

A Hawaiian Perspective on Whaling in the North Pacific

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2013-11-06 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: Lebo, Susan A. メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00002437

A Hawaiian Perspective on Whaling in the North Pacific

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Abstract

In 1819, two Native Hawaiian men shipped aboard the American whaleship *Balaena* while it was anchored off the island of Maui. Hundreds more native seamen left each year on the foreign pelagic whaling vessels that visited the Hawaiian Islands each spring and fall. By the late 1830s, the Hawaiian government had passed the first of a series of laws regulating the shipping and discharging of native seamen at island ports. In the early 1850s, private financing established a pelagic whaling fleet at the port of Honolulu, on the island of Oahu. This paper explores Honolulu's English-language newspaper coverage of Hawaii's native seamen and Honolulu's pelagic whaling fleet between 1840 and 1880. This exploratory review of maritime articles in the following four newspapers — *Friend*, *Hawaiian Gazette*, *Polynesian*, and *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* — provides a foundation for future synthetic studies of the kingdom's whaling economy and its fisheries from an integrative local perspective.

1. Introduction

In 1846, in a speech before the legislature, Hawaii's Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana, emphasized the country's economic reliance on the foreign whaling vessels that visited the islands twice yearly seeking recruits for their fleets, repairs, and recreation. He noted that visiting whaling vessels formed the foundation for nearly all of the nation's foreign commerce, and estimated that perhaps 15,000 young men from the islands, between the

ages of 15 and 30 years, were “wandering on the ocean or in foreign lands.” The minister asserted that Hawaiians employed abroad had touched at ports throughout the Pacific, as well along the northeastern seaboard of the USA. He also noted that many Native Hawaiians never returned (Ana 1846: 8).

The Interior Minister’s speech strongly indicated the government’s awareness of the significant contributions of native seamen and the visiting whaling fleets to Hawaii’s economy. In addition, his legislative address foreshadowed the more active position the Hawaiian Government would take in the coming years with respect to Hawaii’s participation in Pacific whaling activities. His remarks were supported by statistics published two years earlier in the *Friend* revealing that hundreds of Hawaiians left the islands yearly on foreign whaling and merchant vessels. Many more Hawaiians worked in the Pacific Northwest fur trade, the California hide trade, or as servants on foreign vessels or in foreign lands (*Friend*, Sept 4, 1844, 2(9): 79).

Reportedly the first two Native Hawaiian seamen engaged in the American whaling fleet sailed aboard the New Bedford ship *Balaena*, which left the island of Maui on October 10, 1819. The ship’s captain, Edmund Gardner, christened them Joe Bal and Jack Ena, forming their names from that of his ship. The Hawaiian seamen returned the following year, and Captain Gardner paid them off “with all the clothes that had been furnished them by the ship, which was sufficient for three years.” The two seamen and one foreign deserter were then replaced by four native seamen, two from the island of Maui, one from the island of Oahu, and one from the island of Niihau. Following his earlier noted custom, Captain Gardner gave them the English shipboard names of Henry Harmony, George Germaine, John Jovial, and Sam How (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 21, 1858, 2(30): 2).

By mid-century, the *Polynesian* and *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* were promoting investment in a pelagic fleet of vessels owned at Honolulu with crews comprised mainly of native seamen. In April 1851, the first vessel sailed for a whaling cruise to the Okhotsk Sea and the Arctic Ocean. The American ship *Chariot*, Captain Spencer, returned from a five-month cruise on October 14th with 400 barrels (bbls.) of oil and 7,000 pounds (lbs.) of whalebone (baleen). The men saw whales only once, and obtained their entire catch in a single twenty-four hour period. The *Chariot* went on to complete five cruises, one each spring in 1851–1854, and one in the fall of 1854. The ship was condemned and broken up in 1855 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 25, 1858, 2(35): 2; Hawaiian Government 1850–1854).

Whaling’s shaping of the political and economic development of Hawaii during the nation’s formative years cannot be underestimated, particularly the legislative efforts aimed at both protecting its domestic labor force and ensuring economic development. Hawaii’s participation in whaling peaked in the 1850s and 1860s. Several disasters significantly reduced the size and profitability of the Pacific fleet in the 1870s, at a time when the global demand for whale oil was on the decline. Also during this period, Hawaii’s own economic interests increasingly shifted to large-scale sugarcane agriculture.

This paper examines maritime articles in four Honolulu newspapers pertaining to (1) employment of native seamen in pelagic whaling and (2) the Honolulu fleet’s engagement

in whaling cruises (a) among the Hawaiian Islands and (b) near the Line and in the North Pacific, including (c) whaling/trading cruises. This exploratory review contributes to identifying and integrating maritime information in the newspapers — *Friend*, *Hawaiian Gazette*, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and the *Polynesian* — into a synthetic understanding of Hawaii's nineteenth-century participation in North Pacific pelagic whaling. These four newspapers published a broad range of maritime news, statistics, and editorials about Hawaii's whaling economy, including information about Hawaii's laws pertaining to shipping and discharging native seamen, the islands' shore whaling industry, and the Honolulu-based pelagic whaling fleet.

In addition, Hawaiian newspapers uniquely contain descriptive accounts about the islands' more than 200 Honolulu-based whaling and trading voyages. Fewer than five logbooks associated with these nineteenth-century voyages are known to exist. The surviving Records of the Honolulu Harbormaster (Hawaiian Government 1842–1894, Series 104, Volumes 1–4, Folio 5, Volumes 6–7) provide departure, arrival, and catch statistics for most of the voyages, but little or no information about the whaling trade. Also, the port records lack descriptions of voyage routes, weather, number or types of whales sighted, killed, or lost, or information about tenders, ships spoken, and so forth.

2. Newspaper Sample and Methods

The four Honolulu-based newspapers — *Friend*, *Hawaiian Gazette*, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and the *Polynesian* — provide individually and collectively the most comprehensive and long-running coverage of Hawaii's whaling economy. Other English-language and some Hawaiian-language newspapers also contain maritime statistics and editorials, but few contain unique perspectives or stories. A significant exception is two first-hand accounts authored by Native Hawaiian seamen that appeared in two November 1877 editions of the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii* (Kealoha 1877; Polapola 1877; for English translations see Lebo 2006a).

News about Pacific whaling activities appeared in the commercial and marine journal sections of the newspapers. This information includes brief voyage reports provided by masters or officers, lists by port of vessel arrivals, and official customs declarations by port and vessel of imports. Reports by masters or officers routinely include estimates of the vessel's catch, but often provided no or only limited estimates of their trade. Some reports include brief mention of trade activities among their summaries of vessels spoken. Lists by port of vessel arrivals sometimes contain quantities of trade ivory, casks of blubber, and casks of skins or furs. Customs declarations provide the greatest detail, but represent the least frequent source of information.

The newspaper data are supplemented, where missing or inconsistent among sources, with information (e.g., registry, captain's name, voyage catch) available in the Honolulu Harbormaster records (Hawaiian Government 1842–1894, Series 104, Volumes 1–4, Folio 5, and Volumes 6–7). Riggings, hailing ports, and captain's names of American vessels have been inserted where missing and standardized using Lund (2001). Vessel data are presented using the following format: registry, rigging, vessel name, and captain's name

(e.g., Hawaiian bark *Desmond*, Gilley).

3. Native Hawaiian Seamen

Government statistics about Hawaiians shipping abroad first appeared in the *Friend* in 1844. They reveal that hundreds of Hawaiians left each year and that some chose to remain abroad after completing their contracts. In addition, these statistics fueled debate about whether the employment of so many Hawaiians abroad contributed to decline of the native population. The statistics provided for Honolulu indicated that 275 young Hawaiians shipped from that port on foreign vessels in 1843 and the spring of 1844. Of these, 114 served as seamen on whaling vessels and the others as seamen on merchant vessels (*Friend*, September 4, 1844, 2(9): 79; Malo 1839).

Similar statistics and concerns appeared in the Report of the Minister of the Interior, read before His Majesty to the Hawaiian Legislature, Aug. 1, 1846 (Ana 1846). Minister Keoni Ana indicated that his department's records included the names of the 651 natives that left the islands in 1845; that perhaps 15,000 or 20 percent of the Hawaiian men between the ages of 15 and 30 years were employed at sea or in foreign lands; and that nearly 1,000 desirous of returning remained stranded abroad. He stated that "Look at this ye who are astonished at the depopulation of these Islands. But while we lament the loss of these we must not forget that there is much good connected with this evil."

By mid-century, whaling had become the foundation of Hawaii's economy. Native seamen dominated the crews that shipped on the pelagic whaling vessels owned at Honolulu, and were heavily drafted by vessels in foreign fleets, particularly the American fleet. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that 450 native seamen shipped aboard whaling vessels at the port of Honolulu in 1857. Also, it indicated that others shipped at the ports of Lahaina, on the island of Maui, and Hilo, on the island of Hawaii, but shipping statistics were not yet available from these two ports (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 25, 1858, 2(35): 2).

In 1858, the *Polynesian* listed the names of more than 70 Hawaiian seamen employed on eight vessels owned at the port of Honolulu (*Polynesian*, February 6, 1858, 14(40): 320; *Polynesian*, February 13, 1858, 14(41): 328; *Polynesian*, March 6, 1858, 14(44): 352; *Polynesian*, March 6, 1858, 14(44): 352; *Polynesian*, March 20, 1858, 14(46): 368). The list of officers and men on the American bark *Harmony*, shown below, is typical of both the vessels in the fleet and of the format used by the *Polynesian*. Twenty-four of the seamen recorded on the *Harmony* have Hawaiian or Polynesian names, suggesting that nearly all of the seamen were native. Whether John Booth also was Native Hawaiian remains unknown.

LIST of Officers and Men Employed in the Hawaiian Whale Fishery. March 2, AM. BK. *Harmony* — S S Austin, Captain; W E Wright, 1st officer; J W Perry, 2d do; Antone Clark, 3d do; B F Durham, supercargo; L Lamb, cooper; L Dixon, J Bravo, G F Hewitt, boatsteerers; B McKentry, cook; W S Harris, steward; Kaninau, Waialoha, Naihualama,

Kemaka, Kiona, Kahai, Nahua, Hookiekie, Kalama, Kalaepaa, Nika, Naumeke, Kanae, Kanekoa, Piana, Kahele, Kulani, Wahinenoholoaa, Kemaka, Kainoa, Wahinelua, Waianae, Kaheiau, Kalua, John Booth, seamen (*Polynesian*, March 6, 1858, 14(44): 352).

