

THE NEWFOUNDLAND COD FISHERY IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

SHANNON RYAN





THE NEWFOUNDLAND COD FISHERY
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

SHANNON RYAN

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts,
Memorial University of Newfoundland,
August, 1971.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although many people assisted me in the preparation of this thesis special thanks are due the following: Dr. Keith Matthews, my supervisor, whose direction and criticism have been indispensable; Miss O'Dea and Miss Parker and all the staff of Memorial University Library; Mr. B. Gill, Mr. J. Green, and Mr. D. Davis of the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador; Mr. Martin R. (Mac) Lee, Placentia, who gave me access to his collection of Munn Papers; Mr. M. MacLeod, Halifax, who sent me information on the Nova Scotian cod fishery; Mr. J.A. Miller, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who gave me access to his collection of statistics gathered from the Trade Reports of the British Consuls; Mr. G. Learning, Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who prepared Maps 1 - 6 (inclusive); Mr. W.A. Todd, Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who prepared Maps 7 and 8, and who assisted in the general arrangement of Maps; Dr. W.H. Whiteley, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who gave me access to a petition belonging to Captain W.H. Whiteley; and Miss A. Collins, St. John's, who did the typing.

ABSTRACT

The Napoleonic and Anglo-American Wars provided the transitional period during which the 'West of England - Newfoundland Cod Fishery' disappeared and the 'Newfoundland Cod Fishery' came into its own. ✓ As these wars concluded the Island found itself in the enviable position of supplying the total, with few exceptions, world demand for dried cod. At the same time her economy was almost completely dependent on the cod fishery with per capita exports at a high level. ✓

✓ During the nineteenth century Newfoundland's population increased five-fold and dried cod continued to provide most of the economic base for the Island. Yet, in spite of the fact that world demand increased steadily, Newfoundland's exports of dried cod expanded very little resulting in a rapid and steep decline in per capita exports as more and more people had to be supported by a non expanding cod fishery. ✓

The causes for Newfoundland's declining per capita exports and for her declining share of the markets can be found by studying the economy in general and the cod fishery in particular. An examination of the total economy reveals, in the first place, that the cod fishery provided the major

economic base during the century, and, secondly, that capital investment in other industries was not a major reason for the lack of expansion in the cod fishery, responsibility for which lay in a combination of production and marketing problems in the fish trade. (The writer concludes that the nature of her cod fishery and a deterioration in the quality of her product combined with the growth of foreign competition and an increase in market problems resulted in the decay (not too strong a word) of the Newfoundland dried ^{cod fish} ~~cod trade~~. The impact of this situation on Newfoundland society can be seen in the decline in population growth, the increase in public debt, and the retrenching of business. .

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. The Newfoundland Economy	3
CHAPTER II. The Cod Fishery: Internal Developments	27
CHAPTER III. The Cod Fishery: External Developments	115
CONCLUSION	194
APPENDIX I. Tables	205
APPENDIX II. Maps	311
APPENDIX III. Bounties Paid to Support the French Fishery: 1815	320
BIBLIOGRAPHY	321

LIST OF TABLES IN THE TEXT¹

Table	Page
1. Newfoundland's Copper and Iron Exports and Total Exports: 1869-1900	9
2. Newfoundland Sealing Fleet: 1833	18
3. Newfoundland Sealing Fleet: 1848	19
4. Population of Conception Bay North: 1857-1901.	24
5. Percentage of Newfoundland Exports Consisting of Seal Products: 1850-1899	26
6. Cod Fish Caught: 1710-1720	29
7. Men in the Cod Fishery: 1710-1720	30
8. Cod Fish Caught: 1784-1795	31
9. Men in the Cod Fishery: 1784-1795	X 32
10. Dried Cod Prices per Quintal: 1808-1815 . . .	34
11. Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports: 1806-1817 . .	35
✓ 12. Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports: 1900-1900 . .	✓ 39
✓ 13. Newfoundland Population: 1815-1901	40
✓ 14. Per Capita Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod: 1815-1901	✓ 41
15. Harbour Grace Labrador Fishing Fleet: 1866-1900	53
16. Exports of Labrador Dried Cod: 1880-1889 . . .	56

¹Many tables in the text are abstracts of the unabridged tables in Appendix I.

17.	Naples, Imports of Dried Cod: 1886-1887 . . .	56
18.	Newfoundland-West of England Bank Fishery: 1793-1833	59
19.	Newfoundland Bank Fishery: 1889-1898	61
20.	Newfoundland Bank Fishing Fleets: 1889-1898 .	62
21.	Various Food Prices: 1804-1890	70 ¹
22.	The Employees at Newman and Company's Burgeo Establishment: 1859	80
23.	Job Brothers and Company's Account: 1861-1871.	98
24.	Population Growth in Spain, Portugal, and Brazil during the Nineteenth Century	✓ 116
25.	Total Imports of Dried Cod into Bilbao in 1815-1828 and in 1882-1886	117
26.	Newfoundland Exports of Dried Cod: 1803-1900 .	✓ 118
27.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Italy: 1857-1900	120
28.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Portugal: 1857-1900	121
29.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Spain: 1857-1900	122
30.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to the British West Indies: 1803-1833	123
31.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to the British West Indies: 1857-1900	124
32.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1819-1833	125
33.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1857-1900	126
34.	Population of Portugal: 1814-1900	128
35.	Population of Spain: 1797-1900	129

36.	Spanish Livestock Production: 1803 and 1828 .	130
37.	Population of Brazil: 1808-1900	132
38.	American Dried Cod Exports: 1821, 1825, and 1832	140
39.	Nova Scotia's Dried Cod Exports to Various Markets: 1840, 1844, and 1851	141
40.	Nova Scotia's Dried Cod Exports to Various Markets: 1864-1865	142
41.	Nova Scotia's Dried Cod Production in Five Year Averages: 1869-1903	143
42.	Canadian Dried Fish Exports to the British West Indies: 1885-1904	144
43.	Canadian Dried Fish Exports to the Spanish West Indies: 1880-1899	145
44.	Newfoundland and French Exports of Dried Cod to Selected Markets for Various Years between 1878 and 1898	149
45.	Number of French Fishermen on the French Shore: 1829-1898	151
46.	Norway's Dried Cod Exports: 1815-1865 and 1877-1889	152
47.	Norway's Dried Cod Exports to Several Markets: 1855, 1856, 1857, and 1865	153
48.	Lisbon, Dried Cod Imports: 1891-1897	154
49.	Oporto, Dried Cod Imports: 1891-1897	154
50.	Bilbao, Dried Cod Imports: 1815-1828	155
51.	A Comparison of the Dried Cod Exports from Newfoundland and Norway: 1815-1865 and 1877-1899	157
52.	Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports to Spain, Portugal, Italy, British West Indies and Brazil: 1874-1880	158

53.	Price of Newfoundland Cod for Various Markets: 1876-1880	159
54.	Price of Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports: 1866-1900	167
55.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1861-1869	173
56.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1880-1890	174
57.	Total Spanish Foreign Trade: 1850-1884	183
58.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Spain: 1857-1900	187
59.	Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Spain: 1860-1869	191
✓ 60.	Average Percentage of Newfoundland's Population Growth Per Year	195
61.	Value of Imports and Customs Revenue	199
62.	Newfoundland's Public Debt: 1875-1898	200

INTRODUCTION

✓ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Newfoundland had been the "Grand Cod Fishery of the Universe", the waters around her shores being frequented by large and mutually hostile French and English fishermen. The "resident" English population was small, extremely mobile, and utterly dependent upon the success of the fishery. As late as 1785 the "winter" population did not exceed 11,000.¹ During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars the population increased dramatically, spurred by the development of a spring seal fishery, and the high prosperity in European fish markets between 1811 and 1816. By 1816 the population totalled some 40,000 souls², and the migratory English fishery was almost dead. That population sufficed to catch almost all the fish demanded by the markets from which competing French and American produce had been driven. (By 1901 the population had, despite heavy out migration after 1860, risen to over 200,000³: the Island's economy was still very heavily based on the cod

¹Shannon Ryan, "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" (History Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969), no pagination. This "Collection" contains all the Newfoundland Census Reports in the Colonial Records and were extracted and compiled by the writer under the direction of Dr. K. Matthews.

²Ibid.

³See Table 1, Appendix I.

fishery, but the production of fish had not risen sufficiently to meet the needs of a five-fold population increase. ✓ In 1815 Newfoundland exported 29.2 quintals of dried cod per capita; in 1901 only 5.6.¹ Furthermore Newfoundland supplied nearly the total dried cod market in 1815: in 1901 she supplied less than half. R The reasons why Newfoundland was unable to develop other industry lie largely outside the scope of this study, which is primarily concerned with developments in the cod fishery. ✓ For the latter two central questions loom above all others: why was Newfoundland, an Island which depended on the cod fishery far more than any other region in the North Atlantic, and which had commenced the century as the dominant supplier of dried cod, unable to hold her share of the markets, let alone increase it and, which is more important, why did her per capita production decline? ✓

(This paper will seek to answer these questions through three major areas: the failure of Newfoundland to diversify her economy; the nature of Newfoundland's cod fishery and its internal organization; and the external developments which vitally affected the market for her fish, but which were outside the control of her politicians, merchants, and fishermen. It will conclude with a brief analysis of the effects of the decaying cod fishery on Newfoundland society.)

¹See Table 30, Appendix I.

CHAPTER I

THE NEWFOUNDLAND ECONOMY

[The Newfoundland cod fishery, according to the report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the Island's trade in 1817, could not support the population of approximately 40,000 people without substantial help from the British Government.¹] This report was based on the evidence of fish trade representatives from St. John's, Poole, London, Liverpool, and Teignmouth and their concensus was that Great Britain give a bounty of not less than 2s. per quintal on all dried fish exported, remove at least five thousand people from the Island, and work for a reduction of European tariffs on Newfoundland fish. The alternative, as these fish exporters saw it, was the withdrawal of all capital investment from the Island followed by the complete collapse of the trade and the starvation of the inhabitants. +

The future of the Island, its trade and inhabitants, did not look too bright in 1817 and [the general feeling at that time was that the dried cod industry alone could not ✓

¹British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1817, VI, 465-514. Some witnesses before the Select Committee claimed that there were as many as 80,000 people in Newfoundland at this time. The writer has used the census figures from the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics", Memorial University of Newfoundland.

meet the demands of the economy.] John Henry Attwood, representing the St. John's merchants, saw the need for other measures besides those mentioned above: "...we seriously recommend to your Lordship's consideration the propriety of encouraging and promoting the cultivation of the soil, a measure calculated to assist the labouring fisherman in the support of himself and his family."¹ Similarly, a writer to a St. John's newspaper in 1817 saw the solution in terms of diversification and exploitation of other resources: "...we have to look to new resources to enable us to cope with our foreign competitors."² Even as early as 1812 a writer pointed out that "...every inducement and encouragement should be held to stimulate greater exertion of more general attention to the growth of Potatoes."³ [By 1817 it was generally agreed by knowledgeable people that the survival of Newfoundland depended on British assistance and diversification of the economy.]

One way to discover the place of the dried cod industry in the Newfoundland economy throughout the nineteenth century is to examine the recommendations and requests received by

¹Ibid., p. 485.

²Newfoundland Mercantile Journal, (St. John's), Letter to the Editor, February 14, 1817.

³A letter from a Mr. Knight, n.d., Sir John T. Duckworth Papers, 1810-1812.

the Select Committee.

The major requests presented to this committee were for the most part unfulfilled. [The British Government refused ✓ to grant bounties on exported fish or indeed any kind of financial assistance of that nature.] After the establishment of a Colonial Government in 1832 one might have expected some such policy to be implemented but except for a limited number of bounties during the latter part of the century this was not the case. [Neither did either Government ever remove any ✓ people from the Island and the population increased steadily from 43,409 in 1817 to 220,249 by 1901.¹] (In addition, efforts by the Governments to persuade the European markets to reduce their tariffs were for the most part unsuccessful).

The whole idea of diversification of the economy as suggested by the Witnesses before the Committee can be studied best by breaking it down into three categories: the development of secondary industry; the development of other resources besides fish; and the development of all fishing resources other than cod. By studying the progress made in each instance one can acquire a clearer picture of the place of the dried cod industry within the whole economy.

¹See Table 1, Appendix I. The Governor of Newfoundland did send two shiploads of people to Ireland and a few to Halifax in 1816, the year before the Committee's Report was completed. Charles Pedley, The History of Newfoundland (London: Longman, 1863), p. 309.

{The economy of Newfoundland during the first decades of the century was based on exports. Chappell wrote:

"Exports consist of fish, oil, and a very few furs: the imports are, provisions, clothing, salt, fishing gear, and some India goods."¹] This remark, unfortunately could be applied to any period of the nineteenth century insofar as secondary industry is concerned. [The manufacture of import substitutes which would have removed some of the dependance on exports was almost nil.² The export of primary products was the only way in which Newfoundland could acquire the multitude of imports needed.] It has been pointed out by economists that the manufacture of import substitutes is often hindered in this type of economy by the opposition of the large scale exporters who are the major importers as well.³ Whether this was the case or not one cannot say at the moment but in any event [the nature of the Newfoundland economy had

¹Edward Chappell, Voyage of H.M.S. Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coasts of Labrador (London: J. Mawman, 1818), p. 53.

²For a list of Newfoundland's imports and exports, 1835-1857, see the Custom Records in the Blue Books of Newfoundland. For the 1857-1900 period see the Custom Records in the Blue Books and in the Journals of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland, hereafter referred to as the Newfoundland Journals.

³W. Arthur Lewis, Development Planning: The Essentials of Economic Policy (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 42.

changed very little by the end of the century.^{1]} ✓

[The exploitation of natural resources other than fish did not proceed much faster than developments in secondary industry.] This seems to have been due mainly to the paucity of other resources resulting in a lack of capital investment. The St. John's Chamber of Commerce wrote in 1841:

The resources of Newfoundland are entirely external, and consist alone in her fisheries; she is dependent for almost everything upon foreign importation; nearly all her provisions, both salted and fresh, are imported. The great exertions which of late years have been made to introduce agriculture have succeeded in extending it no farther than to the immediate neighborhood of the fishing settlements, from whence offal fish can be carried for manure; the growth of grain, except oats in small quantities, which when grown are for the most part cut down for fodder, is almost unknown among us; and even of potatoes, the only article of human subsistence produced in any quantity, we are forced to depend for large supplies upon England, Ireland, Scotland and the neighboring colonies.... 2

[As indicated above, agriculture was of very limited importance. ✓
Some hay, oats, and potatoes were grown and a few animals were raised but in general farming was of little value partly ✓ because of the unfavourable climate but chiefly because of the extremely poor soil.³ Lumbering was also of minor

¹See Table 2, Appendix I for the various occupations of the population as reported by the Census Returns of Newfoundland, (1857-1901).

* ²Colonial Office Records, Series 194, Volume 111 (C.O. 194:111), pp. 222-25. A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, April 20, 1841.

³See the various Census Returns of Newfoundland, (1857-1901), for the quantity of vegetables grown, the number and kinds of animals raised, and the amount of land under cultivation.

importance¹ and was dependent on the cod and seal fisheries which determined the amount of shipbuilding. Late in the century as shipbuilding declined the opening of several mines provided a market for pitprops. In any case very rarely was lumber ever exported. Mining, however, did become fairly important during the second half of the century. (See Table 1, below)² Copper was discovered at Tilt Cove, Green Bay, in 1857, and first mined in 1864.³ It became important in the early 1870's and reached its peak in 1877 when its value as an export was over \$1,200,000. It declined rapidly during the following seven years and in 1884 was worth only \$99,217. For the remainder of the century it fluctuated wildly but remained a valuable export item. The mining of iron pyrites began in 1887 and during 1892-1894 its export value averaged over \$250,000 per year. By the end of the century, however, this industry had declined to just over \$100,000 per year. Iron ore mining had a minimal influence on the nineteenth century economy since it did not begin until 1895. Nevertheless it increased rapidly (and it is the

¹See Table 2, Appendix I for the number of men engaged in lumbering as reported by the Census Returns, (1857-1901).

²See Tables 3, 4, and 28, Appendix I.

³Frank Cramm, "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway: 1875-1898" (Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961), p. 4.

TABLE 1

Newfoundland's Copper and Iron Exports
and Total Exports: 1869-1900
(Value in Dollars)

Year	Copper	Iron Pyrites	Iron Ore	Total
	\$	\$	\$	\$
1869	123,192	.....	.....	6,096,799
1870	167,232	.....	.....	6,230,276
1871	45,024	.....	.....	6,292,283
1872	158,560	.....	.....	5,707,002
1873	194,355	.....	.....	7,700,799
1874	121,248	.....	.....	7,336,039
1875	370,666	.....	.....	6,432,003
1876	614,700	.....	.....	6,562,090
1877	1,264,044	.....	.....	6,841,582
1878	788,106	.....	.....	5,630,891
1879	511,290	.....	.....	5,918,924
1880	440,840	.....	.....	5,635,797
1881	547,020	.....	.....	7,813,880
1882	468,576	.....	.....	7,801,222
1883	256,724	.....	.....	7,058,738
1884	99,217	.....	.....	6,567,135
1885	102,420	.....	.....	4,726,608
1886	247,539	.....	.....	4,862,951
1887	168,846	8,200	.....	5,176,730
1888	816,386	37,000	.....	6,582,013
1889	356,350	64,000	.....	6,122,985
1890	226,792	72,315	.....	6,099,686
1891	565,850	57,900	.....	7,437,158
1892	690,008	316,584	.....	5,651,111
1893	410,795	227,334	.....	5,651,111
1894	236,235	285,474	.....	5,811,169
1895	352,395	161,450	.....	6,219,991
1896	483,814	182,480	.....	6,638,187
1897	410,953	155,925	44,110	4,925,789
1898	410,332	78,620	56,002	5,229,933
1899	291,874	168,210	137,370	6,938,315
1900	617,015	107,265	313,940	8,627,576

writer's belief that the Bell Island mines compensated for the declining seal and Labrador fisheries and consequently provided the Conception Bay area with a new economic base.)

