between the 1700s and 1930. Does the history of New England whaling reflect these same periods of US history? When do you think that the "encounters and astonishment" happened?

This last answer could explain how whaling and cod fishing was probably what took the Vikings and the Basques to America as first Europeans, and why, due to the richness of these natural resources, the grounds were kept secret. The maintenance of the secret explains why the accounts of explorers who visited America for the first time much later (John Smith, Verrazano, Cartier, Champlain...) mentioned the abundance of whales as a remarkable fact. There were so many whales that they could be found even in the rivers quite inside the continent (for instance, where the city of Albany presently lays).

Since the case study focuses mainly on the overexploitation period, the following issues should be analysed by the students: was overexploitation (almost extinction) of whales an exceptional case (due to its economic value), or where there other cases of overexploitation?

The almost extinction of whales, in particular of the right whale, which still has not recovered, can be compared to the almost extinction of the buffalo, or to the extinction of the Great Auk (in the US) or of the Dodo (in Madagascar, for the use of its plumage as fashion in London and Paris).

The Great Auk, extinct since it was used as fresh meat for sailors after crossing the Atlantic



The Dodo, extinct for the use of its plumage in fashion.

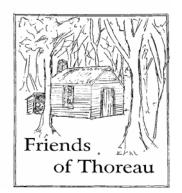


When did the marine mammals conservation era start in the US? Could all US native species be saved? Only in 1935 was the right whale protected under the Marine Mammal Protection Act. Afterwards the rest of the marine mammals followed. Curiously, compared to birds (the Great Auk, the Passenger Pigeon...), no whale species is known to have become extinct.

Some **economics**. Which substitutes for whale products do we have now? When and how was whale oil substituted by kerosene, first, and by electricity, later? When did plastic products substitute baleens? Did the hunting of whales end because of the preservation goal or because substitutes became cheaper and more abundant? Was the 1986 moratorium passed only when it could hardly affect the whaling industry? It has to be pointed out that Japan and Norway, either due to "scientific" or to "traditional" reasons, insist in whaling.

Students should be guided to discuss why is it so difficult to preserve natural resources when it has economic implications, and how environmental protection is intrinsically linked with the economy. Lead the students to evaluate whale watching as an economic sector. Does whale watching help to maintain local coastal economies? At the same time that whales are protected and people become environmentally educated, the local economies may benefit from the same activity. Ask the students if they have ever been whale watching, and, if their answer is affirmative, if they think that it is an important economic activity and whether their perception about whales has changed since then.

Lead the students to focus in another aspect of whaling: the **immigration** and **social mobility** patterns. During the 19th Century the legend of America as land of opportunity and social mobility spread out. Could whaling have contributed to this concept?



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> <u>Main page</u> <u>Guiding Student Discussion</u> <u>Links to Online Resources</u> <u>Illustration Credits</u> <u>Works Cited & Additional</u>

## SCHOLARS DEBATE

Although the history of whaling and its economic impact in New England is well documented, new approaches about how everything happened during those days are still subject of research. The Historic Whaling Society, sited at the Kendall Museum (MA), keeps celebrating, among other activities, debates, congresses and fora on the topic.

In fact, there are still some issues that remain part of the historical debate. For instance, although the fact that the pre Columbus Europeans had their own whaling industry in New England waters is usually rejected, the writer Mark Kurlansky, in *The Basque History of the World* (1999) states that the fact is right; that the Basques did reach New England waters before Columbus. He supports this assertion by telling that around year 1000 the Basques had introduced in Europe the whale oil, the whale meat, especially the tongue, and the cod. He states that, as a difference with the Vikings, the Basques had salt to preserve them during long periods of time.

According to Kurlansky, the Basques found cod when following the whales westbound, and they established permanent settlements in the North East coast of America before the Middle Ages, and much before the John Cabot expedition. However, there is no historical record of this event, not even one single archaeological remnant of any single settlement. The arguments supporting the thesis that the Basques and the New England whaling were linked even in the Middle Ages can be read in book mentioned above (56 ss.).