Along with data detailing the voyages, Honolulu newspapers provided vivid statistics of the dangers faced at sea by the Hawaiian seamen. These statistics were sufficient to be of concern to the government, as noted above, and most frequently appeared in newspapers dating from the early 1850s through the early 1870s. Descriptions of seamen's deaths appeared mainly in voyage reports provided by captains or officers or among the death notices. For example, on November 7, 1857, the *Polynesian* provided information about deaths aboard the brig Hawaii as follows: "Killed by a whale. On Sept. 1 in Shantar Bay, John Canning, a native of Sag Harbor, L. I., first officer of the brig Hawaii, of Honolulu, and three Hawaiian seamen, were killed by a loose whale coming up under and striking the boat in which they were fast to another whale. The two remaining men who were in the boat, also Hawaiians, escaped unhurt" (*Polynesian*, November 7, 1857, 14(27): 213).

The statistical report provided in the captain's report for bark Harmony is typical. Three of the Hawaiian seamen (Kahelau, Wahinenohola, and Keona) died during the bark's eight-month Arctic cruise. The vessel cleared the port on March 2, 1858 (*Polynesian*, March 6, 1858, 14(44): 352; *Friend*, April 1, 1858, 7(4): 31). The men found the weather bad. They were jammed in the ice for 52 days, including 21 days during which the vessel was unable to move. Kahelau fell overboard on March 14th and drowned before a boat could reach him. The men first sighted whales in the Kamchatka Sea on May 11th in Lat. 60° N., Long. 179° E., and took their first on May 14th in Lat. 60° 26' N., Long. 179° 32' E. Wahinenohola died of consumption in early July after a six-week illness (*Polynesian*, November 6, 1858, 15(27): 2). The Harmony passed the Straits bound north on July 15th. Four days later, Keona died suddenly in a fit. During September, the men saw numerous California Gray whales heading south. On September 26th, the bark left the Arctic Sea (*Friend*, November 8, 1858, 8(11): 86). The Harmony reached Honolulu on October 31, 1858. Her season's catch totaled 1,250 bbls. of whale oil and 20,000 lbs. of whalebone (*Friend*, November 8, 1858, 8(11): 86); the Honolulu Harbormaster listed the bark's oil as 1,200 bbls. (Hawaiian Government 1855–1865). The Harmony also landed trade imports consisting of 2,000 lbs. of whalebone; 3,000 lbs. of ivory, and one cask of furs (*Polynesian*, November 6, 1858, 15(27): 2).

Kalaea, Mahoe, Kapena, Kaulua, Jim, and John Adams were among the nearly 30 Hawaiian seamen whose deaths in 1858 were reported in local newspapers (*Polynesian*, November 27, 1858, 15(30): 2; *Polynesian*, December 4, 1858, 15(31): 2; *Friend*, December 4, 1858, 8(12): 95). Some of the seamen were identified by their Hawaiian names, while others by English names. Still others were identified only as Hawaiian, as belonging to or being "a native" of one of the islands (e.g., Oahu), or being from a specific town (e.g., Lahaina, Maui).

Newspaper reports suggest illness claimed the lives of more Native Hawaiian seamen than injuries or drowning. Kalaea, from Oahu, died after a short illness aboard

the ship Addison, Lawrence, New Bedford (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2). John Brown, a native of Maui, died after a long illness onboard the ship Adeline Gibbs, Withington, Fairhaven (*Polynesian*, October 9, 1858, 15(23): 2; *Friend*, October 13, 1858, 8(10): 80). Consumption claimed Jack on the ship Thomas Dickason, Plaskett, New Bedford; George on the bark Tybee, Freeman, Stonington (*Polynesian*, November 6, 1858, 15(27): 2); and Charley on the bark Florence, Codd, Warren, Rhode Island (*Polynesian*, December 4, 1858, 15(31): 2). In addition, six Hawaiians died of consumption on the bark Merrimack, Long, New London (*Polynesian*, December 4, 1858, 15(31): 2), one on the French ship Espadon, Homont, Havre (*Polynesian*, December 4, 1858, 15(31): 2), and two Hawaiians and one Tahitian on the bark Sarah Sheafe, Loper, New Bedford (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2). On October 24th, Tom Makalena was lost overboard from the ship Northern Light, Chapel, Fairhaven (*Polynesian*, November 6, 1858, 15(27): 2). Mahoe, Kapena, Kaulua, Jim, and John Adams were shipmates on the bark Baltic, Brownson, New Bedford. Kapena, Kaulua, and John Adams were lost overboard. Mahoe died of consumption. Jim's cause of death was not given (*Polynesian*, November 27, 1858, 15(30): 2; *Polynesian*, December 4, 1858, 15(31): 2; *Friend*, December 4, 1858, 8(12): 95) and an unidentified Hawaiian from the island of Oahu died of scurvy on the ship Arctic, Beedman, Fairhaven (*Friend*, December 4, 1858, 8(12): 94).

The newspaper reports from 1857 through 1877 mention some of the Hawaiian seamen who died on vessels in the Honolulu-based fleet, as well as some aboard foreign vessels. On September 1, 1857, three Hawaiian seamen and the chief officer on the brig Hawaii, Rahe, died in Shantar Bay. A whale struck their whaleboat. Two other Hawaiian seamen escaped uninjured (*Polynesian*, November 7, 1857, 14(27): 213). After a month's illness, a Hawaiian seaman aboard the Hawaiian bark Cynthia, Sherman, died on July 5, 1858, while the vessel was on the Kodiak ground (*Polynesian*, September 4, 1858, 15(18): 2). A second native seaman died of scurvy in November. He was a native of the island of Oahu (*Friend*, December 4, 1858, 8(12): 94). Maluaiko died of consumption aboard the Bremen brig Kauai, Mammen, on September 22, 1858. He had been ill nearly the entire cruise (*Polynesian*, November 6, 1858, 15(27): 2). The following season, another three Hawaiian seamen died of consumption on the brig Kauai, Mammen. Mailai died on January 12th; Kanaina on February 18th, and Nika on October 21, 1859 (*Polynesian*, December 17, 1859, 16(33): 2). Hawaiian brig Wailua, Lass, lost five or six seamen to scurvy and the cold while wintering in the Arctic in 1859–1860 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 6, 1860, 5(10): 2; *Polynesian*, September 8, 1860, 17(19): 2). On July 24, 1860, Hilo native Naele died of consumption and was buried in Plover Bay. He was a seaman aboard the Hawaiian brig Victoria, Dauelsberg (*Friend*, November 1, 1860, 9(11): 87).

During the winter of 1862, eight native seamen and Captain Brummerhof of the Hawaiian brig Kohola died while wintering in the Arctic. The brig departed Honolulu on June 2nd for a northern whaling and trading cruise and put into winter quarters in the fall. Five of the Hawaiian seamen died of scurvy and another three died from other diseases (*Friend*, December 1, 1863, 11(12): 96). On March 30, 1863, Captain

Brummerhof was reportedly killed by three St. Lawrence Bay natives in retaliation for the November shipboard death of another St. Lawrence Bay native named Captatehou (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 29, 1863, 8(18): 2; *Polynesian*, September 19, 1863, 20(21): 3; *Friend*, December 1, 1863, 11(12): 96).

Despite the harsh conditions native seamen faced on northern voyages, they continued to ship in large numbers. In 1866, both the *Friend* and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that 400 Hawaiians had shipped on American whale ships in 1865 (*Friend*, December 1, 1866, 17(12): 108; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 8, 1866, 12(23): 2). The *Friend* asserted that the American fleet could not be fitted out without the ability to reliably draft native seamen at the islands. In addition, an equal number of Hawaiian sailors were expected to ship in 1866 although U.S. laws did not extend support or relief to Hawaiian seamen who were discharged ill or injured in a foreign port. In fact, captains were not required to pay a sailor's board at a seamen's bethel or boarding house, resulting in some Hawaiian seamen being abandoned sick and penniless on foreign shores (*Friend*, December 1, 1866, 17(12): 108). For example, the *Friend* reported that Alapai was discharged at Guam on March 30, 1864, because he was too ill to perform his duties on the American bark Ontario, Barnes. Alapai died at Agana (Hagåtña), Guam on July 4th. He was a native of Honolulu (*Friend*, October 1, 1864, 13(10): 80).

The aforementioned 1866 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article also detailed an admiralty court case involving cruel treatment of a Hawaiian seaman, the right and authority of Hawaii's admiralty court to try cases involving foreign vessels and captains, and the commitment of the kingdom's government to prohibit any captain found guilty of cruelty from future shipping of Hawaiian seamen. Two native Hawaiian seamen accused Captain Homan of cruel treatment during the past season's Arctic cruise aboard the American whaleship Cornelius Howland. Specifically, Makuaole and another native seaman claimed that Captain Homan's cruelty resulted in them becoming maimed permanently from frostbite damage to their feet and hands. In Makuaole's court case, the judge ruled that cruel treatment was proven. Makuaole was awarded \$1,250 and costs; he had sued for \$5,000 in damages. Reportedly, his award would with interest provide "him the support earned by an ordinary seaman." The other seaman's suit was settled out of court and involved Captain Homan paying him more than \$300 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 8, 1866, 12(23): 2).

In 1871, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported ten deaths by "natural causes" among the 388 Hawaiian seamen who had shipped from Honolulu on northern whaling voyages during the spring and previous fall (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 4, 1871, 16(19): 2). None died during the trek across the ice to shore when 33 vessels became stoved and were abandoned off the northwestern coast of Alaska between Icy Cape at the south and Point Franklin at the north. The Honolulu Harbormaster documented that the other 378 seamen safely returned to port (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 4, 1871, 16(19): 2). Following this disaster, Hawaii's legislature passed a resolution to encourage captains to provide passage to stranded Hawaiian seamen. The resolution authorized payment from the kingdom's treasury of fifty cents

per diem for each rescued seaman. The per diem amount was determined by the duration of the seaman's passage to the islands (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 28, 1872, 17(13): 2).