(On the whole, the development of natural resources other than the fisheries could not be considered successful during the nineteenth century.] ✓

While the exploitation of other natural resources occurred fairly late in the century and was of a very limited nature diversification within the fisheries had always been a part--to a greater or lesser degree--of the Newfoundland economy. The traditional non-dried fish exports had always been cod oil,¹ salmon, trout, and fur. Cod oil was by far the most important of these but the others were of some regional importance, particularly pickled salmon.

[In the nineteenth century there was additional diversification within the fisheries. Herring exports became fairly important after 1830 and the canning of lobsters for export became a relatively important industry after 1870. However, the development of the seal industry was the greatest example of the exploitation of other resources

¹The cod oil industry was unlike the others under discussion here since it was an integral part of the cod fishery. The quantity of cod produced was the major factor which determined the quantity of cod oil exported. Therefore this industry could only be exploited within certain limits.

throughout the century. Its expansion was so great that for most of the century Newfoundland was the producer of two staples--dried cod and seal oil.]

The cod oil industry had always been part of the Newfoundland cod fishery and train vats for the crude production of oil were an integral part of each fisherman's premises. [During the Napoleonic Wars this product benefited from the general economic growth and the industry expanded in 1813-1815 with yearly exports averaging over £100,000.¹ It continued to grow and by the 1850's and 1860's cod oil exports were worth more than £150,000 annually. It remained valuable during 1865-1875 when the yearly average exports were worth \$605,849. However, after this point a decline began which caused the value of this product to average only \$268,208 during 1890-1900.² This decline was undoubtedly the result of the growing use of minerals oil in many of the processes which had formerly used cod oil. This of course, would help explain the approximate 50% decrease in the value

¹See Table 5, Appendix I. Between 1830 and 1850 seal oil and cod oil were recorded as 'oil' so that it is impossible to find individual statistics for this period.

²See Table 18, Appendix I for information showing the decline in the value of cod oil exports as a percentage of Newfoundland's total exports.

of cod oil per ton during the last four decades of the century.¹

[The other three traditional industries involved the production of pickled salmon and trout, and trapping and trading for furs.²] Salmon exports were never extremely important but did provide certain areas with an additional source of income.³ In the second half of the century this industry declined somewhat and the value of exports dropped from an annual average of \$90,020 during 1865-1875 to \$75,340 in 1890-1900. Fur and trout exports had always been of minimal importance and there were no changes throughout the century.⁴

[A fairly important herring industry developed in Newfoundland during the nineteenth century.] Pickled herring was being exported by the 1830's but the average annual value

¹Newfoundland Journals, 1850-1900, Appendices.

²Since the exporting of fur was traditional and of the most minimal importance the writer has mentioned it here rather than in the section on other resource development.

³See Table 6, Appendix I. Since most salmon was caught at Labrador the salmon fishery became a part of the total Labrador fishery.

⁴See Table 7, Appendix I for information regarding the 1850-1900 period. For the early period see the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics."

of these exports in 1836-1850 was only £7830.¹ From that point on, however, there was a substantial growth in this industry and exports were worth nearly \$200,000 annually during 1865-1875. There was a decline towards the end of the century and this average dropped to just over \$150,000 annually by 1890-1900. In 1854-1855 a smaller industry dealing with the sale of frozen herring to New England fishermen was begun.² In the winter the New England vessels would come to the Island and purchase this herring which was used for bait in their own fisheries. The trade declined in the 1870's when it was discovered that herring could be obtained at Grand Manan in the Bay of Fundy.³ However during the 1880's the Nova Scotian supply decreased and the Newfoundland trade was revived.⁴ Exports increased during the remainder of the century with an average annual value of over \$50,000 between 1890 and 1900.⁵ Herring exports,

¹See Table 8, Appendix I.

²Raymond McFarland, A History of the New England Fisheries (New York: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1911), p. 201.

³Ibid., p. 202.

⁴Ibid., pp. 202-203.

⁵See Table 9, Appendix I.

both pickled and frozen, were an important part of Newfoundland's economy after the middle of the century.

[The production of canned lobster during the last quarter of the century provided Newfoundland with another export item.] This product was first exported in worthwhile quantities in 1874¹ and by 1876-1880 was valued at over \$100,000 per year.² Although production tended to fluctuate somewhat exports increased rapidly and during the final five year periods of the century--1886-1890, 1891-1895: and 1896-1900--the average annual sales of canned lobster amounted to \$346,576; \$326,899; and \$506,548 respectively. [The contributions of the lobster industry to the Newfoundland economy were therefore, considerable throughout the final decades of the century.]

[Early in the nineteenth century the exploitation of the large seal herds off the north-east coast of Newfoundland became a major industry and the export of seal products, particularly seal oil, became a very important part of the Newfoundland economy.]

Although seals had always been harvested by landsmen whenever the ice drifted close to shore, generally north of

¹A.W. Parsons, "An Economic Study of the Newfoundland Fisheries" (Bachelor of Science Thesis, Mount Allison University, 1935), p. 80.

²See Table 10, Appendix I.

Bonavista, and a few were taken in nets, it wasn't until 1793¹ that ships began sailing in search of herds. In that year a St. John's merchant sent two small vessels of about forty-five tons each to look for seals off the north-east coast.² Both vessels were successful and this venture which netted about 1600 seals³ was the beginning of the Newfoundland spring seal fishery. In 1803 (the first year for which statistics are available) the number of seal skins exported reached 53,468 and the annual average for the remainder of the year was over 100,000.⁴ However, the seal skins were worth very little and it was the seal oil which was manufactured from the fat that was valuable. Nevertheless an examination of the number of seal skins exported is a fairly accurate way of studying the developments within the industry.⁵ The annual exports of seal oil averaged well over one thousand.

¹C.O. 194: 129, p. 147, Report from Governor Le Marchant to Earl Grey, May 4, 1848.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴See Table 11, Appendix I.

⁵See Table 12, Appendix I.

tons during this period while the price rose from £16 per ton in 1807 to a peak of £37 in 1814.¹ The annual value of seal oil exports during the war was £20,000 to £60,000. When compared with the value of the dried cod exports which probably exceeded, on an average, £600,000 per year during this period² seal oil accounted for only a small portion of the total exports. (The important thing is, however, that this industry became established and, although prosecuted on a small scale in the beginning in little vessels of thrity ✓ to sixty tons carrying ten to fifteen men each,³ it was to grow tremendously during the following decades)

[In 1818 a harvest of 165,622 seals helped lift Newfoundland out of its post war depression and the expansion of the seal industry had begun.] By 1822 production reached 368,336 and continued growth during this decade resulted in a harvest of 601,742 seals in 1831.⁴ Seal oil exports increased from 1,397 tons in 1815 to an average of over 7,500

¹See Table 13, Appendix I.

²By using Tables 14 and 15, Appendix I, one can find the approximate average annual value of dried cod exports.

³C.O. 194: 45, pp. 28-29, Report of Governor Gover for 1804; and C.O. 194: 129, p. 147, A letter from Governor Le Marchant to Earl Grey, May 4, 1848.

⁴See Table 11, Appendix I.

tons during the four year period ending in 1833.¹ In the beginning the price of this product fluctuated but by the 1830's it had stabilized at about £20-£25 per ton. Approximate calculations for this period illustrate the importance of the seal industry to the whole economy. (During 1830 and 1831, for instance, dried cod exports were valued at about £453,000 and £360,000 respectively while seal oil exports were worth approximately £159,000 and £197,000.² By this time, therefore, diversification of the economy had taken place and Newfoundland was dependent on two staple products instead of just one.) ✓

Although production increased somewhat during the following years by 1845 a plateau was reached. This plateau with many wide fluctuations continued until the 1860's when a decline became apparent. This decline was accelerated after 1880 and exports of seal products during the ten year period ending in 1900 were only about one-third as valuable as they were for the ten year period ending in 1859.³ *period*

(The growth of the seal industry in the early 1830's provided extensive employment for a large number of ships

¹See Table 13, Appendix I.

²By using Tables 13, 14, and 15, Appendix I, one can find the approximate value of these exports.

³See Table 16, Appendix I.

and men.] By 1827¹ there were 290 ships and 5,418 men engaged in this industry. This number increased slowly during the next several years reaching 293 ships and 5,735 men in 1830. In 1832, due partially no doubt to a depression in the cod fishery,² the number of sealing vessels and men increased to 407 and 8,649 respectively.³ In 1833 the sealing fleet was also quite large as indicated by Table 2.³

TABLE 2

Newfoundland Sealing Fleet: 1833

Place of Ownership	Number of ships	Number of men
St. John's	110	2,536
Conception Bay	205	4,526
Trinity	25	542
Twillingate/Fogo	7	91
Bay Bulls	3	57
Ferryland	4	96
Placentia	4	115
Burin	1	20
Total	359	7,983

¹See Table 17, Appendix I.

²See Table 14, Appendix I.

³C.O. 194: 87, p. 19, Seal Fishery Returns. The total number of vessels, 359, recorded in this source differs from that figure, 369, which is found in the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" and used in Table 17, Appendix I.

In 1837 St. John's sent 121 ships and 2,940 men; Harbour Grace, 49 ships; Carbonear, 74; and the rest of Conception Bay 83 for a grand total of 327 ships and 7877 men.¹

(Including 4,937 men from Conception Bay). By 1848 the number of vessels had remained about the same but they were larger and carried bigger crews as shown in Table 3 (below).²

TABLE 3

Newfoundland Sealing Fleet: 1848

Place of Ownership	Number of Ships	Total Tonnage	Total Crews	Average Tonnage	Average Crew
St. John's	96	9,353	3,215	97	33
Brigus	66	5,010	2,111	76	32
Carbonear	54	4,634	1,672	86	31
Harbour Grace	51	5,084	1,684	100	33
Other Ports	74	5,803	2,123	78	29
Total	341	29,884	10,805	88	32

In 1851 there were 323 ships and 10,682 men³ engaged in the industry and in 1857 the peak of Newfoundland's participation

¹Levi Chafe, History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery from the Earliest Available Records down to and Including the Voyage of 1923 (3d. ed.; St. John's: Trade Printers and Publishing Limited, 1924), p. 39.

²C.O. 194: 129, p. 148, Report from Governor Le Marchant to Earl Grey, May 4, 1848.

³Chafe, Seal Fishery, p. 40.

was reached when 370 ships and 13,600 men were involved.¹ In 1863 two steamers were sent to the ice fields² and this marked the beginning of the changeover from sail power to steam power in the seal fishery. By 1873 the St. John's sealing fleet contained seventeen steamers while one sailed from Harbour Grace for a total of eighteen.³ In 1882 the steamer fleet had increased to twenty-five and Talbot reported:

It [The seal fishery] has been greatly altered within the last twenty years. It is now conducted chiefly by steamers--about twenty in number--and partially by small craft numbering from twenty to thirty and varying in size from ten to seventy tons.⁴

He also stated that there were 5,000 men engaged in the industry and that the crew shared one-third of the total catch.⁵ (The crews of sailing ships continued to share one-half of the profits as had always been the practice).⁶ The

¹Harold Adams Innis, The Cod Fisheries: The History of An International Economy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954) pp. 410-11.

²Chafe, Seal Fishery, p. 42.

³Ibid., p. 6 and p. 50.

⁴Thomas Talbot, Newfoundland: A letter addressed to a friend in Ireland in relation to the condition and circumstances of the Island of Newfoundland, with an especial view to emigration (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searis and Livingston, 1882), p. 21.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Sealing Agreement, 1870, between Captain Alfred Smith, Master of the vessel, Susan, and fifty men going with him on a sealing voyage. It stipulated that one-half of the harvest was to be shared among the crew while the other half belonged to the owner. Benjamin Smith Papers.

need for ships and men continued to decrease with the decline in the seal fishery during the final decades of the century.

The development and use of large steamers throughout the latter part of the century was, to a certain extent, a continuation of the trend in the industry towards larger ships. In the first decades of the century all ships were between thirty and sixty tons and employed from ten to fifteen men each.¹ In 1825 two vessels of 120 tons each were built in Conception Bay and proved so successful that this larger size became more common.² By 1827 the average tonnage and crew of each vessel was 60 and 19 respectively.³ By 1830 the average tonnage had increased to 79 and the average crew contained 21 men. In 1832, however, a rapid increase in the fleet resulting from the enormous harvests of 1830 and 1831 and the depressed cod fishery reduced the average size of each vessel to 67 tons but since an expansion in manpower had also occurred the average crew still consisted

¹C.O. 194: 129, p. 147, Report from Governor Le Marchant to Earl Grey, May 4, 1848.

²Ibid.

³See Table 17, Appendix I, for statistics regarding sealing vessels during 1827-1833.

of 21 men. In 1833 the crews averaged 22 men¹ and by 1837 this had grown to 24.² In 1848 the average ship was 88 tons and the average crew contained 32 men.³ Harbour Grace and St. John's sent the largest ships that year with their fleets averaging 100 and 97 tons respectively. The ships from Brigus and from ports in Trinity and Bonavista Bays were generally much smaller. Larger ships required more capital and were therefore more likely to be found in the areas with the largest mercantile interests. This process continued and in 1867 the average ship to leave Harbour Grace was 119 tons and carried a crew of 50 men.⁴ In 1886, the first year in which no sailing craft left that port, the average size of the three steamers was 251 tons and the average crew contained 192 men. The use of the large steamer was the final stage in the development of sealing crafts throughout the century.

The continued increase in the size of sealing vessels culminating in the use of the steamers had many ramifications for population apportionment in Newfoundland,

¹C.O. 194: 97, p. 19, Seal Fishery Returns.

²Chafe, Seal Fishery, p. 39.

³See Table 3, Chapter I.

⁴See Table 19, Appendix I, for Harbour Grace seal fishery statistics, 1867-1900.

particularly on the Avalon Peninsula. [The seal fishery, by generating employment, encouraged the growth of population in these areas which were in a position to be engaged in the industry.] The population of Conception Bay increased from 11,755 in 1815 to 28,026 in 1845.¹ Similarly that of St. John's grew from 11,866 to 25,196 during this same period. [The employment generated by the seal fishery was much more extensive than just the seal harvest itself; ships had to be built and maintained, dories, gaffs, oars, and other equipment had to be made, and the seal fat had to be manufactured into oil. In addition, the supplies needed created employment for various clerks and agents.] Chafe wrote:

Shipbuilding was a great industry during the first half of the last century...nearly every vessel at the seal fishery was native built. Every harbour of importance on the East Coast built its own vessels; Twillingate, Fogo, Greenspond, Bonavista, King's Cove, Trinity, Hants Harbour, Conception Bay harbours. The crews belonged to the place and the fat was nearly all manufactured into oil in the same harbour... work was provided for ship carpenters and sail makers, building, rigging and fitting out and repairing vessels, making punts, oars, gaffs...²

In the early years of the century the industry was very heavily prosecuted by the outports as Tables 2 and 3 (above)

¹See Table 20, Appendix I, for the population of Newfoundland by districts during 1789-1845.

²Chafe, Seal Fishery, p. 16.

illustrate but by the end of the century St. John's dominated it completely. Although statistics are scarce, by examining Harbour Grace one can see what occurred.¹ From 53 ships and 2,825 men at the seal fishery in 1870 this port had only 17 ships and 1,515 men involved in 1880. By 1890 there were only 3 ships (steamers) and 600 men so engaged and Harbour Grace had ceased sending sealing ships to the ice fields by the end of the century. Without John Munn's large establishment which could afford steamers the decline would have been greatly accelerated and the industry would have terminated much more quickly as must have been the case in the other outports. During the last two decades Port de Grave, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear experienced a decline in population as indicated by Table 4 (below).² St. John's benefited at the

TABLE 4

Population of Conception Bay North: 1857-1901

Year	Port de Grave	Harbour Grace	Carbonear
1857	6,489	10,067	5,233
1869	7,536	12,740	5,633
1874	7,919	13,055	5,488
1884	8,698	14,727	6,206
1891	7,986	13,881	5,765
1901	7,445	12,671	5,024

¹See Table 19, Appendix I.

²See Table 21, Appendix I, for the population of Newfoundland by districts during 1857-1901.

expense of the outports from these developments in the seal fishery. In 1870 ten vessels left the capital to go to the ice fields and they carried 1,200 men.¹ By 1880 the number of ships had increased to 24 and the number of crew members to 5,089.² However, the general decline which had developed in the seal fishery by this time offset, to some extent, this initial growth. In 1890 there were 15 vessels sailing from St. John's with 3,399 men³ and the figures for 1900 were 19 and 3,760⁴ respectively. As the outports' participation in the seal industry declined the sealers from these areas would all journey to St. John's in the spring to compete for the 'berths'. Therefore many of the crew members who sailed on the St. John's vessels were from the outports. Nevertheless, by capturing the entire industry, St. John's did not suffer so extensively from the general decline in the seal harvests and since all operations involved in the seal fishery were also moved to the capital the seal industry remained an important part of the St. John's economy.