On the other hand, authors, like Miren Koro Campos and Mauro Peñalba affirm in their article *The Hunting of the Whale. Its Influence in Uses and Habits from the Middle Ages* that, this theory, is doubtful since the first record of the Basques in North American waters is in 1550. However, they coincide with Kurlansky when saying that the Basques kept secret the discovery of cod banks because of their economic value. This fact, together with the fact that the Basque language was not written, but spoken, perhaps helped to fade away possible historical accounts.

Ancient logos from three Basque towns.



In terms of economics, not only whale but cod parts, were really at the core of the modern economic development of New England during the 19th Century. Both whales and cod have remained as identity symbols, at least, for Massachusetts, whose State House, in Boston, has a large wooden cod hanging in the back of the Chamber of the House of Representatives, the "Sacred Cod." But, was cod rather than whale more important for the State economy? Was not Massachusetts wealth based more on overseas trading (including the China trade) to which the long and far whaling trips, searching for new banks, contributed more than any other industry? Was the wealth of Massachusetts not based in the later mills industry? Moreover, it has been said that whale parts and cod were sold in Europe and that slaves were brought to America in those ships so, did New England whaling trade contribute to slavery?

The Sacred Cod hangs from the roof of the Chamber of the House of Representatives in the State House of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in Capitol Hill, since 1798, when it was moved there, wrapped in an American Flag, from the Old State House where it had been since 1784. Its predecessor was destroyed either in Old Town House fires or during the Revolutionary War. It has always been there as a memorial of the importance of the Cod-Fishery to the welfare of the Commonwealth. Did the "mighty whale" contribute as much as the "sacred cod" to New England's economy and wealth?



Another issue for discussion; to which extent the romantic and hard life of whalers (best depicted in Melville's *Moby Dick*) is only a myth? Roger Payne, in *Among Whales* (1995) supports that the whale business, especially the job of the harpooner, was not so difficult, and that the myth of danger was simple male ("macho") bias. He states, that, in fact, whalers traditionally never bothered to learn to swim. That the only two dangerous moments, the "death flurry" (violent movement of whales just before dying) and the very occasional tail strikes or exceptional bites (only from sperm whales) could be easily prevented. Are these "dangers" of whaling also a myth for historians? Do historical accounts reflect better the reality described by Melville or that described by Payne?



Whale harpooner. Brave and tough or "macho myth?"

A recent publication by Lisa Norling, "Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whale Fishery, 1720-1870 (Gender and American Culture"), has raised the issue of how the women left ashore shaped the New England communities, contributing to the shift from a patriarchal world to a more ambiguous Victorian culture of domesticity. It draws on the landward dimension of whaling, on how the sea wives (the so-called "Cape Horn Widows", since, as seen before, many whaling trips lasted around five years), by taking control of their own lives, shaped both economic development and individual experience. The book uses multiple sources: women and men letters, dairies, records of church meetings, newspapers, ...etc.. Do these sources support Lisa Norling's "feminist theory" on the historical empowerment of New England women by these facts, or did this empowerment really take place later, with work of women in the Lowell mills?

It is a historical fact that, notwithstanding the existing European tradition, the settlers also learned whaling from Native Americans in Nantucket and other places (the Indians brought to the Pilgrims turkey and whale meat). The aboriginal and subsistence hunting is used as an argument to continue the exploitation of the resource in the west coast. The Makah tribe claims its right to hunt whales based on tradition guaranteed by an 1855 treaty, and under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, that allows aboriginal

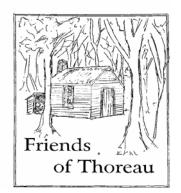
whaling. The Makahs have not hunted a whale since 75 years ago so they should have to use modern whale-killing equipment, not traditional equipment. Does this hunting respond only to a cultural and traditional clash, or it is based on regional/local economics?



The Makah butcher a whale (c.1905-1910) Washington State Historical Society

The story in the main page talks about the Pilgrims using shallops. Wasn't a shallop too fragile a boat to move in the Ocean? Did they improve naval engineering to make shallops more safe?