The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that an 1876 Arctic disaster claimed 13 vessels and nearly 60 men who voluntarily stayed with the abandoned whaleships. Of the abandoned men, most were reported to be "native Hawaiian." The disaster proved particularly deadly for the crew of native seamen aboard the Hawaiian bark *Desmond, Green*. Of the bark's eleven rescued men, only one was a Hawaiian seaman (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 1876, 20(18): 2; October 28, 1876, 21(18): 2); reprinted in the *Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 28, 1876, and in the *Friend*, November 1, 1876).

The following year, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* announced that one Hawaiian and one Tahitian who stayed behind with the abandoned vessels had survived the winter among the Indians (Iñupiat). The *Hawaiian Gazette* surmised that all the others who had remained with the vessels had perished (*Hawaiian Gazette*, October 17, 1877, 13(42): 3). The two seamen returned to Honolulu aboard the Hawaiian whaling and trading brig *William H. Allen, Gilley* (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 27, 1877, 22(15): 3). Several weeks after reaching home, the Hawaiian seaman, Charles Edward Kealoha, published his account in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii* (Kealoha 1877; for an English translation, see Lebo 2006a). Earlier in the 1877 season one Hawaiian seaman died and two were injured along with at least 15 Alaskan natives during a trading dispute aboard the brig *William H. Allen*. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and the *Friend* published accounts supplied by several whaling masters, which claimed the dispute resulted when Captain Gilley refused demands for liquor by aggressive Cape York natives (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 25, 1877, 22(8): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 1877, 22(15): 3; *Friend*, November 1, 1877, 26(11): 93). Polapola, a native Hawaiian seaman aboard the *William H. Allen*, provided a very different version of the events in the Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Lahui Hawaii* (Polapola 1877; for an English translation, see Lebo 2006b).

In addition, the Honolulu newspapers printed stories that contain information about Hawaiian seamen accused of refusing to ship (e.g., *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 9, 1865, 1(47): 205); of jumping overboard and swimming ashore after receiving their advance (e.g., *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 15, 1859, 3(29): 2; *Polynesian*, September 17, 1859, 16(20): 2); of deserting abroad (e.g., *Polynesian*, February 18, 1860, 16(42): 3; *Polynesian*, November 23, 1861, 18(30): 3; *Friend*, December 2, 1861, 10(12): 96; *Polynesian*, March 29, 1862, 18(48): 3); of participating in a mutiny (e.g., *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 20, 1871, 7(49): 3); of engaging in or being the victim of other criminal behavior (e.g., *Polynesian*, October 30, 1858, 15(26): 3; *Polynesian*, November 13, 1858, 15(28): 2); *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 10, 1866, 2(43): 3); and that some native sailors chose to remain abroad rather than return to the islands (e.g., *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 10, 1872, 7(52): 3). Other articles inform on Hawaiian laws regulating the shipping and discharging of native seamen (e.g., *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 25, 1858, 2(35): 2; *Polynesian*, April 9, 1859, 15(49): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 26, 1864, 9(20): 2) or editorialize on the benefits of engaging

Hawaiian seamen in the industry (e.g., *Polynesian*, August 7, 1858, 15(19): 2).

4. The Honolulu-Based Pelagic Whaling Fleet

According to a report in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, the Honolulu-based fleet began as an experiment in 1851 when the American whaleship *Chariot*, Spencer, hailed from the port on a northern cruise to the Okhotsk Sea. Four vessels each sailed in 1852 and 1853, seven in 1854, and nine in 1855 (Hawaiian Government 1850–1854, 1855–1865; Thrum 1913; Hegarty 1959). Most of the vessels operating during these years were abandoned after only one or two seasons, as few of the investors and owners of these early enterprises had sufficient resources to purchase seaworthy rather than condemned vessels, to properly insure their refitted vessels, or to survive losses from a single poor season.

In contrast, by 1856 many of the successful enterprises were operated by merchants of ample means who were assisted by experienced captains and who employed more reliable vessels (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 18, 1856, 1(25): 2). That same year, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that foreign capital had boosted the fleet to a total of 13 vessels (Table 1).

The *Polynesian* reported that in 1857, ten vessels (Table 2) were owned and fitted out at the port of Honolulu for whaling (*Polynesian*, November 14, 1857, 14(28): 221; *Polynesian*, January 23, 1858, 14(38): 301). The fleet yielded an aggregate catch of 6,086 bbls. of whale oil and 81,200 lbs. of whale bone (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 25, 1858, 2(35): 2). Most of these vessels were owned by resident aliens and

Table 1 Vessels owned in and fitted out at Honolulu and comprising the Honolulu fleet in 1856 (adapted from *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 18, 1856, 1(25): 2).

Flag	Rigging	Vessel Name	Tons	Captain	Owners or Agents
American	Brig	Agate	186	Allen	C. A. Williams & Co.
American	Bark	Black Warrior	230	Tibbetts	James Makee & Co.
American	Bark	Delta	326	Dubay	C. A. Williams & Co.
American	Schooner	E. L. Frost	141	Hempstead	R. Coady & Co.
American	Schooner	Forward	130	not given	not given
American	Brig	Frances	114	Chester	Capt. Chester
American	Bark	Harmony	316	Hempstead	R. Coady & Co.
Hawaiian	Brig	Hawaii	230	Cook	Melchers & Co.
American	Bark	Neptune	287	Comstock	J. M. Green and others
Hawaiian	Schooner	Pfeil	91	Schripenbeck	Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst
American	Brig	Prince de Joinville	240	Babcock	Capt. J. M. Green and others
American	Brig	Tarquina	210	Weaver	Allen & Co.
Bremen	Brig	Victoria	200	Corsen	Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst

Table 2 Vessels owned in and fitted out at Honolulu and comprising the Honolulu fleet in 1857 (adapted from *Polynesian*, November 14, 1857, 14(28): 221; Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865, Volume 3).

Flag	Rigging	Vessel Name	Owners or Agents
American	Ship	Black Warrior	R. Coady & Co.
Hawaiian	Bark	Cynthia	H. McIntyre
American	Schooner	Edward L. Frost	R. Coady & Co.
American	Bark	Harmony	R. Coady & Co.
Hawaiian	Brig	Hawaii	Melchers & Co.
American	Bark	Italy	R. Coady & Co.
Oldenburg	Brig	Kauai	Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst
Bremen (Spring), Hawaiian (Fall)	Brig	Oahu	Melchers & Co.
Hawaiian	Schooner	Pfeil	Stapenhorst
Hawaiian	Brig	Victoria	Stapenhorst

sailed under foreign flags, primarily American (*Polynesian*, November 14, 1857, 14(28): 221). The kingdom's laws prohibited foreigners who had not become citizens from legally obtaining Hawaiian registry for their vessels. Some foreign residents obtained letters of denization, which allowed them to sail under the Hawaiian flag; denizens received some rights of granted kingdom subjects, but did not become naturalized citizens.

Also in 1857, according to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, some owners and agents of Hawaiian-registered vessels began freighting their oil and whalebone directly to Europe. The catches of American-registered vessels at Honolulu could be shipped duty free to the USA. In contrast, the catches of vessels sailing under the Hawaiian flag were subject at US ports to a duty of fifteen percent. Bremen and Hamburg, Germany, and after January 1, 1857, ports in the United Kingdom became free ports with nominal duties. On December 3, 1857, the American bark *Messenger Bird* sailed for Bremen with a full cargo of oil and whalebone obtained by Hawaiian-registered vessels. The cargo was valued at \$64,000 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 25, 1858, 2(35): 2).

In 1857, catches obtained by vessels in the fleet at Honolulu consisted primarily of whale oil and whalebone. Only three vessels obtained small quantities of sperm oil (40–75 bbls.): the American ship *Italy*, Babcock; the Hawaiian schooner *Pfeil*, Fish; and Hawaiian brig *Victoria*, Corsen. Most of the vessels pursued whales on northern grounds, mainly while cruising in the Okhotsk Sea and, to a lesser extent, in the Arctic Ocean. In addition, some catches were obtained by a few vessels engaged in cruises along the west coast of Lower California and Mexico.

On January 1, 1857, the American ship *Black Warrior*, Brown, sailed for the lower coast of California (*Friend*, February 3, 1858, 6(3): 16). The ship returned from Margarita Bay on April 24th with a catch of 360 bbls. of whale oil (*Polynesian*, April 25,

1857, 13(51): 2). Also early in 1857, the barks *Cynthia*, *Scotfield*; *Harmony*, *Bumpus*; and *Italy*, *Babcock*; and brigs *Hawaii*, *Rahe*, and *Kauai*, *Mammen* sailed to the Okhotsk Sea (*Polynesian*, January 10, 1857, 13(36): 142; *Friend*, February 3, 1857, 6(3): 16; *Friend*, March 31, 1857, 6(3): 24; *Polynesian*, May 16, 1857, 14(2): 16; *Friend*, May 25, 1857, 6(5): 39; *Polynesian*, October 24, 1857, 14(25): 200; *Polynesian*, November 7, 1857, 14(27): 213, 216; *Friend*, November 11, 1857, 6(11): 88). The owners of the *Harmony* purchased and fitted out the *Italy* to salvage the catch and cargo from the New Bedford whaleship *Natchez*, *Bellows*, which was lost in the Okhotsk Sea the previous fall (*Polynesian*, January 17, 1857, 13(37): 147). The *Kauai* returned to port on November 14th and sailed on a “between seasons” cruise on December 15th for Margarita Bay, (*Friend*, December 1, 1857, 6(12): 2; *Polynesian*, December 19, 1857, 14(33): 264).

The brigs *Victoria*, *Corsen*, and *Oahu*, *Molde*, sailed on northern cruises in 1857. The *Victoria* left on January 16th and the *Oahu* on April 8th. The two brigs returned in October, after which the *Oahu* was placed under the Hawaiian flag. The *Victoria* departed on November 30th and the *Oahu*, *Fehlbehr*, on December 15th, each for a between seasons cruise off the coast of California (*Friend*, February 3, 1857, 6(3): 16; *Polynesian*, October 24, 1857, 14(25): 197, 200; *Friend*, October 24, 1857, 6(10): 78; *Friend*, October 24, 1857, 6(10): 78; *Polynesian*, December 5, 1857, 14(31): 248; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 3, 1857, 2(23): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 17, 1857, 2(25): 2; *Polynesian*, December 19, 1857, 14(33): 264; *Friend*, January 1, 1858, 7(1): 8). The schooner *Edward L. Frost* (E. L. Frost), *Austin*, sailed in the spring and the fall for cruises off California’s coast (*Polynesian*, May 16, 1857, 14(2): 16; *Polynesian*, November 28, 1857, 14(30): 240; *Friend*, December 1, 1857, 6(12): 96; *Polynesian*, December 5, 1857, 14(31): 248; *Friend*, January 1, 1858, 7(1): 8). In contrast, the schooner *Pfeil*, *fish*, undertook a northern whaling and trading voyage and returned September 28th with whale oil, blubber in casks and 3,000 lbs. of whalebone (*Polynesian*, October 3, 1857, 14(22): 173, 176; *Friend*, October 24, 1857, 6(10): 78).