¹Chafe, Seal Fishery, p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 54-55.

³Ibid., p. 59.

⁴Ibid., p. 67.

[The seal fishery was of the utmost importance to the Newfoundland economy during the first half of the century when it provided such a large part of the Island's exports. In the second half of the century this situation changed and the exportation of seal products declined. (See Table 5, below).¹ By the end of the century Newfoundland's second major resource had been exhausted.]

TABLE 5

Percentage of Newfoundland Exports
Consisting of Seal Products:
1850-1899 (Average per Year)

Years	Percentage
1850-1859	24
1860-1869	18
1870-1879	17
1880-1889	12
1890-1899	9

The Select Committee of 1817 would have felt very much at home in the Newfoundland of the 1890's. [With no secondary industry, very little diversification or utilization of other resources, and a population that had increased five-fold, the Island still remained most heavily dependent on the dried cod industry which was experiencing its own problems.]

¹See Table 18, Appendix I.

CHAPTER II

THE COD FISHERY: INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

During the Napoleonic Wars the Newfoundland cod fishery changed from a West of England migratory operation to an industry prosecuted almost wholly by residents.¹ Throughout this transformation the Newfoundland economy depended almost completely on the dried cod trade which consisted chiefly of the production of a shore dried, light salted fish. This was produced by fishermen and their crews and/or families who caught the fish offshore and dried it on or near their shore premises. The fish thus produced was ideal for sale in regions with warm climates such as Iberia and the Mediterranean.

Throughout the remainder of the century, however, the cod fishery did not expand sufficiently to keep pace with the growth in population and thus there was a continuous decline in per capita exports although the industry retained, to a large extent, its same position in the total economy. This lack of growth occurred in spite of the development of new branches within the cod fishery--the

¹See Dr. K. Matthews, "A History of the West of England--Newfoundland Fishery" (D. Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1968).

Labrador and (later and to a much lesser extent) the bank fisheries. As the population increased and more people became dependent on a given quantity of fish the commercial organization of the trade changed partly in response to the increasing profit squeeze, but without halting the decline in per capita exports. Similarly governmental action and technological developments were likewise unable to prevent further decay. Parallelling these developments there was a deterioration in quality and a decline in price. By the end of the century, in spite of efforts to reverse the situation, the Newfoundland cod fishery had become a very precarious industry.

To understand the Newfoundland dried cod trade during the nineteenth century it is necessary to be aware of developments in this trade during the eighteenth century and particularly those developments which occurred while the Napoleonic and Revolutionary Wars were in progress.

The Newfoundland cod fishery had always been a migratory one carried out for the most part by West of England fishermen. In the beginning it consisted of fishing ships and crews going to Newfoundland each spring and returning with their catch in the autumn. As stages, flakes, and other fishing facilities became larger caretakers were left behind to care for this property during the winter. These people, plus the occasional deserter from the fishing

ships and the remnants of several colonization attempts, became the first residents. Simultaneously, some fishermen began the practice of leaving their boats on the Island and finding transportation on board the fishing ships for themselves and their crews. Their boats became known as bye boats and these bye boat keepers became a significant part of the cod fishery. By the early eighteenth century the resident, bye boat, and fishing ship fisheries were well established but the migratory branches were larger and more important than that of the residents. (See Tables 6 and 7)¹

TABLE 6

Cod Fish Caught: 1710-1720 (Quintals).

Year	Fishing Ships	Bye Boats	Residents	Grand Total
1710	34,290	14,068	91,170	139,528
1711	33,988	13,950	72,603	120,546
1712	20,030	13,900	30,500	64,430
1713	25,890	32,370	46,490	103,750
1714	37,880	18,825	42,151	98,856
1715	33,375	20,716	35,531	89,622
1716	30,329	24,310	33,830	88,469
1717	50,090	--63,900--		113,990
1718	36,058	23,310	41,455	100,823
1719	42,180	19,969	32,450	94,599
1720	33,090	19,720	27,420	80,230

¹All statistics for the period prior to 1833, unless otherwise stated, have been taken from the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics".

TABLE 7

Men in the Cod Fishery: 1710-1720

Year	Men in Fishing Ships	Men in Bye Boats	Resident Men
1710	2,802	624	1,868
1711	3,137	635	1,925
1712	1,423	595	1,509
1713	736	547	2,566
1714	1,966	1,001	2,625
1715	3,056	2,294	3,153
1716	1,601	1,824	2,611
1717	2,032	1,099	1,863
1718	2,079	1,640	2,493
1719	1,523	1,031	1,610
1720	1,519	713	1,381

(During the eighteenth century the cod fishery and its individual segments fluctuated. The resident fishery prospered in war time when the migratory fishermen were unable to travel safely across the Atlantic and in any case were usually pressed into the Navy or were in hiding to escape such a fate. These periods brought an increase in the Island's population. Between 1710 and 1715, for example, the population increased from 2,400 to over 4,000, and similarly, between 1750 and 1764 it increased from 8,225 to nearly 16,000 souls. These post war depressions caused severe problems for the residents and usually brought about a decline in population. The migratory fishery, on the other hand, being well supplied with ships, sailors, and fishermen

released from naval service, always recovered after the wars. This pattern repeated itself several times throughout the century but the resident fishery, which had the advantage of being less expensive, had become the most important by the end of the century. (See Tables 8 and 9).

TABLE 8

Cod Fish Caught: 1784-1795
(Quintals)

Year	Fishing Ships	Bye Boats	Residents	Grand Total
1784	131,650	93,050	212,616	437,316
1785	170,372	111,994	262,576	544,942
1786	212,415	99,180	257,547	569,142
1787	276,215	114,180	341,620	732,015
1788	412,580	79,285	457,105	948,970
1789	326,309	106,000	339,260	771,569
1790	262,248	83,870	302,974	649,092
1791	183,494	123,023	229,770	536,287
1792	156,360	--395,900--		552,260
1793	108,550	57,600	271,310	437,460
1794	151,500	54,800	304,010	510,310
1795	91,790	101,007	293,633	486,435

Although the migratory fishery was a much more ancient institution and had the blessing of the British Government it could not survive the competition of the resident fishery. Increased costs and disruption by wars eventually forced the migratory fishery out of business and fishermen found it much more profitable to remain in Newfoundland than to return to England each year. Even

TABLE 9

Men in the Cod Fishery: 1784-1795

Year	Men in Fishing Ships	Men in Bye Boats	Resident Men
1784	2,603	2,606	5,106
1785	2,866	2,887	4,604
1786	2,651	5,236	6,190
1787	3,112	3,625	10,185
1788	4,306	2,397 ^a	10,794
1789	2,824	...	9,950
1790	1,112	...	8,362
1791	2,255	...	7,585
1792	2,351	...	8,722
1793	1,348	...	6,664
1794	1,894	...	8,036
1795	1,362	...	7,063

^aEnd of statistics regarding Bye Boat men.

before the final effects of the Napoleonic Wars could be felt the end of the migratory fishery was in sight. A writer, in 1790, after pointing out that the migratory fishery had declined between 1788 and 1790 by 148 ships, 600 boats, and 3,500 men, said:

Whether this great and rapid reduction of the Fishery is to be described solely to bad markets, or partly to bad Regulations, I shall not pretend to say. I am sorry, however, to observe, that all the Decked Vessels, and the greater part of the Boats, which have been withdrawn from the Fishery are owned by Merchants and Boatkeepers usually residing in Great Britain, and chiefly in the County of Devon.¹

¹Copy of a letter dated December 27, 1790, and post-marked St. John's. The writer's signature is missing but it may have been written by someone associated with the Newman establishments in Newfoundland since the original is in the possession of R.L. Newman, London. Collingwood Collection.

The migratory fishery reached its peak in 1788 and declined during the remainder of the century.¹ Governor Gower suggested that one reason for the decline of the English bank fishery (a branch of the migratory fishery) was the discontinuance of the small bounty granted it.² In any case the migratory fishery had been weakened by the time the Napoleonic Wars commenced and these wars brought it to an end.³

[The early years of the wars with France were not especially prosperous for Newfoundland. Exports remained rather low⁴ and there was no expansion in commercial activity. However, the brief period of peace in 1803 which was accompanied by the Passenger Act of that same year making it cheaper for people to travel to Newfoundland rather than to other parts of North America⁵ resulted in increased immigration to

¹See Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 292, Matthews, West of England-Newfoundland Fishery, p. 534 and the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics".

²C.O. 194:45, pp. 20-21, Governor Gower's Report on Newfoundland for the year ending October 10, 1804.

³See "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" and Matthews, West of England-Newfoundland Fishery, p. 537.

⁴See Table 14, Appendix I.

⁵William Forbes Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), pp. 85-87.

the Island; over 2,700 souls arrived in 1803 followed by 646 in 1804.¹ By this time the cessation of the migratory fishery had placed the dried cod industry in the hands of the residents so that when the trade did improve it was the Newfoundland fishery and not the West of England fishery which benefited.

✓ The expansion of the Newfoundland cod trade and the prosperity which accompanied it resulted from the outbreak of the Peninsula War in 1808 which opened up large markets and the outbreak of the Anglo-American War in 1812 which forced the Americans out of the dried cod trade. Fish prices increased (See Table 10, below)² and this stimulated

TABLE 10

Dried Cod Prices per Quintal: 1808-1815

Year	Minimum £ s. d.	Maximum £ s. d.	Year	Minimum £ s. d.	Maximum £ s. d.
1808	9	14 6	1812	11	22 6
1809	9 6	13 6	1813	24	32
1810	8	14 6	1814	14 6	24 6
1811	11 6	22	1815	14	21

¹C.O. 194:45, p. 35, Governor Gower's Report on Newfoundland for the Year ending October 10, 1804.

²See Table 15, Appendix I.

capital investment. This greater capital investment led to a growth in production. (See Table 11, below).¹ At the same

TABLE 11

Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports: 1806-1817

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1806	772,809	1812	711,056
1807	674,810	1813	912,183
1808	576,132	1814	947,811
1809	810,219	1815	1,182,661
1810	884,474	1816	1,046,626
1811	923,540	1817	935,636

time wages and the price of goods increased. Fish splitters, for example, who were earning £30-32 per season in 1804 were being paid as much as £140 for the same work by 1814.² However, food prices also increased and bread which sold for 20s.-30s. per cwt. in 1804 was costing as much as 70s.-84s. in 1813.³ In 1815 both wages and prices declined somewhat but were still comparatively high. The demand for labor and the high wages encouraged a growth in population from 25,985 in 1811 to 40,568 in 1815.⁴ By the end of the war the

¹See Table 14, Appendix I.

²See Table 22, Appendix I.

³See Table 23, Appendix I.

⁴See Table 1, Appendix I.

Newfoundland cod fishery was being prosecuted almost exclusively by the residents and the Island had changed from a "fishing ship moored on the Grand Banks" to an established colony. Governor Keats' remark that "...in consequence of the late wars St. John's became the Emporium of the Island and changed its character from a fishery to a considerable commercial town."¹ can in this sense be applied to the whole Island.

With the close of the war in 1815 the boom that had made Newfoundland prosperous ceased and by the end of the year the crash had occurred.² After the closing of accounts in October there were forty declarations of insolvency³ and 920 cases arising from these failures were brought before the courts.⁴ The price of fish declined so much that by 1816 it was sold for less than one-third its cost price and in the ensuing panic many of the mercantile establishments closed.⁵ At the same time emigrants continued to arrive

¹C.O. 194: 55, p. 101, A letter from Governor Keats to Lord Bathurst, December 29, 1814.

²D.W. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, (London: MacMillan and Company, 1895), p. 403.

³Ibid.

⁴Pedley, Newfoundland, p. 306.

⁵Prowse, Newfoundland, pp. 403-404.

and finding no work added to the distress. In 1815 over 6,000 people came followed by 3,826 in 1816.¹ By the end of the year the number of destitute people had become quite serious and the Governor returned two shiploads to Ireland and sent more than a thousand others to Halifax.² The winter of 1816-1817 was extremely bad with widespread destitution³ and this was followed by a very poor seal fishery.⁴ The cod fishery was fair during the summer of 1817 but there was a further decline in price to 8s.- 14s. per quintal.⁵ During the winter gangs of men roamed the streets searching for food and "threatened life and property".⁶ Because of the severity of the depression the Governor, Sir Francis Pickmore, remained in Newfoundland during the winter⁷ and although he died before spring the precedent of a full time Governor was established. An unusually good seal fishery in 1818⁸ heralded the end of this severe depression. ✓

¹See Table 24, Appendix I.

²Pedley, Newfoundland, p. 309.

³Prowse, Newfoundland, p. 404.

⁴See Table 11, Appendix I.

⁵See Table 15, Appendix I.

⁶Prowse, Newfoundland, p. 405.

⁷Ibid., p. 406.

⁸See Table 11, Appendix I.

The Newfoundland economy changed somewhat between 1815 and 1900 as developments in the seal fishery created a broader economic base for a major part of the century--approximately 1830-1870. In 1815, by using Tables 13, 14, and 15, Appendix I, one can estimate that the total value of Newfoundland's dried cod exports was about £900,000 while the seal oil exports were worth about £40,000. In 1830 and 1831 the cod exports had declined to about £453,000 and £360,000 respectively, while the value of the seal oil exports had increased to about £159,000 and £197,000. (This period was somewhat unusual since the seal fishery was booming while the cod fishery was depressed.) However, by early 1840's the annual value of the seal and cod fisheries was estimated at about £160,000 and £500,000 respectively.¹ While the seal fishery remained important the percentage of exports consisting of dried cod varied from 50% to 70%.² By 1870, however, the decline of the seal fishery was evident³ and during the following decades the production of dried cod increased.⁴ (It is impossible to say at the moment whether

¹Public Ledger (St. John's), May 9, 1843. Mr. Nugent's address to the Newfoundland House of Assembly, May 3, 1843.

²See Table 29, Appendix I.

³See Tables 11 and 12, Appendix I.

⁴See Table 14, Appendix I.

there was any important connection between these two events.) After 1874 dried cod exports made up a larger percentage of the total exports than during the previous forty-five years with 1882 being exceptional for in that year dried cod provided 91% of all exports. Therefore the first and last decades of the century were the ones in which dried cod was most important to the economy although the seal fishery even in its heyday was always much less important than the cod fishery.

[The total production of dried cod during the century can be explained as two periods of expansion separated by a period of stagnation. (See Table 12, below.)¹ Until about

TABLE 12

Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports: 1800-1900

Year	Annual Average Number of Quintals	Year	Annual Average Number of Quintals
1801-1805	589,270	1851-1855	959,126
1806-1810	743,688	1855-1860	1,188,616
1811-1815	935,450	1861-1865	912,849
1816-1820	883,387	1866-1870	812,827
1821-1825	920,507	1871-1875	1,184,028
1826-1830	927,993	1876-1880	1,181,777
1831-1835	737,805	1881-1885	1,423,209
1836-1840	841,525	1886-1890	1,143,459
1841-1845	961,260	1891-1895	1,206,368
1846-1850	980,340	1896-1900	1,248,880

¹See Tables 14 and 33, Appendix I.

1815 there was a continuous increase in production followed by stagnation to about the mid 1870's. However, within this period the early 1830's and late 1860's had unusually poor fisheries while the fisheries during the latter 1850's were unusually good. From the mid 1870's to the end of the century production was up and during the thirty year period ending in 1900 exports averaged over 1,200,000 quintals annually compared with an average of less than 1,000,000 quintals during 1810-1870.

This picture of growth followed by stagnation and more growth changes when one examines the population figures for the century. (See Table 13, below).¹ When one compares

TABLE 13

Newfoundland Population: 1815-1901

Year	Population	Year	Population
1815	40,568	1857	124,228
1820	42,535	1869	146,536
1825	55,504	1874	161,374
1830	60,088	1884	197,335
1836	74,993	1891	202,040
1845	96,295	1901	220,249

the increase in dried cod exports with the increase in population it can be seen that the increase in the former

¹See Table 1, Appendix I.

was much less than the increase which took place in the latter. This is very clearly demonstrated by the decline evident in the per capita exports of dried cod during the century. (See Table 14, below).¹ Since it has already

TABLE 14

Per Capita Exports of Newfoundland
Dried Cod: 1815-1901

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1815	29.2	1857	11.2
1820	20.6	1869	6.0
1825	16.0	1874	9.9
1830	15.0	1884	7.0
1836	11.5	1891	6.2
1845	10.4	1901	5.6

been established that the dried cod industry continued to be the mainstay of the economy throughout the century this per capita decline was quite serious.]

As has already been mentioned the stagnation in the cod fishery between 1815 and 1870 was partly compensated for by the growth of the seal fishery. Besides this, however, the seal fishery was instrumental in the development of a new branch of the cod fishery--the migratory Labrador cod fishery.

¹See Table 30, Appendix I.

During the Napoleonic Wars many fishermen from Newfoundland's north east coast, particularly Conception Bay, became engaged in a migratory cod fishery on the 'North Shore' of the Island. This area between Quirpon and Cape St. John¹--referred to by the French as 'Petit Nord'--had always been a part of the traditional 'French Shore'. French activity in the area ceased with the outbreak of war, and by 1798 schooners and shallops from Conception Bay were fishing there and at Labrador.² The men and ships participating in this activity were, for the most part, the same ones engaged in the spring seal fishery. This made both industries interdependent but at the same time it made it possible for greater economic growth in those areas involved in both the cod and seal fisheries compared with those areas which depended solely on the cod fishery.