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> <u>Main page</u> <u>Guiding Student Discussion</u> <u>Scholars' Debate</u> <u>Illustration Credits</u> <u>Works Cited & Additional</u>

## LINKS TO ONLINE RESOURCES

New Bedford Whaling Museum http://www.whalingmuseum.org (last visited in February 2002)

Nantucket Whaling Museum http://www.nha.org/whalingmuseum.htm (last visited in February 2002)

Kendall Museum http://www.kwm.org (last visited in February 2002)

Heroes in the ships: African Americans in the whaling industry <u>http://www.kwm.org/collections/exhibits/heroes/home.htm</u> (last visited in February 2002)

Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum

http://www.cshwhalingmuseum.org (last visited in February 2002)

Basque Whaling in Red Bay Labrador

http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploitation/basque.html (last visited in February 2002)

Background information about every whale species. http://www.cetacea.org (last visited in February 2002)

Comment and pictures in the Univ. of Massachusetts special program. <u>http://www.umassd.edu/specialprograms/dfinnerty/whaling.html</u> (last visited in February 2002)

Extended coverage on the book by Richard Ellis, *Men and Whales*, 1991, in <u>http://www.amazon.com</u> (last visited in February 2002)

Information about the Sperm and the Right Whales <u>http://www.enchantedlearning.com/subjects/whales/activities/whaletemp</u> (last visited in February 2002)

Information about whales in general. http://enchantedlearning.com/subjects/whales (last visited in February 2002)

About the wooden cod hanging in the State House in Boston. http://k12s.phast.umass.edu/~masag/texts/c14.html http://www.geobop.com/World/NA/US/MA/Fish.htm (last visited in February 2002)

About the whaling industry in Southampton (NY). <u>http://hamptonlife.com/history\_whaling.html</u> (last visited in February 2002)

About whaling in the Makah tribe <u>http://cnie.org/NAE/cases/makah</u> (last visited in February 2002)

About the extinct Great Auk <u>http://www.rom.on.ca/biodiversity/auk</u> (last visited in February 2002)

About the extinct Dodo

http://www.davidreilly.com/dodo/gallery.html (last visited in February 2002)

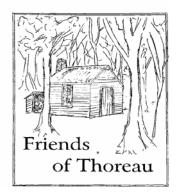
Massachusetts State House Tour

http://www.state.ma.us/sec/trs/trsbok/hourep.htm (last visited in February 2002)

Excerpts from Lisa Norling's "Captain Ahab Had a Wife..." and reviews of the topic of women empowerment, search for the title of the book in <u>http://www.amazon.com/search</u> (last visited in March 2002)

Bibliography about the economic impact of American whaling can be found in <u>http://www.whalingmuseum.org/kwm/library/biblio-economics.htm</u> (last visited in March 2002)

About the use of shallops by the Pilgrims http://www.pilgrimjohnhowlandsociety.org/shallop\_elizabeth\_tilley.shtml



## The Historical Whaling in New England

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> <u>Main Page</u> <u>Guiding Student Discussion</u> <u>Scholars Debate</u> <u>Links to Online Resources</u> <u>Works Cited & Additional</u>

## ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Blue whale skeleton arrived in New Bedford coasts in 1987. Current fishing port of New Bedford . Whale watch boat in Gloucester Port, MA. Photographer: Ana Recarte

Replica of the whaling ship "Lagoda." Scrimshaw art. Different harpoons used in whaling. Mincing knives for cutting the whale blubber. Cask for storing melted whale oil. Courtesy of New Bedford Museum. Photographer: Ana Recarte

Picture of a crescent whale. Homepages.ihug.co.nz~tonyf/whale/whaling.html

Whaleman cutting into a whale. Photo courtesy of Spinner Publications. UMass Dartmouth Special Programs

The "sacred cod" in the State House in Boston, MA. http://www.state.ma.us/sec/trs/trsbok/hourep.htm

Ancestry Logos of Basque towns showing whaling actions. rnet\Content.IE5\0IE38PUF\ballenas y vascos htm.

The Great Auk Photographer Brian Boyle. http://www.rom.on.ca/biodiversity/auk

The Dodo A German Menagerie Being a Folio Collection of 1100 Illustrations of Mammals and Birds, by Edouard Poppig, 1841. <u>http://www.davidreilly.com/dodo/gallery.html</u>



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> <u>Main Page</u> <u>Guiding Student Discussion</u> <u>Scholars Debate</u> <u>Links to Online Resources</u> <u>Illustration Credits</u>

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