Newspaper reports on the activities of the American ship *Black Warrior*, *Brown*, during the 1857 to 1859 seasons illustrate that some owners and agents aimed to maximize their profits by targeting several major grounds each year and employing tenders. On her second cruise in 1857, the *Black Warrior* went to the Kodiak ground, but after a severe gale tore her sails, Captain *Brown* steered to San Francisco for repairs, taking on 70 bbls. of sperm oil during the passage. Given the lateness of the season, Captain *Brown* decided to fit out for bay whaling on the lower coast of California rather than returning to the northern grounds. He sold the sperm oil and purchased the American schooner *J. D. Carr*, *Coit*, to serve as a tender to the *Black Warrior* (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 10, 1857, 2(11): 2). On April 7, 1858, the *Black Warrior* arrived at Honolulu from Bartholomew Bay with a catch of 19 bbls. of sperm oil and 650 bbls. of whale oil (*Polynesian*, April 10, 1858, 14(49): 392; Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865). Two days later, the *J. D. Carr* reached Honolulu and reported a catch of 86 whales (*Polynesian*, April 17, 1858, 14(50): 400).

A week after her return to Honolulu, the ship *Black Warrior* departed on a cruise to

the Arctic (*Polynesian*, April 24, 1858, 14(51): 408; *Friend*, June 1, 1858, 8(6): 364). The schooner J. D. Carr, Coit, left for the coast of California in May (*Polynesian*, October 23, 1858, 15(24): 3). The Black Warrior was spoken in the Arctic on October 9th. She was reported with 250 bbls. oil and bound to Margarita Bay (*Friend*, December 4, 1858, 8(12): 94). The ship joined her tender in St. Bartholomew's Bay on November 2nd. The J. D. Carr spent the following two weeks cruising for whales, but without success. On December 20, Captain Brown decided to leave the lagoon, but after passing the bar, a breeze and strong current forced her onto the rocks where she was lost. The Black Warrior had on board 300 bbls. of oil and had received from her tender 400 seal skins, 40 bbls. of seal oil, and 25 bbls. of salted fish. The officers and crew were divided among the four ships in the Bay and on December 22nd some of the oil, gear, and effects of the Black Warrior were saved and placed aboard the American bark Emerald, Pierce; and ship Hillman, Little. On January 10, 1859, the schooner J. D. Carr put her oil and bone on board the Emerald, and whaled with the Emerald's tender. On February 5th the J. D. Carr left the bay for Honolulu (*Friend*, March 5, 1859, 8(31): 24; *Polynesian*, March 5, 1859, 15(44): 2). Following her arrival, the schooner was sold for \$1,410 at public sale and withdrawn from the fleet (*Polynesian*, March 26, 1859, 15(47): 2).

Newspaper reporting suggests that by 1858, the use of tenders was an integral part of the Honolulu-based whaling fleet. The schooner E. L. Frost, Spencer, joined the fleet in 1858 as a tender to the ship Italy, Babcock (*Polynesian*, March 20, 1858, 14(46): 364; *Polynesian*, May 8, 1858, 15(1): 3; *Friend*, December 4, 1858, 8(12): 94); both American vessels were owned at Honolulu (Table 3). Over the next three years, several more vessels were purchased and fitted out as tenders. They included the Hawaiian schooners Alice, Caroline, Kalama, Maria, and Prince. Of these, most served for only a few seasons before being condemned, sold, and/or refitted for other service (e.g., coasting trade). Several served as tenders to large whaling vessels in the fleet, while some were employed for one or more seasons as tenders to vessels in the Oldenburg and/or American fleets. They usually cruised only on a single ground (e.g., Kodiak, lower coast of California) during a season, and some returned to the same ground several consecutive seasons.

In 1859, the Caroline was tender to the Hawaiian bark Faith in the Okhotsk Sea (*Polynesian*, November 5, 1859, 16(27): 4). Both Alice and Caroline operated as tenders in 1860 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 7, 1861, 5(32): 2). On November 5, 1860, the Hawaiian schooner Maria, Molteno, sailed for a bay whaling cruise off the Coast of California. The schooner mated with the American bark Massasoit, Percival, at Margarita Bay in late December 1861. The Maria took a total of 20 whales and the Massasoit took 16 whales. On February 28, 1861, the men took their last whale. Captain Molteno reported their catch as 860 bbls. of body oil and 93 bbls. of carcass oil. In addition, he had bought 78 bbls. of oil. On March 28th, he placed the schooner's oil as freight aboard the Hawaiian bark Harmony, Dennis. The next day, the Maria and Massasoit sailed for Honolulu in company with the Oldenburg brig Comet, Wilhelmi (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 7, 1861, 5(32): 2; *Polynesian*, November 9, 1861, 18(28): 2; *Friend*, December 2, 1861, 10(12): 96; *Friend*, May 1, 1862, 11(5): 40; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 8, 1862, 6(45): 2; *Polynesian*, July 19, 1862, 19(12): 3).

Table 3 Vessels owned in and fitted out at Honolulu and comprising the Honolulu fleet in 1858 (adapted from *Polynesian*, February 27, 1858, 14(43): 341; Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865, Volume 3).

Flag	Rigging	Vessel Name*	Tons	No. of Crew	\$ Cost Ready For Sea	Owners or Agents
American	Ship	Black Warrior	233	45	10,500	R. Coady & Co.
American	Schooner	J. D. Carr*	70			R. Coady & Co.
American	Ship	Italy	298	45	19,000	R. Coady & Co.
American	Schooner	E. L. Frost*	141	22	13,000	R. Coady & Co.
American	Bark	Harmony	316	33	22,000	R. Coady & Co.
American	Bark	Vernon	306	40	23,000	R. Coady & Co.
American	Bark	Metropolis	210	32	21,000	R. Coady & Co.
Hawaiian	Bark	Faith	317	30		C. A. Williams & Co.
Hawaiian	Brig	Oahu	157	28	20,000	Melchers & Co.
Hawaiian	Brig	Hawaii	230	29	20,000	Melchers & Co.
Hawaiian	Brig	Antilla	220	32	27,500	Melchers & Co.
Oldenburg	Brig	Kauai	220	30	21,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst
Hawaiian	Brig	Victoria	200	30	23,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst
Hawaiian	Schooner	Pfiel	101	10	8,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst
Hawaiian	Brig	Wailua	280	30	24,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst
Hawaiian	Bark	Cynthia	251	32	19,000	H. McIntyre and others
Hawaiian	Bark	Gambia	249	35	17,500	B. F. Snow

* Schooner J. D. Carr served as tender to ship Black Warrior and schooner E. L. Frost served as tender to ship Italy.

Early in 1861, the Kalama, Kelly, sailed to the Okhotsk Sea as tender to the Hawaiian bark Elizabeth, Whitney (e.g., *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 18, 1861, 5(42): 2; *Friend*, May 1, 1861, 10(5): 40; *Polynesian*, November 9, 1861, 18(28): 2, 3; *Friend*, November 18, 1861, 10(11): 88). In the fall of 1861, the Kalama was engaged in bay whaling off the lower coast of California as tender to the Oldenburg brig Comet, Wilhelmi (*Polynesian*, March 29, 1862, 18(48): 3; *Friend*, April 1, 1862, 11(4): 31; *Polynesian*, April 12, 1862, 18(50): 3; *Friend*, May 1, 1862, 11(5): 40); Captain Wilhelmi's name is often misspelled as Wilhelm. The schooner returned to Honolulu on April 11, 1862. She was withdrawn from the whaling fleet and was put back into the coasting trade (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 8, 1862, 6(45): 2; *Polynesian*, July 19, 1862, 19(12): 3). In 1868, the schooner Prince served as tender to the American whaling bark Peru, Morgan. The Prince departed from Honolulu for the Bering Sea on March 9th, and arrived at St. Paul's on April 12th. The schooner returned to port on May 27th (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 30, 1868, 12(46): 2, 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 20, 1868, 12(49): 2).

Contemporaneous with the addition of tenders, the newspapers reveal that two

additional strategies were adopted to bolster the fleet. Some captains conducted several cruises a year, including short “between season” cruises of only several months duration. Others augmented their catches by engaging in diversified hunting, including the taking of seals, sharks, turtles, fish, or other marine resources. For example, in 1858, the Hawaiian bark *Gambia*, Brooks, took the largest catch recorded in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. The bark departed from the port of Honolulu on March 8, 1859 (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865) and returned on April 14, 1859 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 21, 1859, 3(43): 2). The five-month cruise to French Frigate Shoals yielded a catch of “1,650 galls oil, 150 seal skins, 14 turtle” (*Polynesian*, April 16, 1859, 15(50): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 21, 1859, 3(43): 2). Captain Brooks reported seeing another party sealing among the islands, and which appeared to be doing well. He saw two large sperm whales during the return passage, but the weather was too rough to attempt fastening to them (*Polynesian*, April 16, 1859, 15(50): 2).

In 1859, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that the fleet owned and fitted out at the port of Honolulu totaled 18 vessels (Table 4). Of these, five had Hawaiian registry and colors, twelve sailed with American registry, and one was an Oldenburg vessel. Five of the vessels were new to the fleet. Losses suffered during the season included the bark *Faith* at Petropouloski (*Friend*, December 1, 1859, 8(12): 95; *Polynesian*, November 3, 1860, 17(27): 2) and the brig *Pfeil* at Guam (*Friend*, November 1, 1859, 8(11): 87). After returning from the Okhotsk in December, the bark *Vernon* was sold and refitted for the coasting trade (*Polynesian*, December 24, 1859, 16(34): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 19, 1860, 4(47): 2).