While it is impossible to determine exactly the extent of the early Labrador fishery it is evident that the later extensive Labrador fishery grew out of the North Shore fishery. It seems that in the beginning vessels would sail to the North Shore and occasionally if prospects were not favorable would continue to the Labrador coast in time for

¹See Map 4, Appendix II.

²Matthews, "West of England-Newfoundland Fishery", p. 592.

the later season farther north.¹ In 1803 (the earliest figures available) there were 47 ships and 435 men engaged in the fishery on the North Shore² and by 1811 these numbers had risen to 107 ships and 717 men. Between 1811 and 1815 the number of ships remained about the same but the number of men increased to over 1,000. Governor Gower observed in 1806 that the planters from Conception Bay had established quite a cod fishery north of Cape St. John and he was concerned because he knew they would have to leave the area and proceed to the coast of Labrador once a peace treaty was signed with France.³ (Another source points out that due to the scarcity of fish around St. John's and Conception Bay the fishermen went annually to the North Shore for the whole fishing season.⁴ However, while the Labrador fishery was carried on to some extent during the war years the fishery on the North Shore was much more important. In 1834 the

¹See Table 25, Appendix I, for the beginning and closing dates and the average length of the cod fishing seasons in Newfoundland and Labrador.

²See Table 26, Appendix I.

³C.O. 194: 45, p. 23, Governor Gower's Report on Newfoundland for the year ending October 10, 1804. Report submitted, March 18, 1806.

⁴C.O. 194: 60, p. 293, Report of the Select Committee on Newfoundland Trade, 1817.

newly elected House of Assembly wrote concerning the French presence in Newfoundland: "The Labrador cod fishery was generally considered to be a precarious venture and most agreed that losing the right to fish at Petit Nord was very unfortunate to the Newfoundland fishermen."¹ Similarly in that same year the Chamber of Commerce (made up of St. John's exporters for the most part) wrote:

That the fishery at Labrador being exceedingly precarious derives its value chiefly from the employment it has given of late years to the Sealing Vessels and men after the termination of the Seal Fishery; and was, as is doubtless known to His Majesty's Government, but little pursued from this Island until by the late treaties which ceded to France and America a right to occupy the part of our shore to which the Sealing Vessels had formerly resorted for the Cod Fishery. His Majesty's subjects were driven from their own Coasts to seek elsewhere new but vastly inferior sources of employment for the Capital and Industry which those treaties so suddenly paralyzed.²

Although it could be said that the Labrador fishery had its origin in the Napoleonic Wars, its expansion resulted from the Treaty of Paris which returned the North Shore to France. ✓
3

It is not clear exactly when the North Shore fishery ceased but it did not last long after the restoration of French rights in 1815. Governor K.B. Hamilton reported in

¹C.O. 194: 87, pp. 175-76, A letter from the Newfoundland House of Assembly to the British Government, May 1, 1834.

²Ibid., p. 273, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, June 2, 1834.

1853 that this fishery was concluded in about 1821 when the fishermen "with few exceptions abandoned the fishery and betook themselves to the Labrador."¹ In 1820 Governor C. Hamilton reported that "An unusual number of people.... resorted from this Island [to Labrador] when compared with former years."² Although the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" record a large number of Newfoundland ships on the North Shore as late as 1827 in view of the above Governors' remarks and the fact that the French fishermen returned to the area after the war it is very probable that the Newfoundland fishery of the North Shore had ceased by the early 1820's.³

By the late 1820's the Labrador fishery was a firmly established industry. It consisted of two types of fisheries, besides a small resident fishery. The Islanders who journeyed to Labrador and established themselves on shore, catching and curing their fish in the one place became known as stationers while those who lived on board their ships and

¹C.O. 194:139, pp. 327-28, A letter from Governor K.B. Hamilton to the Duke of Newcastle, September 28, 1853.

²C.O. 194:63, p. 128, A letter from Governor C. Hamilton to Earl Bathurst, November 14, 1820.

³See Table 26, Appendix I. The officials who sent back the colonial reports were usually very slow to recognize the need for new categories when they completed their reports. Thus ships may have been recorded as being on the North Shore when they were really on the Labrador Coast.

moved around to the various fishing grounds were called floaters. The floaters generally brought their fish back to the Island to be dried. In the beginning the fishery developed on the southern part of the Labrador coast and as the century progressed the fishermen moved farther north.¹ However, stationers did not go north of Cape Harrison while the floaters could go as far north as Cape Chidley and increasingly did so during the century.² The fishing area was very large,³ over 7,000 square miles, but owing to the lack of charts it was hazardous and many vessels were lost.⁴ The Labrador fishery began later than that of the Island and the season was shorter.⁵ While the north eastern coast of Newfoundland had a fishing season of about 143 days that of southern and northern Labrador averaged about 87 and 52 days respectively. It was not unusual for Island fishermen to sail to Labrador late in the summer when it appeared that the shore fishery in their locality was going to fail.⁶

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1877, Appendix, pp. 730-43.

²See Map 6, Appendix II.

³See Table 27, Appendix I, for the comparative sizes of the Newfoundland and Labrador fishing areas.

⁴Newfoundland Journal, 1877, Appendix, pp. 730-43.

⁵See Table 25, Appendix I.

⁶William Cox and Company Letter Book, 1853-1859, A letter from Charles Edmonds, Agent at Twillingate, to John B. Highmore, Agent at Fogo, July 2, 1859.

The late arrival of the fish in Labrador waters and the shortness of the drying season made it difficult to obtain a light salted, hard dried product. As early as 1835 the Chamber of Commerce cautioned that "the people employed curing fish....at Labrador be more careful."¹ The Labrador fishery, besides producing a generally cheaper product, was not considered to be a paying proposition on its own. It was, therefore, closely tied to the seal fishery with the same outports, men, and ships involved in both industries. As mentioned earlier the Chamber of Commerce pointed out that the Labrador fishery derived its value chiefly from the employment it gave the sealing ships and men after the seal fishery.² Similarly, although the Labrador cod fishery failed on different occasions it generally took a failure of the seal fishery (during the heyday of the seal and Labrador fisheries) as in 1834 to disturb the Newfoundland business and political community.³ It is important to realize that right from the beginning the Labrador fishery was not generally remunerative and its success depended largely on

¹Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1834-1841, Vol. 1, Annual Report, August 5, 1835.

²C.O. 194: 87, pp. 272-73, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, June 2, 1834.

³Ibid., pp. 175-76, A letter from the Newfoundland House of Assembly to the British Government, May 1, 1834.

the seal fishery.

58 The Labrador fishery increased in both size and importance during the first half of the century. In the 1820's and 1830's about 250 ships, with an average of 9 men each, sailed from the Island to Labrador annually.¹ The extra large seal harvest of the 1830's and 1840's² were probably instrumental in the expansion of the Labrador fishery during this same period for in 1848 over 400 registered vessels besides boats of between 10 and 30 tons were engaged in that branch of the cod fishery.³

6 Although other parts of the north eastern coast could and did participate to some extent in the Labrador cod fishery Conception Bay controlled the largest part of the industry with a fairly important share of the business going to St. John's as well. From very early in the century the North Shore fishery and later the Labrador fishery was dominated by Conception Bay and St. John's with the vessels from the former outnumbering the vessels from the latter by

¹See Table 26, Appendix I.

²See Table 11, Appendix I.

³Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1846-1851, Vol. 11, A letter from the Chamber to the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, December 4, 1848.

This is correct

two or three to one during 1812-1833.¹ Until St. John's captured what remained of both industries near the end of the century Harbour Grace had probably the most important and largest sealing and Labrador fleets. In 1847 the population of that town was 4,129 (men, women and children) of whom two-thirds were engaged in or depended on the cod fishery.² One-third of this latter number lived from the proceeds of the shore fishery at Harbour Grace, Cat Harbour and Green Bay while the remaining two-thirds were dependent on the Labrador fishery. This means that approximately 2,000 people in that town were involved in the Labrador fishery. Mosquito (now called Bristol's Hope), just north of Harbour Grace,³ had a population of 456 of which four-fifths, or about 360 people depended on the Labrador fishery. In Spaniard's Bay one quarter, or approximately 175 people out of a population of 715 were likewise occupied as were one-third or about 600 of the 1799 people in Bay Roberts. In the area under the jurisdiction of the Harbour Grace

¹See Table 51, Appendix I. See also C.O. 184:112, pp. 383-88. Report of C. Wyville, Captain of the Fishery Protection Vessel, H.M.S. Cleopatra, to Governor Harvey, September, 1841.

²Police Letter Book, Vol. 1, 1847, A letter from the Police Office to James Crowdy, Colonial Secretary, September 30, 1847. The Police Office in Harbour Grace had jurisdiction over the area from Mosquito to Bay Roberts.

³See Map 3, Appendix II.

Police Office approximately 3,135 people (fishermen and their families) out of the total population of 7,099 were engaged in the Labrador fishery. Other Conception Bay Outports, particularly Carbonear and Brigus, also carried out a vigorous Labrador fishery (and seal fishery) and contributed towards Conception Bay's near monopolization of the industry. However, even as late as 1889 when the St. John's firms had taken nearly all the fish trade John Munn and Company of Harbour Grace shipped 75,150 quintals of dried cod from Labrador out of a total of 186,933 quintals shipped in all¹ and his Company was by far the largest exporter on that occasion. Trinity Bay was also involved in the Labrador fishery but to a lesser extent. It was reported in 1850 that the 4,000 migratory fishermen at Labrador belonged to Conception and Trinity Bays,² but the evidence shows that the North Shore and seal fisheries practically originated with the Conception Bay fishermen and the available records on fish collections in Trinity Bay indicate that the shore fishery was much more important

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1890, Appendix, p. 32.

²Newfoundland Journal, 1851, Appendix, p. 146. Report of Captain Decourcy of H.M.S. Halena on the Fisheries of Newfoundland, September 5, 1850.

in that area.¹ While a small Labrador fishery was prosecuted from the Fogo area, records similar to the ones regarding Trinity, indicate that it was only a minor part of the total fishery of that region.² However, while Conception Bay remained paramount in the Labrador fishery during the era of the sailing ships and the large seal harvests St. John's benefited from the introduction of steam power and eventually captured both the Labrador and seal industries.

Information on various changes within the structure of the Labrador fishery is scarce but the evidence points plainly to the decline of the outports and the expansion of St. John's in this field. During 1854-1863, for instance, Job Brothers and Company collected an average of less than 20,000 quintals of Labrador dried cod annually.³ During the ten year period ending in 1882 this firm collected an

¹Grievess and Bremner Fish Collection Books, 1855-1890. This firm collected fish from Trinity, Hant's Harbour, and Catalina. Their collection averaged around 10,000 - 12,000 quintals annually prior to the 1870's. After this date the collection fluctuated more widely and often reached as much as 25,000 quintals per year. In 1864, for the first time, the firm recorded the purchase of Labrador fish in Trinity--2839 quintals. During 1879 and 1880 the collection of Labrador fish rose to over 15,000 quintals per year compared with 12,000-13,000 quintals of shore fish. However, following this peak period the collection of Labrador fish declined and the Company again became more dependent on the shore fishery.

²W. Waterman and Company Produce Books, Fogo, 1864-1883. This firm occasionally collected some Labrador fish but even when it did so the amount collected was usually no more than 5% of their total collection of 6,000-10,000 quintals annually.

³See Table 38, Appendix I.

average of over 45,000 quintals of Labrador fish annually.¹ ✓
 Since the Labrador fishery certainly did not double production between these dates it is obvious that this firm increased its share of the Labrador fishery. The situation in Harbour Grace during the second half of the century is a prime example of the trends which were current in the Labrador fishery. In 1867 fifty ships from that port were engaged in the seal fishery.² Of these 36 also took part in the Labrador fishery after the sealing voyage was over. Another 54 small vessels went to the Labrador coast as well to make a grand total of 90 ships in the Harbour Grace ✓
 Labrador fleet of 1867. Meanwhile, most of the 14 sealing ships which did not sail to the Labrador in June and July went later with supplies and trade goods and were required to transport the dried cod back to Harbour Grace for export. It is unfortunate that more information is not available on the Harbour Grace Labrador fleet prior to 1867 but it is evident that the fleet declined after the late 1860's. (See Table 15, below).³ Similarly, although it is rather difficult

¹Ibid.

²See Table 19, Appendix I.

³See Table 34, Appendix I, for all statistics on the Harbour Grace Labrador fishing fleet. In the Book of Coasting and Fishing Ships cleared from Harbour Grace the writer compared the names, tonnage, cargo, destination, and date of leaving port to find out which ships engaged in both the seal and Labrador fisheries.

TABLE 15

Harbour Grace Labrador Fishing Fleet: 1866-1900
(Average per Year)

Year	Ships	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage per Ship
1866-1870	81	6,564	80
1871-1875	56	3,924	70
1876-1880	60	4,076	68
1881-1885	62	4,079	66
1886-1890	47	3,192	67
1891-1895	67	3,756	56
1896-1900	37	1,954	53

to ascertain the total number of people travelling to
 Labrador from Newfoundland each summer due to the incom-
 pleteness of the records it is obvious from Table 34,
 Appendix I that there was a very significant decline in the
 number of crew members and passengers. During the first
 three years for which fairly complete figures are available,
 1866-1870, an average of about 4,000 men and women went to
 Labrador from that outport. By the end of the century this
 number had declined considerably. During 1896-1900 there
 was an average of about 1,100 people from Harbour Grace
 going to the Labrador fishery annually. As the large sealing
 vessels were replaced by steamers the average size of the
 Labrador vessels declined since the small Labrador ships were
 not used in the seal fishery. John Munn and Company operated
 two or three large steamers at the seal fishery for a few

years prior to the bankruptcy of the Company in 1894. The use of these steamers to transport the Harbour Grace stationers to and from their fishing rooms at Labrador enabled this branch of the Harbour Grace Labrador fishery to survive. After Munn's collapse this segment of the industry was handled by the St. John's firms with the Capital profiting at the expense of the outport. However, although the Conception Bay Labrador fishery declined, by 1900 the Labrador cod fishery was still vastly more important than the shore fishery in Harbour Main, Port de Grave, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear and even slightly exceeded the shore catch in Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay.¹

As is the case with information concerning other aspects of the Labrador fishery data regarding the actual exports of Labrador dried cod is very incomplete. Prior to the use of large steamers for transporting the fish to market much of the Labrador catch was brought back to Newfoundland for export from the Island. However, steamers reduced the time needed to carry the fish to market and speed became important. The steamers would pick up fish along the Labrador coast and bring it directly to market. According to Nicholas Smith this resulted in competition among the companies for the first loads of fish which led

¹See Table 39, Appendix I.

to a deterioration in the product due to the shipment of fish that was not completely cured.¹ Although the amount of fish exported directly from Labrador declined during the 1880's and only recovered slightly during the 1890's² the proportion of fish exported directly from Labrador must have increased in comparison with that shipped via the Island. The statistics--the earliest available--for the five year period, 1874-1878, show that nearly 300,000 quintals of fish were exported annually from Labrador, and this quantity increased to about 375,000 quintals annually during the second five year period, 1879-1883. In the eight year period ending in 1891, on the other hand, the average annual exports were just a little over 200,000 quintals and there was very little improvement during the remainder of the century. (Labrador fish suffered from French and Norwegian competition in the 1880's and this may have accounted for the decline during this decade.) (See Table 16, below).³ While, no doubt, deterioration in the

¹Nicholas Smith, Fifty-Two Years at the Labrador Fishery (London: Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., 1936), pp.17-18. Mr. Smith was a native of Brigus, Conception Bay, who became a rather prosperous stationer in the Labrador fishery.

²See Table 35, Appendix I.

³Ibid.

TABLE 16

Exports of Labrador Dried Cod: 1880-1889

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1880	398,397	1885	250,000
1881	No record	1886	256,176
1882	363,833	1887	166,879
1883	368,089	1888	221,183
1884	200,000	1889	186,933

cure was one of the causes for this decline, the major reasons probably stemmed from the failing seal fishery and external factors.¹ For instance, between 1886 and 1887 Labrador cod exports to Maples declined as those of France and Norway increased. (See Table 17, below).² Although

TABLE 17

Naples; Imports of Dried Cod: 1886-1887
(Quintals)

Year	Labrador	France	Norway	Total Imports
1886	34,200	12,400	26,700	109,666
1887	14,000	34,100	46,950	109,770

¹External factors--markets and foreign competitors--will be discussed in Chapter III.

²See Table 40, Appendix I.

20.6 fishery
1893 to 1897
(1893 to 1897)
this fishery had recovered a little by 1891 the recovery was only temporary and the value of Labrador cod exports (more so than the actual amount) continued to decline.

After the commercial crisis of 1894 the St. John's firms curtailed their Labrador dried cod business and it was reported in 1897 that "Bowring, Job, Tessier, Baird, Bennett, Rogerson, Goodfellow, and others" had cut out nearly all their Labrador supplying.¹

The Labrador fishery, during its peak and in conjunction with the seal fishery, provided Conception Bay - St. John's and, to a lesser extent, Trinity Bay and points north, with a basis for greater population concentration than could be expected from the shore fishery alone.² However, the introduction of steam power led to the capture by St. John's of the whole sealing fleet and the eventual takeover of the stationers participating in the Labrador fishery. The Labrador floating fleet, operating from the outports, declined in size, average tonnage, and importance

¹Baine Johnston Letter Book, 1893-1898, pp. 169-70, February 5, 1897. Copies of letters sent by J.C. Hepburn, Managing Director of the firm to his partners and superiors in Scotland.