Additions to the fleet in 1860 included the American ship *Benjamin Rush*, the Oldenburg brigs *Comet* and *Planet*, and the Hawaiian schooner *Maria*. The *Benjamin Rush* was purchased by Messrs. C. A. Williams & Co. in December 1859. The ship was refitted for whaling and sailed under Captain Fish for a cruise to the southwestward and the Okhotsk Sea (*Polynesian*, December 24, 1859, 16(34): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 2, 1860, 4(36): 2; *Polynesian*, February 25, 1860, 16(43): 3; *Polynesian*, December 8, 1860, 17(32): 3; *Friend*, January 1, 1861, 10(1): 8). The *Comet* and *Planet* arrived from Bremen in February and March, respectively. Both were on consignment to Messrs. Melchers & Co. and were fitted on arrival for whaling (*Polynesian*, February 25, 1860, 16(43): 3; *Polynesian*, March 24, 1860, 16(47): 3). The *Comet*, *Wilhelmi*, sailed in March first to the southwestward and then to the Okhotsk Sea (*Friend*, March 1, 1860, 9(3): 24). Her season’s catch was four bowhead and one humpback whale (*Polynesian*, November 17, 1860, 17(29)). The *Planet*, *Dallmann*, sailed in early April for the Okhotsk ground. She took six bowheads and lost seven others. The brig returned in November (*Polynesian*, November 17, 1860, 17(29): 2). The *Maria*, *Molteno*, reportedly cruised off Kona, Hawaii, in early 1860 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 9, 1860, 4(37): 2). In November, the schooner departed from Honolulu for a bay whaling cruise off the coast of California (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 8, 1860, 5(18): 2).

The fleet also included the Hawaiian brigs *Aloha*, *Antilla*, *Hawaii*, *Kohola*, *Oahu*, *Victoria*, and *Wailua*; Hawaiian barks *Cynthia* and *Harmony*; American bark *Florence*;

Table 4 Vessels “owned in and fitted from Honolulu” and comprising in the Honolulu whale fishery in 1859 (from *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 7, 1861, 5(32): 2).

Flag	Rigging	Vessel Name*	Tons	Value \$	Owners or Agents	Fall Catch 1858	Spring Catch 1859	Total Catch 12 mo.
American	Brig	Agate	180	7,000	C. A. Williams & Co.	470	700	1170
Hawaiian	Brig	Alice*	105	8,000	Thomas Spencer		500	500
Hawaiian	Brig	Aloha*	250	25,000	Melchers & Co.			
Hawaiian	Brig	Antilla	236	est. 15,000	Melchers & Co.	170	500	670
Hawaiian	Bark	Cynthia	251	18,000	J. I. Dowsett and others	1200	800	2200
American	Schooner	E. L. Frost	143	10,000	P. S. Wilcox	700		700
Hawaiian	Bark	Faith	317	15,000	C. A. Williams & Co.	450	1130	1280
American	Bark	Florence*	307	20,000	Thomas Spencer			
Hawaiian	Bark	Harmony*	335	17,000	J. I. Dowsett and others	1250		1250
Hawaiian	Brig	Hawaii	230		Melchers & Co.	400	2 wh.	500
Oldenburg	Brig	Kauai	200		Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst	900		900
Hawaiian	Brig	Kohola*	250	15,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst			
Hawaiian	Brig	Oahu	164		Melchers & Co.	255	800	1055
Hawaiian	Schooner	Pfeil	93		Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst	100		100
American	Bark	Vernon	303	15,000	P. S. Wilcox	700		700
Hawaiian	Brig	Victoria	200	est. 15,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst		1200	1200
Hawaiian	Brig	Wailua	260	est. 15,000	Hoffschlaeger & Stepenhorst	350		350
American	Bark	Fortune	300	17,000	C. A. Williams & Co.			
12 Hawaiian, 5 American, 1 Oldenburg				\$252,000				

* These vessels were new to the fleet in 1859.

and Oldenburg brig Kauai. The Hawaiian brig Alice and the schooners Caroline and E. L. Frost served as tenders (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 7, 1861, 5(32): 2; *Polynesian*, December 8, 1860, 17(32): 3). The brig Hawaii was the single vessel loss of the season. She encountered severe weather while whaling northwest of the Hawaiian Islands. The brig later touched at Guam where an inspection determined her to be unseaworthy and she was condemned (*Polynesian*, July 14, 1860, 17(11): 3).

Following the pattern of the previous few seasons, most of the fleet spent the late

winter to early spring whaling off California and/or Mexico and the spring to fall months on other grounds. Some vessels sailed southwestward to the Line, the Mariana and/or Bonin Islands, and Japan before heading north to the Okhotsk, Kodiak, or Arctic grounds. The Hawaiian brig Aloha, Mammen, Honolulu, sailed from port on April 26, 1860, for the Okhotsk Sea. The brig fell in with a school of sperm whales about half the distance from the Hawaiian Islands to Japan at Lat. 19° 48' N., Long. 163° 25' W. The men secured one sperm whale. The brig passed into the Okhotsk Sea on May 23rd. They cruised in S.W. and Shantar Bays. Captain Mammen reported they took their first bowhead whale on July 16 in Shantar Bay and their last off Okhotsk City on October 7th. The brig arrived at Honolulu in mid-November with a season's catch of one sperm whale and four bowheads; one bowhead was lost (*Polynesian*, November 17, 1860, 17(29): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 22, 1860, 5(20): 2). The Honolulu Harbormaster recorded the catch as 30 bbls. of sperm oil, 300 bbls. of whale oil, and 4,000 lbs. of whalebone (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865). The brig sailed again in mid-December 1860 for another cruise to the southward and the Okhotsk Sea. The Aloha cruised on the Line, where the men took four sperm whales. They sailed next to Ascension (Pohnpei, Caroline Islands, Micronesia), Guam and the Japan Sea. No whales were seen. The Aloha went into the Okhotsk Sea in May and cruised in S.W. Bay where whales were plentiful but shy in August, September, and October. The men took seven whales in the bay. The brig arrived at Honolulu on November 15th or 16th with a reported catch of 100 bbls. of sperm oil, 500 bbls. of whale oil, and 6,000 lbs. of whalebone (*Friend*, December 2, 1861, 10(12): 96). The harbormaster recorded the brig's catch as 100 bbls. of sperm oil, 450 bbls. of whale oil, and 5,000 lbs. of whalebone (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865).

Several vessels sailed directly to the northern grounds. The Hawaiian brig Antilla, Fehlbeh, sailed from Honolulu on April 28, 1860 (*Polynesian*, May 5, 1860, 17(1): 3; *Polynesian*, November 17, 1860, 17(29): 2). The brig entered the Okhotsk Sea about June 6th and cruised in both S.W. Bay and Shantar Bay. The men found the weather bad for whaling. They took their first bowhead whale on July 8th, two on July 17th, one on August 17th, and their last on September 5th. All were taken in Shantar Bay. They also lost one whale. The Antilla left Ayan on October 8th and passed the straits on October 17th. The brig carried some of the crew from the wrecked American ship George and Mary, Eldridge, New London. The men had good winds and weather on the passage down. They reached Honolulu Harbor on November 10, 1860 (*Polynesian*, November 17, 1860, 17(29): 2). The harbormaster recorded their catch as 200 bbls. of whale oil and 1,500 lbs. of whalebone (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865).

In 1861, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reiterated the long-held view that Hawaiian government policies stymied rather than encouraged or supported business interests aimed at enlarging the fleet; an opinion voiced several times over the next decade. The fleet was characterized as being highly susceptible to the elements and to market fluctuations and it was asserted that these vicissitudes accounted for seasonal decreases in the size of the fleet. The government allowed Hawaiian-registered whaling vessels to enter their catch duty free at the Custom House, but granted no other privileges

to them not also extended to foreign-registered vessels. In addition, the government did not provide capital or financial incentives for bolstering the fleet, such as offering catch bounties; exempting Hawaiian vessels from charges for water, wharfage and/or towage; or allowing Hawaiian vessels to import free of duty the articles necessary for conducting their whaling business (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 7, 1861, 5(32): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 20, 1872, 16(30): 3).

The 1861 fleet numbered only eleven vessels, seven Hawaiian (Aloha, Elizabeth (formerly Cynthia), Harmony, Kalama, Maria, Victoria, and Wailua), two American (Benjamin Rush and Florence), and two Oldenburg or North German vessels (Comet and Kohola). Of these, only the schooner Kalama was newly added to the fleet. She was purchased in April and refitted as a tender to the bark Elizabeth, which sailed that month for the Okhotsk ground (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 18, 1861, 5(42): 2; *Friend*, May 1, 1861, 10(5): 40).

One of the first vessels to depart for the 1861 season was the American bark, Florence, R. G. Spencer, which left port on December 25, 1860. The vessel was owned by Captain Thomas Spencer at the port of Hilo on the island of Hawaii, but her voyages hailed from the port of Honolulu (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 24, 1859, 3(39): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 14, 1859, 3(42): 2; *Friend*, January 1, 1861, 10(1): 8; *Friend*, December 2, 1861, 10(12): 96; *Friend*, March 1, 1862, 11(3): 24). The Florence sailed first to Saipan and then into the Yellow Sea on March 22nd. Not seeing any whales, the bark headed northward, passing through the strait into the Japan Sea on April 4th. The men took their first right whale on April 25th in Lat. 38° 45' N, Long. 133° 4' E; whales were few and very shy, and the weather was bad. On May 1st, they struck two right whales, but lost one at Lat. 39° 56' N, Long. 133° E. Captain Spencer reported seeing only one whale up to May 19th when he went through the Strait of Pérouse (or La Pérouse Strait) into the Okhotsk Sea. They took three whales in Shantar Bay and their last on October 17th in Mercury Bay; in all 13 bowheads and 2 right whales. The Florence touched at Hilo on the return and arrived at Honolulu Harbor on November 24, 1861. Their seasonal catch totaled 1,000 bbls. whale oil and 14,000 lbs whalebone (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 28, 1861, 6(22): 2; *Friend*, December 2, 1861, 10(12): 96; Hawaiian Government 1842–1865).

On April 1, 1865, the Hawaiian fleet became embroiled in the United States Civil War when the CSS Shenandoah burned four vessels at Ascension Island (Pohnpei, Micronesia), including the Hawaiian bark Harvest, Eldridge, owned at Honolulu. In one week near the end of June, the confederate commerce raider, which sought to cause havoc among the North Pacific whaling fleet, succeeded in capturing 24 whaling vessels and sinking 20 in the waters near the Bering Strait. The Shenandoah's captain, James Waddell, and his officers reportedly did not believe reports from the vessels they were destroying that the American Civil War had ended at least several months earlier (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 12, 1865, 10(6): 2; *Friend*, September 1, 1865, 14(9): 72). The Hawaiian bark Kamehameha V, Cunningham, Jr., rescued and transported to Honolulu 98 men from the four vessels destroyed at Ascension, including the crew of the bark Harvest (*Friend*, December 1, 1865, 14(12): 96). Captain Eldridge stayed on the

island, while in July, the first, second and third mates, and the cooper, sailed in a whaleboat for Guam, nearly 1,000 miles northwesterly (Ward 1967: VI, 188–189, 191, 198).

The small 1867 fleet included Hawaiian barks Eagle, Florence, and Hae Hawaii and brig Kohola, and Oldenburg bark Julian and brigs Comet and Oregon. The whaling bark President, Kelly, provided the following reports for Honolulu vessels in the Arctic up to July 17th: Comet, four whales; Eagle and Kohola, five whales each, Hae Hawaii with seven whales, and Julian, clean (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 7, 1867, 12(10): 2). In the fall, the Florence was condemned and sold at auction (*Hawaiian Gazette*, October 16, 1867, 3(39): 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 19, 1867, 12(16): 2; *Hawaiian Gazette*, October 23, 1867, 3(40): 3).

In late December, both the Hawaiian bark Eagle and the American bark William Rotch departed on cruises southwestward. Their voyage routes included the Bonin Islands and the Japan Sea, followed by whaling on one or more northern grounds. The Eagle, Loveland, left on December 17th (*Friend*, January 1, 1868, 17(1): 8; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 7, 1868, 13(19): 2). The bark crossed the equator in Long. 159° W. The men sighted Christmas and Jarvis Islands and saw their first sperm whales in Lat. 2° S. The men succeeded in taking two whales and their second sighting in Long. 172° E. resulted in a catch of three more sperm whales. They saw no more sperm whales and crossed the equator bound north in Long. 170° E., touched at Strong's Island for wood and water, as well as at M'Askill's, Grizan, South Island, and Port Loyal (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 7, 1868, 13(19): 2; *Friend*, December 1, 1868, 18(12): 104). At the Bonin Islands, Captain Loveland offered passage home for three of seven Japanese men who became shipwrecked eighteen months earlier on Ponifaidin Island, an uninhabited barren rock situated about Lat. 30° 30', Long. 140° 20'. The seven men had been rescued and carried to the Bonin Islands by the whaleship William Rotch in February. Captain Loveland stated that the men were in good health and the other four were reportedly aboard the American whaleship Ohio (*Friend*, July 1, 1868, 18(7): 53). Off Yokohama, the Eagle weathered two gales.

The Eagle sailed from the port of Yokohama on April 3rd. She passed Copper Island on April 15th, Cape Olutorski on the 20th, and sighted ice on April 22nd in Lat. 60° N. On the 25th, they entered the ice and continued in it, sometimes locked fast for weeks. The men occasionally saw whales. Thick ice, however, prevented them from lowering the boats and giving chase. On June 6th, the bark's broken rudder was repaired. Off St. Lawrence Bay, the men found clear water, but no whales. They cruised in the bay for two weeks, but saw no whales. In July, their catch consisted of three devil fish. Few sightings and no catches were reported for August. Six whales were seen in September, and the last on October 3rd. The Eagle steered towards the straits on October 4th in the company of the Count Bismarck, Dallmann, and the Onward, Pulver. Captain Loveland reported that they experienced frequent gales throughout the season, and while passing through the Fox Islands, their losses included the jib-boom and the stoving of several boats. He described his oil catch as consisting of 110 bbls. of sperm oil and 170 bbls. of whale oil, along with 3,600 lbs. of whalebone (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November

7, 1868, 13(19): 2; *Friend*, December 1, 1868, 18(12): 104). The Harbormaster recorded the arrival of the *Eagle* on November 2, 1868, and her catch as 100 bbls. of sperm oil, 170 bbls. of whale oil, and 2,300 lbs. of whalebone (Hawaiian Government, 1868–1880).

The American bark *William Rotch*, Nye, also owned at Honolulu, sailed from port on December 23, 1867, headed southwestward to hunt humpback and sperm whales off the Bonin Islands. In February of 1868, they cruised off Ormsby Peak and St. Peter's Island, but saw no sperm whales. Despite few sightings, the men killed two humpback whales near the Bonin Islands; their catch yielded 100 bbls. of oil. The bark left the Bonin Islands on April 1st in company with the American ship *Nile*, Allen. The men took their first whale in the Japan Sea off Sado Island on April 26th. The *William Rotch* touched at Hakodate for recruits on May 3rd and departed with smallpox on board, necessitating a return to the port for medical assistance. The men sailed again on June 12th, encountered whales off White Rock on June 20th, and succeeding in killing eleven. They passed through P rouse Strait into the Okhotsk Sea on August 18th, and took a whale off Cape Anawa. No whale sightings occurred while cruising off Balska River and Aloud Island from September 1st to 16th. The men sailed southward through the 50th passage on September 16th to look for whales outside the islands, but saw nothing. On the 17th, they had strong gales from the northwest, followed by a good passage to Honolulu. The *William Rotch* reached port on October 12, 1868. Captain Nye reported the cruise a success, having struck 18 and saved 13 right whales, having captured two humpbacks and one California grey, and having picked up a dead "sulphur bottom" with four Japanese harpoons in him, which yielded 60 bbls. of oil. The harbormaster recorded the catch as 1,100 bbls. of whale oil and 8,000 lbs. of whalebone (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 17, 1868, 13(16): 2; Hawaiian Government, 1868–1880).

In May 1870, the *Hawaiian Gazette* reported a gradual increase in the Honolulu-based industry, which was accompanied by a marked decline in visits of foreign fleets to the islands. Only 36 foreign whaling vessels visited in the fall of 1870 compared with 120 in 1860. The newspaper asserted that there was "no reason to believe that the business will ever regain its former magnitude and value." The 1870 Honolulu-based fleet consisted of eleven vessels, which shipped their oil and whale bone direct to Europe and employed mainly Hawaiian crew (*Hawaiian Gazette*, May 18, 1870, 6(18): 1).

Disaster in the Arctic claimed four of the five whaling vessels in Honolulu's 1871 fleet. The *Hawaiian Gazette* reported the loss during the season of 32 whaling vessels in the Arctic and the plight of 1,200 shipwrecked seamen (*Hawaiian Gazette*, October 25, 1871, 7(41): 2; *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 6, 1872, 8(43): 3). The four Hawaiian vessels among the abandoned and lost vessels were the bark *Paiea*, Newbury; the brigs *Comet*, de Silva, and *Kohola*, Almy; and the ship *Julian*, Heppingstone (Hawaiian Government, 1868–1880; Thrum 1919; Hegarty 1959; Bockstoce 2006: 61–62). The Hawaiian whaling bark *Arctic*, Tripp, left the ground early with a number of the rescued men. Her catch totaled 480 bbls. of whale oil and 6,600 lbs. of whale bone (*Friend*, November 1, 1871, 20(11): 85).

The following year, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that whalers cruising on the Arctic grounds probably had killed at least 50,000 walrus each of the past few

seasons (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Supplement, February 17, 1872, 16(34): 1). Examples of walrus catches made by vessels in the Honolulu fleet from 1868 to 1872 include a reported 80 bbls. of walrus oil aboard the Hawaiian bark Hae Hawaii, Heppingstone, before she was wrecked September 22, 1868, on Point Franklin, Seahorse Islands (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 7, 1868, 13(19): 2). The next season, the Hawaiian bark Julian, Heppingstone, took ten whales and 300 bbls. of walrus oil (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 6, 1869, 14(19): 2). The following six Hawaiian vessels returned from the 1870 season on the Arctic grounds with walrus oil among their catches: barks Count Bismarck (1,200 bbls. whale and walrus), Eagle (1,000 lbs. whale and walrus), Wilhelm I (960 bbls. whale and walrus oil), and Julian (325 walruses); and brigs Comet (400 bbls. whale and walrus) and Onward (50 bbls. whale and walrus) (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 7, 1868, 13(19): 2; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 6, 1869, 14(19): 2; *Friend*, December 1, 1870, 20(12): 109). The Hawaiian bark Arctic, Tripp returned in October 1872 with 394 bbls. of walrus oil, 140 bbls. of sperm oil, 600 bbls. of whale oil, and 12,000 lbs bone (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1872, 17(18): 2).

Only three to five vessels comprised the fleet at Honolulu each year from 1872 through 1875. Of the Hawaiian-registered vessels, three pursued both whales and sharks within the Hawaiian Archipelago. In February 1872, the yacht schooner Henrietta, Gilley, reportedly “struck three whales since leaving” Honolulu. The men secured one, which they tried out at Ukumehame, Maui. Of the other two whales, one sank and one was lost. The Henrietta later was seen fastened to a whale in the channel between the islands of Molokai and Lanai. In March, the men secured a whale in Maalaea Bay, Maui. The Moikeiki transported to Honolulu 45 bbls. of oil belonging to the Henrietta, arriving on March 29th. In May, the Henrietta returned to Honolulu from its “sharking and whaling cruise” in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 24, 1872, 16(35): 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 23, 1872, 16(39): 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 30, 1872, 16(40): 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 11, 1872, 16(46): 3).

The Hawaiian brig Kamehameha V, Wood, Honolulu, left port in June 1872 for a cruise to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. The brig reached French Frigate Shoal on July 4th. The Kamehameha V struck an uncharted reef on July 11th while steering west by north from the shoal towards the coast of Japan. On July 24th, the vessel made the island of Lisiansky where the men discovered the wreck of the North German brig, Wanderer, Hamburg, which was bound from San Francisco to Port May, on the Coast of Tatar. During the cruise, the men of the Kamehameha V saw sperm whales once and took one, which yielded about 40 bbls. The brig reached Honolulu on August 31st. Her catch consisted of 18 casks of sperm oil blubber, seven casks of shark oil, three casks of seal oil, two casks and one bale of shark fins, one cask and one box of turtle shells, and one cask of fish (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 7, 1872, 17(10): 2).