²See Tables 20 and 21, Appendix I for population growth by districts during the century.

with the disappearance of the sailing seal fleets. No doubt, towards the end of the century, the floaters journeyed to St. John's for employment in the seal fishery in the spring and were supplied, while at Labrador, by the St. John's businesses. These developments, of course, led to the further growth of St. John's and the relative decline of the outports, particularly the large ones in Conception Bay.¹ At the same time deterioration in cure combined with with market conditions resulted in a decrease in the sales of Labrador fish which, by this time, caused major problems for the St. John's exporters as well as for the outport fishermen.² The Newfoundland economy probably owed its survival after 1815 to the development of the Labrador and seal fisheries and the decline of these industries contributed greatly to the failures in that economy in the 1890's.

As the Labrador fishery declined it became obvious to both business and government that the bank fishery would have to be developed. This branch of the cod fishery had been one of the first to be prosecuted by the West of

¹ See Table 21, Appendix I for population decline in Port de Grave, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear between 1884 and 1901.

² The Bell Island iron ore mines which opened in 1895 provided work for the unemployed sealers and Labrador fishermen, particularly in the Harbour Grace area and no doubt mining provided a new economic base for this area.

Lab

England fishermen. It survived the Napoleonic Wars but remained very weak until its disappearance in the 1840's. (See Table 18, below).¹ A Newfoundland bank fishery had

TABLE 18

Newfoundland-West of England
Bank Fishery: 1793-1833

Year	Newfoundland Bankers	European Bankers
1793	19	63
1794	25	100
1795	62	53
1796	..	..
1797	78	34
1798	..	..
1799	..	..
1800	..	..
1801	..	17
1802	71	58
1803	68	64
1804	61	21
1805	30	12
1806	..	..
1807	13	20
1808	9	5
1809	16	19
1810	3	10
1811	3	10
1812	5	17
1813	1	3
1814	2	13
1815	8	30
1816	11	41
1817	8	48

¹"Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics."

TABLE 18--Continued

Year	Newfoundland Bankers	European Bankers
1818	..	47
1819	10	38
1820	7	28
1821	10	25
1822	1	19
1823	..	15
1824	2	13
1825	4	15
1826	1	15
1827	..	9
1828	..	10
1829	..	11
1830	6	8
1831	5	7
1832	7	8
1833	4	9

been started by 1793 (See Table 18) but was almost completely wiped out by the War. It was of no consequence during the 1820's and 1830's and had disappeared by 1840 also. The depression of the 1860's followed by the decline in the seal fishery and a decline in ship building as sealing steamers became more common convinced those concerned that the bank fishery would have to be revived because of the employment it could give in fishing and ship building. ✓

Although the reestablishment of this industry was

suggested as early as 1866¹ it was not until 1876 that the government initiated a system of bounties to encourage its development.² A ship building bounty was also introduced³ since it was important that both industries be developed at the same time. The bank fishery expanded and seems to have reached its peak in 1889 (See Table 19)⁴

TABLE 19

Newfoundland Bank Fishery: 1889-1898

Year	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Men	Quintals caught
1889	330	18,890	4,401	238,821
1890	279	15,212	3,719	147,948
1891	165	9,938	2,175	103,608
1892	100	6,270	1,322	90,467
1893	71	4,409	957	54,494
1894	48	2,652	616	54,802
1895-96	66	3,694	872	58,762
1897-98	74	4,224	1,000	74,002

but declined after that year.⁵ No doubt this fish experi-

¹C.O. 194:175, pp. 42-43, Governor Musgrave's Address on the Opening of the First Session of the Ninth General Assembly, January 30, 1866.

²Newfoundland Journal, 1877, Appendix, p. 21.

³Ibid., 1878, Appendix, p. 14.

⁴Newfoundland Journals, 1890-1899, Appendices.

⁵See Table 39, Appendix I for the bank catch in 1890 and 1900.

enced severe competition from the French fish since it was sold in the same markets where the French, who produced a cheaper product, were well established.

While the total bank fishery dwindled, a few places, particularly on the south coast, continued to maintain substantial bank fleets. (See Table 20).¹ The south coast

TABLE 20

Newfoundland Bank Fishing Fleets: 1889-1898

Port	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893
St. John's	60	41	35	11	10
Bay Bulls	16	16	9	4	..
Harbour Grace	10	8	4	3	1
Ferryland	16	12	3	5	3
Bay Roberts	15	10	5	3	..
Catalina	25	27	11	12	8
Grand Placentia	17	16	7	4	5
Burin	46	40	31	22	18
Fortune	12	8	6	1	3
Grand Bank	26	23	19	12	11
Burgeo	11	10	6	5	3
....	1896	1896-97	1897-98		
St. John's	7	6	5		
Bay Bulls	1	1	1		
Harbour Grace	..	..	..
Ferryland	..	..	..
Bay Roberts	..	..	..
Catalina	6	6	7		
Grand Placentia	1	..	1		
Burin	17	17	18		
Fortune	5	8	7		
Grand Bank	no record	16	14		
Burgeo	..	..	7		

¹Newfoundland Journals, 1890-1899, Appendices.

with its tradition of winter fishing¹ and its ice free harbours² was in a much better position to adjust to the bank fishery and this area was able to retain fair sized fleets. (They expanded operations during the twentieth century.)

During the nineteenth century, however, the bank fishery proved to be a short lived industry. Newman and Company, for instance, found it very unprofitable and by 1898 would have nothing else to do with it.³ As pointed out earlier, marketing this product at a profit--considering the expense of the operation--must have proved difficult and no doubt contributed to the decline of the industry.

¹Since the south coast was ice free it was possible for the fishermen from the area to fish for cod during the winter. Although the winter fishing grounds were much closer than the fishing banks fairly large boats or small vessels were needed and the process was similar to bank fishing. The winter fishery offered employment when the shore fishery could not be prosecuted and it was to the south what the seal fishery was to the north east coast.

²See Map 2, Appendix II.

³Newman, Hunt and Company Limited Records: 1774-1899. Letter Books, Book 68, pp. 115-16, January 5, 1886; Book 69, pp. 229-30, October 27, 1891; Book 69, pp. 243-45, January 23, 1892; and Book 70, p. 240, January 18, 1898. The letter books used in this thesis contain copies of those letters sent from the main office in London to their branches in Harbour Breton, Gaultois, and Burgeo. An occasional letter was sent to their agent in St. John's also. Since all letters originated in the main office the writer has omitted the names from these references giving only the number of each book, the page and the date of the letter. Hereafter the entire collection is referred to as Newman. Furthermore since the Company was known as Newman, Hunt and Company in London and Newman and Company in Newfoundland the writer refers to the Company by its latter title, except where the former title must be used.

(The Newfoundland cod fishery, as has been seen, failed to expand to any worthwhile extent, and one must examine two factors which were often associated with this lack of expansion: periodic catch failures and inferior curing. Without discussing the market conditions,¹ which were very much a part of the whole problem, the writer would like to show briefly how the difficulties with catch failures and poor quality did hinder somewhat the production and sale of fish. ✓

✓ Recognizing the fact that production was very dependent on market conditions, since good markets meant higher profits which led to increased capital investment and greater production, the actual failure of the fish to appear at certain times in certain places could and often did mean serious losses for the industry in these areas). The cod usually migrated to the waters near shore in early summer²--when the shallow water had warmed sufficiently--in pursuit of caplin. For reasons which are not too clear, but which are obviously concerned with water temperature and the food supply, the fish often failed to appear. A glance at the

¹See Chapter III

²See Table 25, Appendix I.

various fishery reports¹ can show that practically every year these failures occurred in some parts of Newfoundland and Labrador. Occasionally, however, the fish would be plentiful in all areas in large quantities and big catches would result as in 1857 and 1874. Also occasionally, the fish would fail to appear in a number of places and a general catch failure would occur similar to the one in 1868. In that year Captain Parish, in a survey of the south coast of the Island and the Labrador coast, discovered that, out of the sixty settlements visited, the cod fishery had been good in five, fair in twelve, indifferent in eighteen, and very poor in twenty-five.² (However, while catch failure could be very serious for the individual community or region very seldom was it very extensive, and if market conditions had been somewhat different whereby the normal rules of demand and supply could be applied, it would have mattered very little to the total economy whether the annual

¹Newfoundland Journals, 1850-1900, Appendices. See Reports of the Protection of the Fisheries, and Reports of the Department of Fisheries. Since many letters, petitions, and memorials, also mention catch failures in different areas one can easily get the mistaken idea that such failures were widespread and a major threat to the whole economy. It is essential to remember that even the most convincing memorial of this nature usually refers to only a limited area.

²Newfoundland Journals, 1869, Appendix, pp. 530-37, Abstract of the Report of Captain Parish, H.M.S. Sphinx, for the period between June 5, and August 22, 1868.

catch varied or not since the price would change inversely and thereby compensate for any decline in catch. And, it must be remembered, there was a fair overall increase in catch during the last quarter of the century, although insufficient for the growing population)

[As per capita production declined during the century (and catch failure was not a major reason for this) the quality of the fish seems to have declined as well.] While this was essentially a market problem since high prices for good quality could improve the product it is necessary to look at the Newfoundland side of the operation.

Producing a light salted, hard dried fish was an involved process requiring skill, patience and good weather conditions, (plus, of course, a suitable reward). After the fish was landed the head was removed, it was split open, and the insides were taken out. The major part of the backbone was then severed cleanly and neatly from the rest of the fish. At this stage the well handled fish could lay flat and did not have any ragged ends. It was then lightly salted in layers with about eight to nine hogsheads of salt (one hogshead is equal to 52.5 imperial gallons) for each one hundred quintals.¹ (Labrador and Bank fish usually

¹Parsons, "Newfoundland Fisheries", pp. 112-13.

required twelve to thirteen hogsheads for the same quantity of fish.)¹ The fish then remained in this bulk for fifteen to twenty-one days after which it was washed and allowed to drain.² The water content of the fish was then 56% - 58%.³ Whereas the Norway and Iceland stockfish (without salt) could be dried to a water content of 16% at which point mold growth became suspended⁴ the lightly salted Newfoundland product was usually dried to a water content of 40%-45%.⁵ When it was intended for the Brazil market the longer journey and warmer climate demanded a lower water content of 38%.⁶ While stockfish could be dried under almost any atmospheric conditions salt cod could only be dried when the relative humidity was below 76% and the best drying occurred when it was 45% - 55%. Cutting points out that this is due to the fact that "the pressure of a saturated salt solution in salt fish lowers its equilibrium water

¹Ibid.

²Charles L. Cutting, Fish Saving: A History of Fish Processing from Ancient to Modern Times (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), pp. 175-76.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 174.

⁵Ibid., pp. 175-76.

⁶Ibid.

vapour pressure to about 76% relative humidity."¹ Whereas stockfish required cold weather so that the fish could dry before spoiling, thus limiting its production to the coldest months, for the best cured Newfoundland fish a temperature of 60°-80° F. (16°-27° C.) was necessary with 75° (24° c.) being preferable.² A light wind was also essential. Any number of things could go wrong while this long process was in operation and these various mistakes combined with unfavourable weather conditions often resulted in a poor quality fish.

(All the factors that could cause an inferior cure can be divided into two groups: those over which the fishermen had direct control and those which were beyond his control. It is fairly evident that the former of these was by far more important and furthermore one could say that deception and carelessness were probably the most important reasons for a poor quality product) (Ignoring market demand for the moment.) Carelessness and/or deception were often evident in the manner in which fish was salted. The correct procedure allowed the pickle (the solution formed by the union of the moisture of the fish and the salt) to drain off

¹Ibid., pp. 175-80.

²Ibid., pp. 179-80. Norway and Iceland also produced a dry salt fish called klipfish.

the fish but this was sometimes prevented. The result would be a heavier fish with a very white finish that could often deceive the culler who was grading the fish. This fish would deteriorate on a long voyage so that which was originally purchased as merchantable (top quality) would have to be sold at a loss as West India (lowest quality).¹ Newman and Company suffered from this practice and were of the opinion that the fishermen were doing it intentionally.² However, whether intentional or not the practice seems to have been fairly widespread.³ (Other problems arose from the fishermen's application of too much or too little salt and carelessness in splitting and heading but these were easily detected and hurt the fishermen as well as the trade). By the 1830's the recovery of the other fish producers and the consequent increased competition resulted in the Chamber of Commerce expressing its concern over the poorly cured fish being produced at Labrador and advising the fishermen

¹Newman, Book 64, p. 85, December 31, 1859.

²Ibid., and Book 67, p. 113, July 6, 1860.

³Newfoundland Journal, 1882, Appendix, p. 616.
See also "Job Brothers and Company Special Circular and Price List", in the Maurice Job Taylor Collection, July 20, 1911.

there to be more careful.¹ During the 1850's Newman and Company became very disturbed about the quality of their fish which they claimed was causing them a bigger loss than anything else.² They stated that their fish was not selling in Brazil due to its poor quality and ordered their agents to rectify the situation.³ This seems to have worked for awhile for in 1864 the Company noted an improvement in the cure.⁴ However, quality remained a problem for Newmans and they stated on many occasions afterwards that it would have to be improved.⁵ They blamed the planters who cured the fish and the agents who bought it.⁶ The Chamber of Commerce also became concerned again during the depressed 1860's⁷ and the Department of Fisheries (a relatively recent Government creation) reported in 1896 and 1897 that

¹Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1834-1841, Vol. I, Annual Report, August 5, 1835.

²Newman, Book 64, pp. 80-81, December 3, 1859.

³Ibid., pp. 101-102, April 3, 1860.

⁴Ibid., pp. 307-308, March 5, 1864; and p. 320, April 30, 1864.

⁵Ibid., Book 65, pp. 332-34, November 7, 1871; Book 67, pp. 7-8, November 12, 1878; Book 67, p. 113, July 6, 1880; Book 69, pp. 155-57, December 9, 1890; Book 69, pp. 164-65, January 9, 1891.

⁶Ibid., Book 69, pp. 164-65, January 6, 1891.

⁷Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1866-1875, Vol. V, Annual Report, August 8, 1868.

it was very bad and the chief reason for the poor fish sales.¹ The weather was the other major factor involved in obtaining a good cure but, except for isolated seasons as in 1894,² it did not cause many problems in the shore fishery. However, the shorter drying season at Labrador was responsible for the generally inferior or at least cheaper quality of that fish. In the shore fishery, which made up by far the largest segment of the cod fishery, the problem of weather was similar to that of catch failure-- possible in limited areas or for a limited time but never extensive enough to affect overall production. Many things contributed to the deteriorating cure during the century and (once again ignoring market conditions) as Job Brothers pointed out nearly all of them could be put into one word-- "Carelessness".³

Market demand influenced the amount of time, effort, and money that a fisherman could put into his catch and in

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1897, Appendix, p. 309; and 1898, Appendix, p. 342.

²Baine Johnston Letter Book, 1893-1898, pp. 48-49, June 2, 1894.

³"Job Brothers and Company Special Circular and Price List", in the Maurice Job Taylor Collection, July 20, 1911.

this regard many problems combined against the efforts of the producer. First of all every exporter had his own cullers and his own standards. These standards were very liberal when demand was high and very stringent when it was low. In addition to this the exporters were forced to compete with each other in difficult market conditions (which will be discussed later) and consequently no uniform standards were possible. For instance, Punton and Munn's agent at Dark Tickle, Labrador, Robert Badcock, explained to John Munn in 1886 that he would have to be rather liberal in his dealings with the fishermen since a vessel belonging to Ryan and Company had arrived and were offering all the fishermen cash for their produce.¹ Newman and Company had similar problems with competitors on the south coast as evidenced by their letter books during this period.² This Company considered strict culling to be essential and the only fair and reliable means of getting a good product and rewarding the best fishermen.³ Besides the faults attached to the culling system itself by the second half of the

¹Punton and Munn, Old Letters.

²Newman, Book 69, pp. 314-16, March 23, 1893.

³Ibid., Book 63, pp. 240-41, November 6, 1885.

century buyers had begun to buy fish at a flat rate without any culling. (This was known as buying talqual.) As early as 1852 some fish was purchased talqual at Labrador¹ but the practice did not amount to much until later in the century. W. Waterman and Company, Fogo, purchased some fish talqual in 1878, 1879, 1880, 1882, and 1883, but the amount was generally only a very small percentage of their total purchases.² Grieves and Bremner, Trinity, did not buy any talqual fish until 1886 when they bought some from Labrador but during 1887-1890, at least, they bought nearly all the Labrador fish talqual and some of the bank fish as well.³ Similarly in 1888 John Munn and Company purchased 9,000 quintals of bank fish talqual.⁴ The Earles in Fogo, however, bought a very insignificant quantity of their fish talqual in 1895 and 1896 and none whatever in 1897.⁵ Newman

¹Fish and Oil Collection Book, 1852, the William White Collection of Trinity Bay Manuscripts.

²W. Waterman and Company, Fogo, Purchase Book, 1878-1884.

³Grieves and Bremner Fish Collection Books, 1855-1890.

⁴John Munn and Company Miscellaneous Papers, Statements of Dry Bank Fish received at Beach Premises [Harbour Grace] by the Company.

⁵The Earle Collection of One Hundred and Twenty Documents.

and Company refused to buy any fish talqual¹ but the practice seems to have become fairly common by the 1890's² although it was probably used for the purchase of Labrador fish more than any other. Nicholas Smith claims that the introduction of the steamer for transporting fish to market led to talqual buying³ as a means of saving time but then, of course, Mr. Smith was probably thinking about the Labrador fishery--the only one with which he was familiar. (While talqual buying was no doubt harmful to the industry the writer is of the opinion that it was not very extensive being restricted for the most part to the Labrador fishery and that the general deterioration in cure during the century stemmed from the lack of standards among the buyers and the lack of standards from one year to the other with the fishermen fully aware that if the exporters wanted their fish they would buy it and if the fish was not wanted any extra effort put into curing it would be wasted). This resulted in careless and negligent curing which was the real problem.) The writer sees this as more of a market

¹Newman, Book 69, pp. 200-201, July 7, 1891.

²See Baine Johnston Letter Book, 1893-1898, p. 43, May 10, 1894; and John and Charles Steer Letter Book, 1890-1898, p. 156, November 16, 1891.

³Smith, Labrador Fishery, pp. 17-18.

problem than an internal one since high market prices were not always available for Newfoundland fish and consequently the Island found itself in the ever enlarging spiral of low market prices leading to quality deterioration which in turn led to a further reduction in prices.

[Besides the decline in per capita production and deterioration in cure the price of cod showed no overall improvement during the century. The high prices of the Napoleonic War period declined steeply until about the 1830's¹ and although there were many fluctuations from then until the mid 1870's prices seem to have generally increased.² During the last quarter of the century prices declined once more and of course this was another important factor which contributed to the difficulties in the fish trade towards the end of the century.]

While it is obvious that the per capita exports of dried cod were declining despite developments in the Labrador and Bank fisheries and that the prices of cod showed no overall increase except during the Napoleonic Wars³ --in fact the price declined after 1876⁴-- it is not so

¹See Table 15, Appendix I.

²See Tables 32, 36, and 46, Appendix I.

³See Table 15, Appendix I.

⁴See Tables 36 and 46, Appendix I.

apparent how much this decline in earnings was being compensated for by a decline in the cost of living although it is obvious that this compensation was insufficient. While time would not permit the writer to do a cost of living analysis for the century it seems that there were four major periods involved. During the inflationary Napoleonic War period the cost of living was extremely high¹ and this was followed by a rapid decline lasting until the economic recovery of the latter 1830's which was brought about partly by the expansion of the seal and Labrador fisheries. The cost of living, more than likely, remained relatively stable until the depression of the 1860's from which only a partial recovery was made since the seal and Labrador fisheries had passed their peak. The last quarter of the century was one of declining fish prices and over extension of credit, both of which combined to force down the cost of living. Table 21² (below) gives some indication of this but it must be

¹See Table 23, Appendix I.

²See Table 23, Appendix I for reference concerning the information on 1804-1817. The information on 1830 was taken from the Earle Collection of One Hundred and Twenty Slade Documents, the Slade price list for Greenspond, 1830-1831. The information for 1865 was taken from the William Cox and Company Letter Book, 1865-1867, a letter from Charles Edmonds, Agent at Fogo, to Robert Bristow, Agent at Twillingate, June 8, 1865. The information for 1890 was taken from the Evening Herald, (St. John's), September 24, 1890.

TABLE 21

Various Food Prices: 1804-1890

Place	Year	Pork (barrel)	
		Minimum	Maximum
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
St. John's	1804	4:10: 0	5: 0: 0
Conception Bay	1804	6: 6: 0	6:10: 0
St. John's	1813	9: 0: 0	10: 0: 0
St. John's	1817	5: 0: 0	5: 9: 0
Bonavista	1817	6: 0: 0	6: 0: 0
Greenspond	1830	5: 0: 0	5: 0: 0
Fogo	1865	6: 5: 0	6:15: 0
		3	3
St. John's	1890	14.00	...
		Flour (barrel)	
		Minimum	Maximum
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
St. John's	1804	2: 4: 0	2:10: 0
Conception Bay	1804	2: 6: 0	3: 0: 0
St. John's	1813	6: 0: 0	6: 6: 0
St. John's	1817	3: 0: 0	3: 0: 0
Bonavista	1817	4:16: 0	4:16: 0
Greenspond	1830	2: 5: 0	2:15: 0
Fogo	1865	1:17: 6	2: 2: 6
		3	3
St. John's	1890	5.60	...
		Bread (cwt)	
		Minimum	Maximum
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
St. John's	1804	1: 0: 0	1: 0: 0
Conception Bay	1804	1: 0: 0	1:10: 0
St. John's	1813	3:10: 0	4: 4: 0
St. John's	1817	1:12: 0	2: 0: 0
Bonavista	1817	2: 8: 0	2: 8: 0
Greenspond	1830	1: 5: 0	1: 8: 0
Fogo	1865	.....	.....
St. John's	1890	.....	.....

remembered that the cost of supplies in St. John's was always lower than in any other part of the Island or Labrador. (In any case it is the writer's contention that the cost of living did not (and possibly could not) decline enough to compensate for the decline in per capita exports--made all the more serious by the decline in fish prices towards the end of the century. The most obvious indications that there was a fair decline in the cost of living and that this decline was insufficient to offset the decline in per capita exports and in fish prices can be found in the developments in the commercial organization of the fish trade during the century).

Cod fish, whether shore, Labrador, or bank, had to be exported in order for the economy and consequently the population to profit from it. At every point in its history an organization was needed to collect the fish and transport it to market and at the same time distribute the supplies and equipment that these exports purchased. Since the rate of population growth outstripped the rate of growth in production a given quantity of cod was forced to support a larger number of people each year. This led to a shrinking profit margin which was, to a large extent, responsible for the changes which occurred in the commercial organization of the dried cod industry.

* The internal organization of the Newfoundland fish

trade as it existed in 1815 had its origin in the commercial organization of the West of England migratory fishery. The British businessmen who first became involved in the Newfoundland fishery were the ship owners and captains from the West of England.¹ In the beginning of the cod fishery's history these men came to Newfoundland in their ships each spring and returned to England in the fall with their catch.² As their fish premises became larger caretakers were left behind and as the resident fishery prospered they began to bring out extra supplies and to take on the business of shipping this extra fish.³ The caretakers eventually evolved into agents and clerks as fish was collected from the residents for shipment and supplies and goods were brought in for barter. Then as wars and transportation costs made the migratory fishery less profitable these establishments concentrated on bringing in emigrants and supplies and exporting fish and cod oil.⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century this process had been completed. These exporters, such as the Poole merchants on the north east coast of the

¹See Matthews, "West of England-Newfoundland Fishery".

²This is oversimplified. Eventually arrangements had to be made to ship the fish directly to the European markets and provide the crew with transportation back to England.

Island and the Hunts and Newmans from Dartmouth on the south coast, had gotten solidly entrenched in this next phase of the dried cod industry. *They provided the fishermen with the necessary food, supplies, and equipment, often on credit, and collected their dried cod and cod oil in payment. Large premises were needed for this business since plenty of storage space was necessary and nearly all services had to be provided locally. * For example Newman and Company's relatively small establishment at Burgeo had a total of 43 employees in 1859. (See Table 22, below).¹ Besides these

TABLE 22

The Employees at Newman and Company's
Burgeo Establishment: 1859

Number	Occupation
1	Storekeeper
1	Under Storekeeper
1	Joiner
1	Cooper
1	Cooper Apprentice
1	Master of the Voyage
6	Boat Masters
7	Midshipmen
11	Foreshipmen
1	Culler
1	Cook
1	Sawyer
2	Shoremen
9	Youngsters

¹Newman, Book 64, pp. 121-24, July 9, 1860.

men this establishment could and did borrow other tradesmen, such as blacksmiths, sail makers, and ship carpenters from their large business in Harbour Breton and when extra help was needed to dry fish or load and unload ships labourers could be hired from the community. The main distinguishing features of these firms were that they supplied the fishermen directly and they were operated by agents who were appointed by the English (and in a few cases Jersey) owners. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars these establishments, with their headquarters usually in the West of England, Liverpool, London, Greenock or Waterford, had set up operations along the Newfoundland coast, excepting the French Shore, and were expanding their control.¹

At the same time another somewhat different commercial structure was being formed with its headquarters at St. John's. During the Napoleonic Wars St. John's "became the Emporium of the Island and changed its character from a fishery to a considerable commercial town."² The social, political and economic boost that the war gave St. John's enabled it to become the centre of trade and commerce and competition between St. John's and the large outport firms

¹C.O. 194:55, pp. 95-115, Governor R.G. Keats' Report on Newfoundland for the Year ending October 10, 1814.

originated about this time.¹ During the early years of the war the St. John's merchants began meeting together every August to decide on the price to be paid for fish and cod oil taking into account the markets, catch and the fishermen's debts.¹ They formed themselves into the Merchants Society in 1806² and this eventually became the Commercial Society with its executive known as the Chamber of Commerce. In 1808 the Society tried to draw up a common standardized fish culling procedure and the Court of Sessions for St. John's, on July 26, 1808, published the names of the first twenty-one fish cullers appointed by the magistrates.³ This effort, however, was largely a failure for each business continued to grade its own fish according to market demand. At the end of the war the St. John's firms were on the threshold of a century of competition with the outport firms which only ended with the withdrawal of the last large outport firm--Newman and Company--from Newfoundland in 1907.

Major developments occurred in the structure of the fish trade on the local level during the century. The

¹C.O. 194:45, p. 35, Governor Gower's Report on Newfoundland for the Year ending October 10, 1804.

²Baine Johnston Papers, no pagination.

³Ibid.

traditional relationship between the supplier and the supplied changed as business became more uncertain and a Colonial Government became more willing to assist the poor.] At the same time the outport firms experienced difficulties and during periods of depression bankruptcies among these firms were much more common than in St. John's. [Out of these developments a new arrangement grew based on the St. John's merchant-small outport trader-fishermen relationship instead of the old merchant-fishermen one which disappeared with the outport firms.]

[While the dried cod trade stagnated after the peace treaty of 1815 the 1830's were especially unproductive and damaging to the outport firms.] Insolvencies among these firms became common with some of the largest establishments having to declare bankruptcy. For instance, in April, 1831, Christopher Spurrier and Company of Poole declared bankruptcy and their extensive premises at Durin, Oderin, Barren Island, and Isle Valen had to be disposed of piecemeal because of a lack of interested buyers.¹ In May of that same year Hugh William Danson of Bristol was also forced to declare insolvency and his equally large establishments at Harbour

¹Public Ledger (St. John's), April 29, 1831.

Grace, Holyrood, and Bay de Verde had to be sold.¹ This decade was one of the more serious depressions as far as the outport firms were concerned.²

The insolvency proceedings of some of the smaller firms at this time resulted in the terms "current supply" and "current supplier" being redefined. Traditionally the fisherman received his fishing supplies on credit from a merchant and in the event of the fisherman's bankruptcy the supplying merchant for that fishing season was considered the current supplier and he was entitled to full payment for the supplies for that summer which were referred to as the current supply. Only after the current supplier had been fully paid could other creditors share in the fisherman's estate. In the case of the Insolvent Estate of William Alexander, merchant at Bonavista,³ James Stewart and Company claimed full payment for all the goods sold to Alexander for that fishing season. The Company pointed out

¹Ibid., May 24, 1831.

²During periods of over extension of credit such as 1815-1820 and 1894 some of the St. John's merchants were also likely to go bankrupt.

³Sir Brian Dunfield, Newfoundland Law Reports, Vol. II (St. John's: J.M. Withers, King's Printer, 1916), pp. 27-47. The case of the Insolvent Estate of Fergus and Glen was similar and was also settled at this time.

that these goods were used in the fishery and therefore could be designated as current supply. Baine Johnston and Company contended, on the other hand, that the law regarding current supply could not be applied to that case since Alexander, although engaged in the fishery, was also a merchant and supplied other fishermen. The case was decided in favor of Baine Johnston and Company and the Court pointed out that a broad interpretation of this law could be very detrimental to the fish trade in the long run since establishments would be taking smaller risks in advancing credit to other firms and insolvencies would become extremely complex. This case is representative of what was happening in the fish trade at the time. St. John's firms, like that of James Stewart, were moving into the outports and supplying small merchants who in turn supplied the local fishermen. Although Stewart lost his bid to be protected under the law of current supply the St. John's firms had the advantage of having to deal only with small merchants who were much easier to control than individual fishermen.

[Other evidence also indicates that the traditional merchant-fisherman relationship which had always been the bulwark of the large outport merchants began, for a number of reasons, to break down in the 1830's. A Patrick Hogan wrote in 1882:

Up to the year 1836 the fisheries of this country were conducted not alone under British law, but also in accordance with certain usages which were adopted from time to time, and which grew with the trade, and were found necessary to its well working. One of these rules was, the current supplier furnished the planter with all requirements necessary for the prosecuting of the voyage, viz., nets, lines, provisions, etc., in return the supplier got the entire voyage, large or small, at current rates. On receipt of which he paid all the wages, bait, boat hire, freight, and gave the planter a moderate supply for the winter, even if he had no work, which he generally had to give him.

In 1836 the merchants, for the first time, refused to pay the wages, falling back on British law, and discarding the usages of the fishery, the planter being in debt after the summer; this was the small end of the wedge that divided, from that day to this, the supplier and supplied; the planter, unable to depend on the supplier, as formerly, for his winter supply, was driven, and has been driven, ever since, to consult the first law of nature, self preservation, and hard to blame him, in the face of a long winter. The wages not being secured to the servants, they declined serving the planters, at sea or on shore, the fishery suffered in consequence, there being no shoremen to cure the fish, as formerly. Women were called in, who pickled the fish, producing an inferior article, which ruined the character of our fish in foreign markets.¹

This report illustrates several significant developments which were taking place during the 1830's. The merchants

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1882, Appendix, pp. 615-19, A letter from Patrick Hogan on the Fisheries of Newfoundland to the Hon. S.D. Shea, Colonial Secretary, February 27, 1882. The word "planter" was used to describe an independent fisherman with fairly substantial premises and equipment who hired other fishermen as servants. The planters rather than the independent fishermen had always controlled the major part of the resident fishery. However, the planter fishery declined during the century as it became more difficult to operate profitably in this manner.

discovered that the growing population (40,000 people in 1815, 75,000 people in 1836) could no longer be supported by the stagnating cod fishery--it had actually declined at this point.¹ Also by this time the newly elected House of Assembly was in a position to offer poor relief and the responsibility which had formerly rested with the merchants was taken over by the Colonial Government. Mr. Hogan also points out, and this appears to be the case, that the breakdown in the large planter fishery dates from about this time. The general insecurity arising out of the cod fishery led to the disappearance of the large planters and the development of small family enterprises with the men catching the fish and the wives and children doing the shore work. This apparently resulted in a deterioration in quality. Thus the 1830's was probably the major turning point in the internal operations of the fish trade.

St. John's continued to extend its control over the outports to the detriment of the old firms. James Simms, the Attorney General, while discussing the decline in certain court cases in the outports wrote in 1849:

One great cause that has operated to diminish the utility of these Courts through a long series of years, has been, that in fact they became less required, for

¹See Table 14, Appendix I.

at the time when this Species of Court exercised its ambulatory functions under the denomination of Surrogate Courts, there might be counted between St. John's and Fortune Bay, throughout the Harbours of the Southern Settlements upwards of thirty mercantile establishments of importing, exporting and supplying Merchants surrounded by their numerous planters, dealers and fishermen--whereas now within these extensive limits there is only one or at most two, such Establishments existing. And in the Northern District beyond Conception Bay, very few of the once great number of such Merchantine houses are now remaining, for St. John's has become, through the process of thirty years, the emporium of the Island, and absorbed to a great extent the supplying of planters and fishermen, where of course they resort spring and fall for supplies and for settlement of accounts.¹

By 1850, therefore, the trend towards the centralization of commerce in St. John's was almost complete.

In the latter half of the century, although there were only a few outpost firms remaining, one can get a clearer picture of what was happening because of the availability of more material. By examining these records the decline of these firms and their reactions to the general situation can be studied. Similarly one can see why it was that the St. John's businesses could succeed where the others failed. At the same time it is possible to study the difficulties that confronted many of the St. John's firms.

By 1865 there had been a severe decline in the number

¹C.O. 194:131, p. 269, A letter from James Simms to Governor Le Marchant, June 23, 1849.

of old outport firms.¹ The Slades were in the process of winding up operations and only Newman and Company, William Cox and Company, Nicolle and Company, and Degroucy, Renouf, and Company remained. The Slades, under various names and combination of names, had had establishments in Fogo, Trinity Bay, Carbonear and Labrador. The Carbonear business was the first to be sold and it was purchased by John Rorke

¹See Table 37, Appendix I, and Map 8, Appendix II. As one can see the big St. John's houses were heavily involved in the outports. Much of the fish exported from St. John's must have been brought from the outports by traders, ships belonging to the St. John's firms, or the outport fishermen themselves. In Twillingate, Fogo, and Greenspond, William Cox and Company were still taking a large share of the fish being handled by these communities but some of it was no doubt being brought to St. John's for export. In Catalina, Trinity, and Kent's Harbour, the local business was under the complete control of St. John's and Harbour Grace (Ridley and Sons) and again some fish was being exported through St. John's. In Carbonear a local firm and a Harbour Grace firm were in control and a sizeable quantity of fish was being exported from Harbour Grace and possibly St. John's. There were two major Harbour Grace firms which controlled the business in that district and a large share of the Labrador fishery as well. Punton and Munn, and Ridley and Sons were not too unlike the St. John's firms themselves in that they carried on business in various parts of the Island and Labrador. However, for the most part they were retail merchants dealing with the individual fishermen while the St. John's merchants carried out only a small part of their business in this manner. St. John's controlled all the business in the districts of Ferryland, St. Mary's, and Placentia Bay and a large share of the south coast business where the old firms of Newman and Company, Nicolle and Company, and Degroucy, Renouf, and Company were being effectively outmaneuvered.

in 1839.¹ In the spring of 1852 Robert Slade, the senior partner of the Fogo-Twillingate complex, began to curtail his business and stopped all credit to all dealers--doing business in cash or barter only.² In the fall of that year he tidied up his books by forgiving one-half the amount of each old debt if the other half was paid immediately.³ In 1861 the Trinity Slades went bankrupt and part of that business was taken over by Walter Grieve and Alexander Bremner.⁴ It seems that the Fogo establishment was disposed of also around this time for by 1865 it had ceased to exist,⁵ but the Battle Harbour operation continued under the management of the Slades until it was taken over by Baine Johnston and Company, St. John's, in 1871.⁶ The Jersey firm of P.W. Nicolle and Company with its Newfoundland headquarters at Jersey Harbour, Fortune

¹ Nimshi Crewe, "A Descriptive Monograph on the Slades", William White Collection.