The Hawaiian schooner Kamaile was the last vessel in the fleet to cruise along the western coast of California, Mexico, and South America. Reports dating to March 1873 indicate that the schooner was being fitted out for an eight to ten month cruise expected

to include the Galapagos Islands, the Line, and possibly the Marquesas Islands. The schooner departed Honolulu Harbor on April 12th under the command of her owner, Captain Peterson (*Hawaiian Gazette*, March 22, 1873, 17(38): 2; *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 26, 1873, 9(11): 3; *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 16, 1873, 9(14): 3; *Friend*, May 1, 1873, 22(5): 37). In late April, Peterson was hunting sharks off Kona, Hawaii (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 26, 1873, 17(43): 3). The schooner was spoken about 300 miles east of Hawaii, with a catch of one blackfish (15 bbls.) and three sharks (3 bbls.) (*Hawaiian Gazette*, May 14, 1873, 9(18): 3). Captain Peterson reported he sailed for the coast of Lower California after cruising around south of Hawaii for three weeks without seeing whales. The schooner reached Magdalena Bay on June 8th, still having seen no whales. The Kamaile proceeded down the coast of Mexico and Central America and between August and October, the men took 340 bbls. of humpback oil. The schooner arrived at Panama on November 3rd, where Peterson landed the oil for shipment and refitted. The men sailed southward on November 21st and saw their first sperm whales on November 29th off Gorgona Island, Colombia. They succeeded in taking two small ones.

On January 1, 1874, the Kamaile arrived at the Galapagos Islands, where the men cruised for about two weeks without seeing whales. The schooner next sailed along in Lat. 1° S. to Long. 110° W. Whales were seen three times, and the men captured two. The Kamaile entered Honolulu Harbor on February 27, 1874, with 60 bbls. of sperm oil (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 28, 1874, 18(34): 2; *Friend*, March 2, 1874, 23(3): 21; *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 4, 1874, 10(9): 3; Hawaiian Government, 1868–1880). Also in 1874, the bark Arctic, Whitney, cruised southwestward of Hawaii touched at Yokohama, Japan; and took whales east of Point Barrow and at Herald Island, Alaska (*Hawaiian Gazette*, November 10, 1875, 11(45): 3; *Friend*, December 2, 1875, 24(12): 101).

Two years later, the bark Desmond, Green, took 800 walrus (500 bbls.) early in the season and her last whale on August 24th. The bark was abandoned on September 5th along with twelve other vessels near Point Tangent, Alaska (*Friend*, November 1, 1876, 25(11): 93).

The schooner Julia A. Long, Gilley, was the last Hawaiian whaler to sail from Honolulu. She departed for the Arctic on March 29, 1880 (*Friend*, May 1, 1880, 29(5): 36). The schooner returned with a catch of oil and bone on October 10th (Hawaiian Government, 1880–1881, Folder 1).

5. Whaling Trade

For some captains and cruises, trading proved more profitable than whaling. On October 15, 1858, the Hawaiian brig Victoria, Fish, returned to port from her six month cruise, clean but with Arctic trade (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2; *Polynesian*, October 23, 1858, 15(25): 3; *Friend*, November 8, 1858, 8(11): 86). Captain Fish's trade imports consisted of 2,300 furs; 10 bbls. of oil; 700 lbs. of whalebone; and 3,000 walrus teeth (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2). The brig had left Honolulu on April 20, 1858

on a cruise to the Arctic Ocean (*Polynesian*, April 24, 1858, 14(51): 408; *Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2). The men experienced stormy weather in the Arctic. They saw their first whale on August 10th off North Cape, and only once afterwards. They left St. Paul's on September 27th, bringing with them the second mate and a boatsteerer from the American ship *Indian Chief*, Huntley, New London (*Polynesian*, October 9, 1858, 15(23): 2; *Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2). The *Indian Chief* was stove in the ice near Plover Bay the previous fall (*Friend*, October 24, 1857, 6(10): 74). In addition to the two rescued men who had wintered among the Iñupiat at Point Hope, Alaska (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2), the *Victoria* carried two Hawaiians from the French ship *Napoleon III*, Morel, Havre de Grace, France. Although the *Victoria* was unsuccessful in taking whales, Captain Fish reported catches for the following vessels — September 1st, Hawaiian brig *Wailua*, Lass, 180 (bbls.) whale; September 6th, Hawaiian brig *Antilla*, Molde, two whales; French ship *Manche*, Le Mercier, 2 whales; Hawaiian brig *Oahu*, Felhbeh, 1 whale; and September 27th, American ship *Montreal*, Soule, three whales, 250 bbls. (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2).

Descriptions of the fleet's Arctic trade activities indicate that oil, whalebone, ivory, furs, and other local products were acquired in exchange for goods imported to Honolulu and carried north by whaling and/or trading vessels. In 1858, Captain Labaste, French ship *Caulaincourt*, included two American vessels owned at Honolulu among his Arctic spokes. His entry for July 22nd identified the brig *Agate*, Lawton, with two whales and the bark *Metropolis*, Comstock, with one whale. In addition, his entry stated that both had done well trading, and described the *Agate*'s trade as including furs, whalebone, oil, and ivory (*Friend*, September 24, 1858, 8(9): 72). The *Friend* reported that the *Agate* arrived last from the Arctic at the Port of Honolulu on October 19th. Her catch and trade consisted of 470 bbls. of oil; 19,000 lbs. of whalebone; 22,000 lbs. of ivory; and 1,200 skins (*Friend*, November 8, 1858, 8(11): 86). The *Polynesian* reported that on October 12th, the *Metropolis* arrived at the Port of Honolulu from a six month Arctic cruise. Her officers and crew totaled 35 men and her season's catch consisted of one whale, which yielded 100 bbls. of oil, and 7,000 lbs. of whalebone (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2). The *Polynesian* reported the bark's imports from at sea as 100 bbls. of oil; 6,000 lbs. of whalebone; one cask of fox skins; and 20,000 walrus teeth (*Polynesian*, October 16, 1858, 15(24): 2); note whalebone was listed at 6,000 lbs. and not the 7,000 lbs. reported in the listing of vessel arrivals or in the Honolulu harbor master records (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865).

Transshipping Arctic trade as freight allowed Honolulu's whalers to extend their season on the same or another ground and/or to winter over. In the spring of 1862, Hawaiian brigs *Victoria*, *Dauelsberg*, and *Kohola*, *Brummerhof*, and bark *Zoe*, *Simmons*, were fitted out for whaling and/or trading cruises to the Arctic (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1862, 6(43): 2; *Polynesian*, April 26, 1862, 18(52): 2). The *Victoria* departed from Honolulu on May 1st (*Friend*, June 2, 1862, 11(6): 48; Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865); the *Zoe* on May 3rd (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865), and the *Kohola* on June 2nd (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 5, 1862, 6(49): 2; *Friend*, December 1, 1862, 11(12): 96; Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865). The *Victoria* entered

the Bering Sea on May 21st and cruised principally in the Arctic. During the season, the men only saw two whales, both on August 14th in Lat. 68° 20 N., Long 173° 20W. Captain Dauelsberg reported they had no success taking whales, but “enjoyed a fair share of Arctic trade.” On September 24th, the Victoria proceeded to St. Lawrence and Plover Bay. At St. Lawrence Bay, they found the Hawaiian brig Kohola, Brummerhof, preparing for winter quarters. The Victoria took aboard from the Kohola nine Hawaiian seamen and one Hawaiian boatsteerer who had shipped for the summer season, as well as the brig’s oil and trade. On September 28, the Victoria sailed for Plover Bay where the men found the Hawaiian bark Zoe, Simmons, already prepared for wintering. Captain Dauelsberg took on board the brig the oil and trade belonging to the bark and three of the crew (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 6, 1862, 7(19): 2; *Polynesian*, November 8, 1862, 19(28): 3; *Friend*, December 1, 1862, 11(12): 96; *Polynesian*, December 6, 1862, 19(32): 3; *Polynesian*, December 27, 1862, 19(35): 3). On November 3, 1862, the Victoria arrived at the Port of Honolulu. Captain Dauelsberg reported his Arctic trade imports as 4,000 lbs. of whalebone; 4,000 lbs. of walrus ivory; and two casks of furs; and his return trade as 17 ½ boxes of alcohol and one barrel of whiskey. He also recorded the trade he had transshipped to the port. Trade belonging to the bark Zoe totaled 32 casks of whale oil, 41 bundles of whale bone, three casks of walrus ivory, and one case of furs. Trade belonging to the brig Kohola consisted of 12 casks of whale oil, 29 bundles of whalebone, 300 lbs. of walrus ivory, and three casks of furs (*Polynesian*, November 8, 1862, 19(28): 3; *Friend*, December 1, 1862, 11(12): 96; *Polynesian*, December 6, 1862, 19(32): 3; *Polynesian*, December 27, 1862, 19(35): 3; *Friend*, January 1, 1863, 12(1): 8; *Polynesian*, January 10, 1863, 19(37): 3).

Coconut oil was the main trade product reported for Hawaiian whaling cruises among island groups to the south and westward. Tortoise shells represented another resource often obtained by visiting whalers. In the early 1860s, the Hawaiian brigs Hero and Wailua each returned from whaling and trading cruises with coconut oil (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 3, 1861, 6(4): 2; *Friend*, October 1, 1862, 11(10): 80; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 2, 1862, 7(14): 2). The schooner Pfeil obtained coconut oil and tortoise shells while cruising among the southwestern island groups in 1875 (*Polynesian*, October 9, 1852, 15(23): 2). The Hero, Meyer, left Honolulu Harbor on December 31, 1860 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 3, 1861, 6(4): 2), and the brig Wailua, Lass, departed on January 12, 1861 (*Friend*, February 1, 1861, 10(2): 16). The Hero touched at Ascension Island (Pohnpepi, Caroline Islands, Micronesia) on March 7th, before proceeding to the Kingsmill Islands (Gilbert Islands), where they purchased “a considerable quantity of coconut oil.” The brig reached Guam on March 31st and one of the Ladrone Islands (Mariana Islands) on May 3rd, before sailing to the Arctic. Captain Meyer reported that during “the whole cruise we found trade very scarce, and consequently dear” (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Oct 3, 1861, 6(4): 2). The brig arrived at Honolulu on September 27, 1861 (*Polynesian*, September 28, 1861, 18(22): 3; *Friend*, October 1, 1861, 10(8): 64). In addition to the coconut oil, the Hero returned with 150 bbls. of whale oil, lots of furs, ivory, and whalebone (*Polynesian*, September 28, 1861, 18(22): 3; *Friend*, October 1, 1861, 10(8): 64). The brig Wailua cruised

principally on the Line and among the Caroline, Kingsmill (Gilbert), and Bonin Islands. Captain Lass reported they took 14 sperm whales, yielding 400 bbls. of oil, and obtained 100 bbls. of coconut oil (*Friend*, August 9, 1862, 11(80): 64; *Friend*, October 1, 1862, 11(10): 80; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 2, 1862, 7(14): 2; *Friend*, October 19, 1861, 10(9): 72). The Honolulu harbormaster recorded the brig's catch and trade as 360 bbls. of sperm oil and 100 bbls. of coconut oil (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865).