² William Cox and Company Letter Book, 1858, A letter from Charles Edmonds, agent at Twillingate, to Messrs. William Cox and Company, Poole, April 30, 1858.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Crewe, "Slades", William White Collection.

⁵ See Table 37, Appendix I.

⁶ Crewe, "Slades", William White Collection. See also Newfoundland Journal, 1870, Appendix, pp. 501-507, Report of A.J. Finsent, Judge of Labrador, November 27, 1869.

Bay went bankrupt in 1863 with liabilities amounting to nearly £54,000.¹ This was a very depressed period and all these establishments had difficulties. In 1864 Newman and Company were forced to close their business in Burgeo² and although this establishment was their smallest operation on the south coast it had always done a fair trade with forty-four full time employees in 1859 and three times that number during peak periods.³ On the north east coast William Cox and Company, a Poole firm connected with the Slades, left Newfoundland entirely during the 1860's. They closed their Fogo and Greenspond branches in 1867 and the Twillingate one in 1868⁴ thereby bringing to an end Poole's predominance on that part of the Island. One of the biggest insolvencies of this period was the failure of Ridley and Sons in 1870 with liabilities amounting to £250,000.⁵ This firm had a major establishment in Harbour Grace and smaller ones elsewhere and was one of the largest firms outside St.

¹Newman, Book 64, pp. 279-80, June 27, 1863.

²Ibid., Book 64, p. 300, November 28, 1863; and pp. 337-39, September 17, 1864.

³Ibid., pp. 121-24, July 9, 1860.

⁴William Cox and Company Letter Book, 1865-1867, A letter from Charles Edmonds, Agent at Fogo, to Thomas Cox, Poole, September 12, 1866; Edmonds to Robert Bristowe, agent at Twillingate, March 9, 1867; Edmonds to Samuel Evans, agent at Greenspond, March 19, 1867; and Edmonds to Bristowe, March 29, 1867.

⁵Newman, Book 65, pp. 258-63, October 22, 1870; and C.O. 194:179, pp. 546-47, A letter from Governor Stephen Hill to the Earl of Kimberly, November 2, 1870.

John's at this time. Meanwhile P.W. Nicolle and Company's business in Jersey Harbour had been taken over by other members of that Jersey family¹ and operated for a time under the name of Nicolle de Quitteville and Company.² This firm sold its Jersey Harbour premises to Degroucy and Company in 1872³ and its Labrador property at Forteau Bay and Blanc Sablon to Philip Simion in 1876.⁴ In 1882 Newman and Company pointed out that they and Degroucy were the only two old style outport firms remaining in Newfoundland.⁵ In 1886 when the Jersey bank suspended business Degroucy and Company were forced to declare insolvency.⁶ Newman and Company decided to reduce their establishment in Gaultois in 1897 and in 1899 they offered it for sale for £3,500.⁷ This establishment was sold in 1900 and in 1907 their

¹Ibid., Book 64, pp. 279-80, June 27, 1863.

²Ibid., Book 66, pp. 10-12, July 30, 1872.

³Ibid., Book 65, p. 369, June 4, 1872.

⁴John and William Boyd Letter Books, 1875-1878, May 16, 1877. The Boyds were independent agents who were involved, on a small scale, in shipping, etc.

⁵Newman, Book 67, pp. 233-36, July 4, 1882.

⁶Ibid., Book 68, pp. 117-18, January 28, 1886. Degroucy owed the bank \$30,000.

⁷Ibid., Book 70, pp. 328-29, January 6, 1899.

business in Harbour Breton was also sold thus bringing to an end, after three hundred years, the Company's participation in the Newfoundland cod fish trade.¹ John Munn and Company (the successor to Punton and Munn) was the biggest of the outport firms to survive until the 1890's (It was a Harbour Grace firm) and when the Company went bankrupt in 1894, this, combined with Newman and Company's withdrawal from the trade in 1907, marked the end of St. John's successful struggle to eliminate the independent outport merchant houses and to capture the whole outport fish trade. X

During this struggle between the two commercial groups the outport exporters were extremely antagonistic towards the St. John's businesses. Newman and Company complained on several occasions about their cut throat competition,² their glutting the markets,³ and their refusal to cooperate with the Newmans.⁴ Similarly William Cox and

¹C.R. Fay, Life and Labour in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), p. 15.

²Newman, Book 67, pp. 195-96, November 8, 1881.

³Ibid., Book 70, pp. 216-17, October 8, 1897.

⁴Ibid., Book 65, pp. 264-65, November 5, 1870; and Book 70, pp. 201-202, July 16, 1897.

Company were usually very upset about the competition from St. John's¹ and generally found that "few of them are to be trusted".² The adaptation of the St. John's firms to the changing conditions helped to draw them farther and farther away from the old outport firms.

The main reason why the St. John's exporters were relatively successful was the fact that they were under much closer control having their principal partners residing in the Island and these partners were quite willing to change their operations to take advantage of different situations. The outport firms, on the other hand, continued to use agents to operate their establishments. Few of these agents could be expected to devote the time and energy to the business that became increasingly necessary as the profit margin decreased. Newman and Company survived in Newfoundland for so long chiefly because of their ruthless efficiency in dealing with their agents, their painstaking scrutiny and careful examination of the account books, and their specific and detailed instructions regarding all

¹William Cox and Company Letter Book, 1865-1867, A letter from Charles Edmonds, agent at Pogo, to William Waterson, March 19, 1867.

²*Ibid.*, 1858, A letter from Charles Edmonds, agent at Twillingate, to William Cox and Company, Poole, April 3, 1858.

matters. When an agent's work was unsatisfactory he was usually invited to London for a conference and if necessary dismissed while there.¹ Thomas R. Job made it quite clear how the St. John's merchant felt about agents when he wrote: "The business under one's own supervision is hazardous enough nowadays without leaving it to servants."² Related to this, of course, was the gradual withdrawal of the St. John's merchants from the actual operation of retail establishments in the outports. For example, Job Brothers and Company ceased the operation of their business in Hant's Harbour in 1864³ and Baine Johnston and Company did likewise with regard to their Harbour Breton establishment in 1871.⁴ This process brought with it a change from the old merchant-fisherman credit relationship to a St. John's merchant-small outport merchant or trader-fisherman one. It was much easier for the large firms to control these small outport merchants and traders than it was to control

¹Mr. Dawe, agent at Burgeo, was called back to London in 1862 and dismissed from his post; Newman, Book 64, pp. 212-14, February 22, 1862. In 1864, Mr. Morry, the Firm's representative in St. John's, was likewise dismissed; Ibid., p. 345, November 12, 1864.

²A letter from Thomas R. Job to his father, December 16, 1864, Job Family Papers.

³Ibid.

⁴Newman, Book 65, p. 334, November 21, 1871.

thousands of individual fishermen. Once the competition from the old outport firms had disappeared or was no longer serious the St. John's exporters found that it was more profitable and less risky to concentrate on the wholesale part of the outport trade. (This willingness on the part of the St. John's merchants to supply traders who could go anywhere along the coast trading for fish was the major complaint that the old outport firms had against St. John's¹ Newman and Company and others like them could see no advantage in selling goods at wholesale price to traders and small merchants who could then compete with their suppliers in the retail trade. To make matters worse for the outport firms the number of traders would increase during periods of high market demand, thereby reducing the profit margin for all concerned, whereas very few traders would bother to operate when markets were poor and prices low which put pressure on the big firms to buy all the fish and supply all the credit. This whole system was extremely favourable to the St. John's merchants and played havoc with the business of the outport merchants. As a consequence, by 1882 Newman and Company was probably the only establishment left which was still operating under the old system)² They made a

¹Ibid., Book 67, pp. 233-36, July 4, 1882.

²Ibid., pp. 225-28, May 23, 1882.

major effort to curtail credit and cut it off completely in Gaultois in 1898¹ and in Harbour Breton in 1899.² It was certainly due to their assiduous vigilance that their Company was able to operate for so long on such a large scale under very unfavourable conditions. However, the close individual control possible in St. John's plus the willingness to adapt which the merchants of that town demonstrated combined to make St. John's the sole commercial center of the Colony by 1900.

Although the St. John's exporters prospered at the expense of the large outport firms they were by no means able to avoid losses themselves. In 1864, for example, Thomas Job's father felt that they should study the possibilities of liquidating their firm.³ However, Job Brothers and Company, and, no doubt, the other firms made reasonable profits even during the depressed 1860's (See Table 23 below)⁴ partly because of the seal fishery. On a total capital employment of £614,500 during the eleven year period (1861-71)

¹Ibid., Book 70, pp. 126-27, May 1, 1896.

²Ibid. During the whole summer of 1899 Newman and Company discussed their plans of getting rid of all planters and stopping credit.

³Job Family Papers, December 16, 1864.

⁴Ibid., Business Papers, 1810-1885.

TABLE 23

Job Brothers and Company's Account: 1861-1871

Year	Profit £	Loss £	Year	Profit £	Loss £
1861	5,500	....	1867	....	14,250
1862	11,000	....	1868	11,550	....
1863	....	....	1869	15,000	....
1864	....	9,000	1870	9,000	....
1865	3,000	....	1871	18,000	....
1866	.....	4,000			

the Company made a profit of £76,525 (including annual dividends of 5%).¹ It is significant that the loss of £9,000 in 1864 is explained by the note, "Seal Voyage very bad". Similarly, after the 1869 entry which shows the large profit of £15,000 there is the explanation, "Mimrod [sealing vessel] very successful", and in 1871, which was the most profitable year for the period, another note reads, "Hector and Mimrod [two sealing vessels] both very successful".² (A successful seal fishery seems to have been a very lucrative enterprise and the decline in seal production during the 1880's was no doubt one of the reasons for the economic problems of the early 1890's.³) However, the

¹Ibid.²Ibid.³See Tables 11, 12, and 13, Appendix I.

decrease in seal exports was only one of the causes for the failures of this period. The exports of dried cod declined after the mid 1880's and average and below average prices heightened the difficulty.¹ The growth in population from approximately 75,000 people in 1836 to over 200,000 by 1891² without a comparable increase in exports and no worthwhile developments in other commercial spheres resulted in an overextension of credit and contributed greatly to the business difficulties of the 1890's. In 1893 the firms of P. and L. Tessier, and J. and W. Stewart, both failed³ and in 1894 most of the St. John's exporters (Bowring was the major exception) were hurt very badly financially by the suspension of business by the Union Bank and the Commercial Bank (bank crash). Some firms were able to compromise on their debts such as Baine Johnston and Company which owed the Union Bank \$610,000.⁴ Others were forced to liquidate completely including John Munn and Company, Thorburn and Tessier, which owed the Union Bank \$520,000 and \$458,000

¹See Tables 14, 33, and 36, Appendix I.

²See Table 1, Appendix I.

³Newman, Book 69, p. 307, January 26, 1893; and pp. 314-16, March 23, 1893.

⁴Times and General Commercial Gazette (St. John's), January 30, 1895.

respectively;¹ and Edward Duder and Company which owed the Commercial Bank \$668,676.² (On the basis of a superficial examination of the situation it seems that the economic crisis of 1894 resulted from the overgrowing number of people which the inadequate cod fishery was forced to support. This combined with the decline of the seal fishery and the general lack of diversification in the economy; the withdrawal of capital from the fish trade by several of the larger firms;³ and the widespread unwise and even illegal use of bank financing by the businesses resulted in the 'bank crash' and the consequent failure or near failure of many of the St. John's merchants.)

The Newfoundland exporters, particularly those in St. John's, tried to improve the fish trade, or at least

¹Ibid.

²The Crown vs The Directors and Manager of the Commercial Bank of Newfoundland (St. John's: McCoubrey, 1894), no pagination. See also The Crown vs The Directors of the Union Bank of Newfoundland (St. John's: McCoubrey, 1895).

³Speech by Premier Whiteway to the House of Assembly, May 11, 1897, printed in the Evening Telegram (St. John's), June 1 and 2, 1897. Premier Whiteway gave examples of this: The deaths of John Munn, Arthur Duder, and Allan Goodridge resulted in a shortage of working capital due to large legacies going to dependents; Charles P. Hunter, Walter Grieve, and James Grieve withdrew a substantial amount of capital from Baine Johnston and Company, while Robert and Thomas Job and Stephen Randell did likewise in the case of Job Brothers and Company. This may have been an important factor but the writer has not been able to ascertain whether these withdrawals were any different from previous ones. Also the general economic situation in the early 1890's may have precipitated exceptionally large withdrawals rather than vice versa.

keep it from worsening by their influence on the Government and by other activities, but their work in this regard was usually hampered by self interest. For most of the century the old outpost firms were usually instrumental in having a candidate favourable to their interests elected. Newman and Company, for example, was successful in having the candidate it supported elected in 1874, 1878, 1882, and 1885.¹ However, the introduction of the secret ballot and the election of the "radicals" in 1889² weakened Newman's influence considerably and as far as can be ascertained the Company stayed out of politics for the remainder of its stay in the Island. The business community in St. John's was not adverse to going even farther than using their influence during elections. Their displeasure with Whiteway's policies during the early 1880's caused them to enter politics directly. They were opposed to Whiteway's investment in the railway and other non-fishery ventures for they felt that

¹Newman, Book 66, pp. 99-100, January 27, 1874; Book 66, pp. 106-108, April 7, 1874; Book 66, pp. 112-14, April 21, 1874; Book 66, pp. 150-52, December 1, 1874; Book 66, pp. 339-42, March 7, 1878; Book 66, p. 376, August 30, 1878; Book 67, pp. 4-5, October 15, 1878; Book 67, p. 231, June 5, 1882; Book 67, pp. 248-49, September 12, 1882; Book 68, pp. 76-80, July 21, 1885; and Book 68, pp. 98-100, October 13, 1885.

²Ibid., Book 69, pp. 61-62, November 26, 1889.

Government expenditure should be channelled into the fisheries instead.¹ Thompson points out that, "Too much independent labour employed on railways and public works had increased wages in the fishery: at least this was the view ... of the St. John's merchants."² In 1885, therefore these merchants were instrumental in having Whiteway and his government replaced by a pro-merchant administration led by Robert Thorburn.³ This government concentrated on improving the dried cod industry and although they were defeated in the following election they did succeed in carrying out some worthwhile improvements, although nothing of the magnitude that was needed.) Besides their power at the polls the merchants used their vehicle, the Chamber of Commerce, to make formal requests of the

¹In Chapter I the writer mentioned that large scale exporters are usually also the importers and are generally opposed to import substitution since it can destroy one half their trade and make the other half more expensive. It is possible that this may have been the case in Newfoundland.

²Frederic F. Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 75.

³James K. Miller, "The Political Repercussions of the Harbour Grace Affray", a lecture delivered to the Newfoundland Historical Association, January 27, 1971. The Thorburn administration will be mentioned again when the writer discusses the Government's reaction to the fishery problems.

government and it is here that one can see just how incapable they were of working together. The only questions on which they could agree were ones which did not make any great demands on their operations like requests to the British Government for assistance in obtaining lower and/or preferential duties in the markets or requests to the Colonial Government for financial aid. Both areas made no demands upon the merchants and did not require them to put their own house in order. However, there were fields in which they could have done something to improve the fish trade but they failed to act. For instance, they could have set up marketing board which would guarantee that all fish being exported was of a sufficiently high quality for the market to which it went. Also they, possibly, could have retrenched during depressions and avoided, to some extent at least, the heavy debts which they were incurring during the 1890's. However, the competition among the merchants prevented them from cooperating and if any more retrenching had been done it is quite possible that the economy and the population would have been adversely affected as they were in 1894.¹

¹It could be argued, at least from a laissez-faire point of view, that favourable market conditions would have alleviated the problem completely, and therefore the Chamber of Commerce was correct in concentrating on this question.

In an effort to reverse the decline in the economy brought on chiefly by the faltering cod fishery the Newfoundland Government took several steps which were also, for the most part, rather inadequate. Since France was a major competitor in the dried cod trade the Government made some attempts to curtail the French fishery by hampering French activities in Newfoundland's coastal waters and even on the Grand Banks. In addition bounties were introduced to encourage the various segments of the cod fishery-- chiefly ship building and the bank fishery. Other steps included an effort to diversify the economy, the creation of a Department of Fisheries, and the introduction of a program to conserve and increase fish stocks. And finally an effort was made to find new markets, particularly in the United States. Nevertheless, very few benefits resulted from these measures).