Coconut oil and tortoise shells appeared among the trade imports declared by the Hawaiian schooner Pfeil at the Port of Honolulu on October 20, 1858. Captain Dauelsberg acquired the oil and shells from islands southwestward of the Hawaiian Islands. He also declared trade imports from the Arctic and Bering Seas, where the schooner cruised during the late spring and summer months (*Polynesian*, October 9, 1852, 15(23): 2; *Friend*, October 13, 1858, 8(10): 80). The Pfeil departed from Honolulu on February 8th (*Polynesian*, February 13, 1858, 14(41): 328; *Friend*, March 3, 1858, 7(3): 23) with the following ten men aboard: Captain F. Dauelsberg; N. Nelson, 1st mate; T. H. Place, 2nd mate; J. Mochs, cook; and Kalawa, Makahikiea, Ilianu, Kapuu, Kaai, Lihue, seamen (*Polynesian*, February 6, 1858, 14(40): 320). The men sighted their first sperm whale off Guam on April 20th. While at the Bonin Islands, they learned from the harbor pilot that numerous sperm whales had been seen in the area two days earlier. Reportedly, no one “remembered having ever before seen them so numerous.” Their first sighting of right whales occurred on May 24th off the Kurlie Islands. The schooner cruised in the Arctic and Bering Sea. Captain Dauelsberg reported that the weather was bad, ice was troublesome, and whales were scarce. The Pfeil left the Arctic on August 26th and reached Honolulu on October 4th (*Polynesian*, October 9, 1858, 15(23): 2). Their trade imports consisted of one cask of coconut oil, one box of tortoise shells, 59 bbls. of blubber, 562 lbs. of whalebone, 802 bbls. of walrus teeth, and 797 skins (*Polynesian*, October 9, 1852, 15(23): 2).

Trade imports declared at Honolulu were similar among whaling and trading vessels. On October 19, 1858, American whaling brig Agate, Lawton, owned at Honolulu, returned from the Arctic with 470 bbls. of oil; 22,000 lbs. of ivory; 19,000 lbs. of whalebone; and 1,200 skins (*Friend*, November 8, 1858, 8(11): 86). The Honolulu harbormaster reported the 470 bbls. of oil and 6,000 lbs. of the whalebone as whaling catch (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865, Volume 3). The next day, the Hawaiian brig Oahu, Fehlbehr, from a six-month Arctic cruise with trade imports including 26,000 lbs. of ivory and 13,000 lbs. of whalebone (*Polynesian*, October 23, 1858, 15(25): 2). The Honolulu harbormaster reported the brig's seasonal catch as 280 bbls. of whale oil and 7,000 lbs. of whalebone (Hawaiian Government, 1855–1865, Volume 3). On September 25, 1860, the brig Agate, Capt Lawton, returned to port from a trading voyage “in the Arctic Ocean” and the coast of Kamschatska (*Polynesian*, September 22, 1860, 17(21): 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 27, 1860, 5(13): 2). Her trade imports included 50 bbls. of oil; 10,000 lbs. of bone; 10,000 lbs. of ivory; and one package of furs (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 27, 1860, 5(13): 2).

Trade reports for the 1870s indicate that whaling and trading vessels returned with imports similar to those declared in the 1850s and 1860s. The Hawaiian schooner

Giovanni Apiani, Dority, returned from Arctic cruises in 1873 through 1879. She was engaged in whaling and trading in 1873, 1874, and 1875 and trading only after 1875. Her six-month cruise in 1873 yielded in catch and trade 100 bbls. of whale oil; 6,000 lbs. of whalebone; 3,000 lbs. of ivory; and a few fur skins (*Hawaiian Gazette*, October 15, 1873, 9(40): 3; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 18, 1873, 18(16): 2; *Friend*, November 1, 1873, 22(11): 93). The harbor master recorded the whalebone as 5,000 lbs. (Hawaiian Government, 1868–1880). In September 1875, Captain Dority reported a catch of 12 bbls. of whale oil and 5,000 lbs. of whalebone, and 6,000 lbs. of ivory and 500 furs obtained through trade (*Friend*, October 1, 1874, 23(10): 85). The following September, the Giovanni Apiani, Fuller, imported trade totaling 14,167 lbs. whalebone, 8,000 lbs. ivory, and 22 skins. The schooner's returned stores included five packages of spirits, 74 boxes tobacco, two boxes of dry goods, 400 boxes of rifles, and four and a half boxes of powder (*Hawaiian Gazette*, September 20, 1876, 12(38): 3). Under Captain Whitney's command, the schooner returned in August 1877 with 7,000 lbs. of whalebone and 4,000 lbs. of walrus ivory (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 25, 1877, 22(8): 2), while Captain Weeks returned in September 1878 with 750 lbs. of whalebone, 220 lbs. of ivory, and 393 packages of general trading merchandise (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 14, 1878, 23(11): 2).

In March 1878, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that the "business of trading with the Indians on the shores of the Arctic Ocean bids fair to be thoroughly prosecuted this year" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 16, 1878, 22(37): 2). Honolulu enterprises fitted out four schooners for northern cruises: the *Loleta*, owned at San Francisco, Captain Dexter, by H. Hackfeld & Co; the *General Harney*, Tripp, by the master; the Giovanni Apiani, Weeks, and the C. M. Ward, Whitney, by Mr. Charles Long. The C. M. Ward and the *Loleta* were expected to take whales and walruses in addition to trading (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 16, 1878, 22(37): 2).

6. Summary

Honolulu's nineteenth-century English-language newspapers extol the economic importance of the kingdom and of Native Hawaiian seamen to the whaling fleets that pursued whales in the North Pacific and beyond. The newspapers chronicle Hawaii's whaling economy, including laws regulating the shipping and discharging of native seamen from the early 1840s, the islands' shore whaling industry from the mid-1840s, and the Honolulu-based pelagic fleet from the early 1850s. Their weekly coverage includes maritime news, statistics, and editorials about Pacific whaling, as well as brief voyage reports describing cruising routes, weather, numbers and/or types of whales sighted, killed, or lost, and information about tenders, ships spoken, and so forth. Equally important, lists by port of vessel arrivals include sperm oil, whale oil and whalebone catches, while import statistics often report by vessel the quantities of trade ivory, casks of blubber, casks or numbers of skins or furs, and other items acquired as trade cargo.

Shipping figures printed in the newspapers show that beginning in 1819 thousands of Native Hawaiian seamen sailed on pelagic whaling voyages. These figures reveal that

by mid-century, Native Hawaiians dominated the crews of the Honolulu-based fleet. Native seamen continued to be drafted by foreign fleets, particularly on American vessels. However, their participation waned after several disasters crippled the northern fleets in the 1870s. Newspaper obituaries from the 1840s to 1870s suggest that illnesses, including consumption and scurvy, claimed the lives of more Native Hawaiian seamen than injuries or drowning. Many other deaths are attributed to squalid living conditions, inclement weather, maltreatment or cruelty, hostile encounters, and mutinies. Newspaper stories also reveal that some native sailors chose to remain abroad rather than return to the islands.

Newspaper editorials characterize the Honolulu-based fleet as having begun as an experiment in 1851 when the American ship *Chariot*, owned at Honolulu, left on a cruise bound to the Okhotsk Sea. Commercial and shipping reports describe the fleet vessels as ranging from small chartered yachts, schooners, and tenders to large brigs, barks, and ships mainly of Hawaiian, American, or Oldenburg registry. These reports reveal that the size of the fleet varied seasonally, reached a peak of 18 vessels in 1859, and that only a few vessels sailed yearly after the mid-1870s. The voyage accounts describe fleet vessels pursuing whales on the Okhotsk, Kodiak, and Arctic grounds; along the west coast of Lower California, Mexico, and Central America; and to the southwestward, including the Mariana and Micronesian island groups; as well as the Bonin Islands and grounds off Japan. In addition, several newspaper stories tell of cruises within the Hawaiian Archipelago that involved the taking of whales, sharks, and/or seals.

The port and shipping reports illustrate that for some cruises, trading proved more profitable than whaling. These reports reveal that owners and agents tried to maximize their profits by targeting several major grounds each year, by employing tenders, and/or by sometimes wintering over on one of the northern grounds. In addition, maritime statistics reveal that some owners relied on trading as a strategy for augmenting poor catches. Their trade consisted mainly of oil, whalebone, blubber, ivory, and furs from northern grounds and coconut oil and tortoise shells from island groups to the southwestward. Maritime commercial figures dating to the 1870s indicate that whaling and trading vessels returned with imports similar to those declared in the 1850s and 1860s. They also reveal that by the late 1870s, many fleet vessels engaged primarily in trading, with ever fewer taking whales and walrus in addition to trade. The last Honolulu-based whaling vessel sailed and returned in 1880.

7. Future Directions

The Honolulu newspaper data presented in this paper illustrates the range and potential of incorporating journalistic accounts into future synthetic studies of Hawaii's whaling economy. The data selected for this exploratory study consists mainly of statistics and accounts published in the commercial and marine journal sections of four newspapers. Additional data are available both in the sampled newspapers and in other contemporaneous English-language and Hawaiian-language newspapers. These data represent a critical resource for future studies aimed at developing a synthetic local rather

than foreign perspective about the kingdom's whaling history, including the employment of Hawaiian seamen and development of the Honolulu fleet. In addition, this approach provides a framework for examining the broader social and political contexts of Hawaii's involvement in nineteenth-century pelagic whaling in the North Pacific and beyond.

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