Although the British Navy had been controlling the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador it was not until mid century that the Newfoundland Government decided it was necessary to supplement the British service. From the reports of the Commanding Officers of H.M. Ships it was obvious that French fishermen were crossing the Straits of Belle Isle to fish on the Labrador side¹ which was contrary

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1850-1859, Appendices.

to the agreement between France and Britain. In 1852 the Newfoundland Government appointed four Fishery Protection Officers.¹ Two were ordered to operate along the Labrador coast and in the Straits of Belle Isle and were provided with a cutter and a schooner for this purpose; one was given a boat to patrol the Lance a Loup area; and the fourth was put in charge of Cape St. John. This program was successful in keeping the French confined to the terms of their agreement with Britain and it eventually developed into a larger fish conservation program which included the protection of the salmon and herring fisheries as well.

Newfoundland's other attempt to injure the French fishery involved the passing of the Bait Act in 1867. This act, which was intended to damage the French bank fishery, forbade the sale of bait to the French by the residents living on the south coast of the Island.² The effects of this act on French production does not seem to have been extensive for the French fishermen acquired some bait on the French Shore and supplemented it with other types of bait seldom used when large supplies of herring could be gotten on the south coast.

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1853, Appendix, pp. 132-42.

²See Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland, Chap. iv, "The Bait Act: Colonial Self-Assertion", pp. 74-92.

Besides trying to put the French at a disadvantage the Newfoundland Government took some positive steps to encourage the Island's own fisheries and, of course, other industries. In the late 1870's they introduced a system of bounties to assist the bank fishery and ship building.¹ Mineral development was encouraged and a railway was built to open up the interior largely for this purpose.² It was started in 1881 and by the end of the century the Island had been crossed and several branch lines built. It was hoped at the time that the work generated in its construction could be maintained and even increased by the industrial development that would follow. However, as has been pointed out, the efforts to diversify the economy, like the efforts to increase ship building and the bank fishery, were, for the most part, failures.

In 1888 a Fisheries Commission, appointed by Robert Thorburn³ to study the problems of the fisheries and make recommendations, reported that Mr. Adolph Neilson of Norway be hired as Superintendent of Fisheries and that one of his

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1877, Appendix, p. 150; and Ibid., 1878, Appendix, p. 14.

²See Cramm, "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway: 1875-1893".

³Robert Thorburn's government was also responsible for the Bait Act in 1887.

duties be, "to supervise the construction and management of fish hatcheries, and to perform such other work, in the way of supervision, enquiry and instruction in connection with the fisheries as the Government may from time to time direct".¹ The Government hired Mr. Neilson immediately and he was told "to examine the shores of Conception, Trinity, Placentia and St. Mary's Bay with the view of selecting the most eligible site for a hatchery".² Mr. Neilson applied himself assiduously to his terms of reference and within a short while he had a cod hatchery operating in Dildo, Trinity Bay. During the six year period ending December 31, 1895 this establishment hatched and planted a total of 832,929,000,000 ova in Trinity Bay.³ That year it was disclosed that there were numerous reports of an "abundance of cod fish of various sizes....in the head of Trinity Bay, while at that time there were none in either Bonavista or Conception Bay".⁴ The cod could be seen "covering the bottom in a thick mass for long distances".⁵ Meanwhile,

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1889, Appendix, pp. 614-617.

²Ibid., p. 619.

³Ibid., 1896, Appendix, Annual Report of the Department of Fisheries for 1895, pp. 395-406.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

twenty-three lobster hatcheries had been established in 1893 and this operation, by the end of 1895, had hatched and planted 2,610,475,000 lobster ova. There were also reports of an annually increasing yield from this industry due to the massive restocking programs.¹ The work continued during 1896 and 1897 but Mr. Neilson became ill and was forced to return to Norway in January, 1897. The Government which followed Robert Thorburn's administration were much less enthusiastic about the project and this combined with the Government's financial difficulties and Mr. Neilson's illness brought the enterprise to a close. It is impossible to assess the impact of this program on the fisheries but one could question its effectiveness at least in the case of the migratory cod. These efforts to increase the catch and lower the cost of production seem to have had very little overall effect on production and exports.

Probably the most widely publicized reaction of the Government to the deteriorating market conditions was its attempt to improve the traditional dried cod markets and acquire new ones. Prodded continually by the Chamber of Commerce the Government addressed numerous petitions and letters to the British Colonial Office and the Foreign Office requesting them to negotiate more favourable trade agreements

¹Ibid.

with Spain, Italy, Portugal and Brazil.¹ In their search for new markets a great deal of attention was directed towards the United States. Two major treaty agreements were signed which allowed the Island's dried cod into the American markets.² But they did not to any worthwhile extent effect the general trade.³ The last serious effort in this direction was Robert Bond's attempt in 1890-1891 but no agreement resulted from these negotiations.⁴ (It is difficult to ascertain Newfoundland's influence on Britain's negotiations with the Mediterranean markets and Brazil but suffice it to say that in general market conditions deteriorated during the century, and all attempts on the part of the Colonial Government to find new outlets for the Island's fish failed.)

Unfortunately the Government's efforts to make the cod fishery a reliable economic base for the Colony failed


¹There were several other issues also included in these agreements.

²Newfoundland Journals, 1850-1900, Appendices.

³See Donald C. Masters, The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1936) for a study of the treaty of 1854-1856; and Caleb Cushing, The Treaty of Washington (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873) for a study of the treaty of 1871-1883.

⁴See David Davis, "The Bond-Blaine Negotiations: 1890-1891" (Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970).

(as did their efforts to bring about diversification of the economy). (While it is easy to point out their failures it is almost impossible to show what could have been done given the situation and the ethos of the period. Something should have been done, no doubt, about the deteriorating quality of the fish and the cut throat competition among the exporters but strict Government controls in this area would have been considered very radical moves indeed. Similarly, if it was true, as Whiteway suggested, that large amounts of capital were being withdrawn from the Island it was most unfortunate, but again it is difficult to see what the Government could have done about it considering the conventions of the time and the fact that Newfoundland desperately needed fewer international trade restrictions in everything except capital. Also the questions arise about whether or not additional capital would have been invested in the cod fishery even if it had been forced to remain in the Island and even if it was so invested would that necessarily have been a good thing in view of the poor market conditions. While the implementation of measures such as these would have been desirable, in the writer's opinion, it is easy to understand why nothing of this nature was done. Even the anti-merchant Whiteway party did not, to the writer's knowledge, advocate any restraints on the movement of capital nor were they in favour of greater Government



direction and control in the fish trade. All in all the efforts of the Government, like the efforts of the fish exporters, failed to stop the inexorable decline of per capita exports and the general decay of the dried cod trade.)

(There were several technological developments which had an impact on the fish trade particularly during the second half of the century but, for the most part they failed, as did governmental and mercantile developments, to reverse or even stop the downward trend in the dried cod industry--in fact one advance in technology (the steamer) contributed to this decline. The use of bultows was probably the first major innovation in the traditional hook and line fishery and by 1850 its use had become an issue with fishermen disagreeing whether it was beneficial or harmful.¹ While it was quite possibly an improvement no research has been done on its effects although it can be seen that exports did not increase which is the important point here. During the 1860's the telegraph was brought to many parts of the Island and this combined with the transatlantic cable enabled the exporters to keep a closer watch on the markets and information or instructions could be telegraphed in a matter of hours whereas formerly letters often took months to reach

¹See Newfoundland Journals, Appendices, for many petitions requesting that bultows be banned since they were blamed for catching the mother fish.

their destination. During the same decade the use of steam power was introduced in the seal fishery and its effects on that industry and the Labrador fishery and consequently on the outports particularly in Conception Bay has already been discussed. Its use resulted in much larger cargoes of fish being carried to market than ever before often causing market gluts. This caused the exporters to compete to get the first shipments to market and consequently brought about a deterioration in cure as previously mentioned. Nevertheless it was probably the most significant technological development of the century. Another development of this period was the invention of the cod trap by Captain W.H. Whiteley at Bonne Esperance in 1866.¹ The Canadian Government prevented him, in 1863, from using it and it was not until 1876 that this ruling was reversed. As in the case of the bultow it is difficult to ascertain the effects of this invention on the industry² and it may have been responsible for the increased production during the last decades of the century.

¹Captain George Whiteley, "How the Cod Trap Was Invented", Western Star (Corner Brook), July 1, 1949, pp. 17 and 22.

²Captain W.H. Whiteley in a petition to the Department of Marine and Fisheries in 1876 requesting permission to use the trap claimed that it had increased his annual production of cod from 100 quintals to 3,000 quintals. Needless to say other factors must have contributed to this increase. A petition from W.H. Whiteley to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Ottawa, August 15, 1876.

At the same time this growth in production was certainly not substantial considering the circumstances. However, due to the expense involved and the number of men needed to handle a trap it may have caused an increase in the size of fishing units (boats and crews). In any event although technological developments may have slowed down the decay ✓ of the cod fishery they certainly did not prevent a further decline in per capita exports.

The cod fishery in Newfoundland ceased as a West of England operation and became a resident fishery during the Napoleonic Wars and therefore the "Newfoundland" cod fishery originated and expanded during the highly prosperous 1808-1814 period. However, while it continued to hold a very important place in the Newfoundland economy there were many changes and developments in the dried cod trade during the century as the per capita exports of fish steadily declined. The first major development in the industry was the growth of the Labrador fishery in conjunction with the seal fishery. ✓ These fisheries contributed to the total economy and gave a special impetus to the economy of Conception Bay and, to a lesser extent, Trinity Bay. Accompanying this there was a considerable growth in population particularly in Conception Bay. At the same time the St. John's exporters extended their commercial control from the capital to all parts of the Island and Labrador to the detriment of the old outport

firms and this consolidation was finally completed with the capture of the seal and Labrador fisheries and the collapse of Harbour Grace's commercial independence. Meanwhile the introduction of steam and the increasing competition among the merchants led to the deterioration in the quality of the fish and the decline in price despite some efforts by the Government and the exporters to alleviate the situation. ✓

It is very difficult to say what internal developments, if any, brought about the decline in per capita cod exports but, as pointed out, some action on the part of the Government and/or the exporters might have prevented it to some extent. However, it seems that the major reasons for this decline are very likely to be found outside the Island completely. ✓

CHAPTER III

THE COD FISHERY: EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

Besides the internal developments in Newfoundland which affected the production and export of dried cod there were other developments outside the Island completely which had a much more important effect in this regard. With her growing population and continued dependence on the cod fishery it was necessary that Newfoundland not only hold on to her existing markets but that she increase them. Unfortunately she not only failed to expand her trade but in several cases lost some of her most important markets. The fact that this should happen while the total world supply and demand of dried cod was rapidly increasing is a significant comment on the problems besetting the Newfoundland fish trade throughout the century.]

Although information is scarce in this regard it is apparent that the total world demand for dried cod increased during the century. The population growth that took place in the markets--Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, for instance--was quite substantial. (See Table 24, below). It is obvious that the growth in population resulted in an increase in fish consumption. During the five year period 1815-1819

TABLE 24

Population Growth in Spain, Portugal, and
Brazil during the Nineteenth Century

Year	Spain ^a	Year	Portugal	Year	Brazil ^d
1797	10,541,000	1814	2,225,000 ^b	1800	2,412,406
1900	18,549,000	1900	5,016,267 ^c	1900	17,318,556

^aJaime Vicens Vives, An Economic History of Spain, trans. by Frances M. Lopez-Morillas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 167.

^bF.C.C. Egerton, Salazar, Rebuilder of Portugal (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1943), p. 82.

^cThe Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911, XXI, p. 134.

^dT. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), p. 44.

Newfoundland's annual average exports of 944,998 quintals of fish¹ supplied most of the major markets. During the ten year period ending in 1889 this amount had risen to 1,320,131 quintals. In this same period Norway's exports of dried fish increased from an average of 184,175 quintals per year to 1,165,416 annually by 1880-1889.² At the same time other producers, as will be seen later, increased their exports.

¹See Table 14, Appendix I.

²See Table 41, Appendix I.

finally an examination of the total dried cod imports of one major port, Bilbao, at the beginning and again towards the end of the century also illustrate this increase in demand. (See Table 25, below).¹

TABLE 25

Total Imports of Dried Cod into Bilbao in 1815-1828
and in 1882-1886

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1815	94,072	1822	101,686	1882	403,707
1816	110,248	1823	63,137	1883	353,190
1817	101,586	1824	98,982	1884	441,620
1818	66,364	1825	89,320	1885	441,620
1819	68,613	1826	97,982	1886	438,544
1820	84,951	1827	111,943		
1821	41,543	1828	105,543		

[At the same time the growth of Newfoundland's exports did not keep pace with this increase in world demand as Table 26² (below) indicates.] In general the actual quantity she exported to Portugal and Italy did not change too extensively although other producers increased their

¹Information on the 1815-1828 period received from Dr. Keith Matthews, quoted from the Newfoundland Gazette (St. John's), September 22, 1929. Information for 1882-1886 taken from statistics gathered from the Trade Reports of British Consuls by J.H. Miller.

²See Table 14, Appendix I.

TABLE 26

Newfoundland Exports of Dried Cod: 1803-1900
(Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1803-1805	589,270	1851-1855	959,126
1806-1810	743,608	1856-1860	1,188,616
1811-1815	935,450	1861-1865	912,349
1816-1820	883,387	1866-1870	812,327
1821-1825	920,607	1871-1875	1,184,028
1826-1830	927,993	1876-1880	1,181,777
1831-1835	737,605	1881-1885	1,428,209
1836-1840	841,525	1886-1890	1,143,469
1841-1845	961,260	1891-1895	1,206,368
1846-1850	980,340	1896-1900	1,248,680

business in these markets. In Spain the amount of fish purchased from Newfoundland actually declined during the century while the total Spanish market increased. The situation in the West Indies was somewhat similar to that in Portugal and Italy with comparative stability, regarding the quantity of Newfoundland fish imported, after the early part of the century while others increased their exports to this area. Brazil was the only market where the purchase of Newfoundland fish rose substantially throughout the century.

Italy had always been the least important of the three European markets and this continued to be the case during the nineteenth century although it provided the major market for the cod and salmon produce of Labrador and

for this reason it was vital to the Labrador fishery. Throughout the Napoleonic War period Italy bought very little Newfoundland fish because of the political situation in that country and also because Spain and Portugal were quite willing to take all that was available. During the following decades Italy continued to import comparatively small quantities of fish from Newfoundland and by the 1830's was buying only about 30,000 quintals annually compared with the total purchases of Spain and Portugal which amounted to about 450,000 quintals.¹ However, this market improved after the 1830's and by 1850 Newfoundland was supplying over 115,000 quintals (out of that market's total consumption of over 180,000)² to Italy. Exports declined again during the second half of the century (See Table 27, below),³ particularly after the mid 1880's. Nevertheless as Table 31, Appendix I illustrates Italy remained a fairly good customer of Labrador fish although purchases of that also declined.

¹See Table 48, Appendix I. Spain was buying about 100,000 quintals of dried cod annually during the 1830's. Leslie Harris, "The First Nine Years of Representative Government in Newfoundland" (Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959), p. 94. At the same time Portugal was taking over 350,000 quintals. C.O. 194:88, pp. 16-17, Governor's Observations on the Fishery for 1833.

²C.O. 194:137, pp. 183-85, A letter from W. Petre, Rome, to W.L. Bulwer, July 2, 1852.

³See Table 31, Appendix I.

TABLE 27

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Italy: 1857-1900
(Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1857-1860	75,178	1881-1885	58,390
1861-1865	43,857	1886-1890	24,469
1866-1870	40,322	1891-1895	33,319
1871-1875	51,590	1896-1900	29,905
1876-1880	42,693		

Portugal had always been a major market for Newfoundland fish and continued as such throughout the century although there were great fluctuations in this trade. It is not known just how much fish was purchased by Portugal during the Peninsula War but in 1812--an exceptional year--Spain imported about 400,000 quintals¹ out of Newfoundland's total exports of 727,729 quintals² to Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The major part of the remaining 327,729 quintals no doubt went to Portugal where the prices were over 42s. per quintal³ for Italy was not a major customer at this time. After the war Portugal replaced Spain as Newfoundland's best customer

¹C.O. 194:60, p. 292, Report of the Select Committee on Newfoundland Trade, 1817.

²See Table 48, Appendix I.

³Chappell, Rosamond, pp. 245-47.

and by 1833 she was buying about 73%¹ of Newfoundland's average annual exports of about 480,000 quintals to Spain, Portugal, and Italy.² Between 1833 and 1857 the Newfoundland-Portuguese trade declined (See Table 28, below)³ but it

TABLE 28

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Portugal:
1857-1900
(Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1857-1860	168,322	1881-1885	302,317
1861-1865	194,167	1886-1890	264,400
1866-1870	177,604	1891-1895	208,607
1871-1875	216,651	1896-1900	264,888
1876-1880	160,984		

increased again in the 1860's and by the early 1880's Portugal was once again importing over 300,000 quintals of the Island's fish. There was a decline after this resurgence but Portugal continued to buy a substantial quantity of fish from Newfoundland during the remainder of the century.

¹C.O. 194:33, pp. 16-17, Governor's Observations on the Fishery for 1833.

²See Table 48, Appendix I.

³See Table 31, Appendix I.

Spain had been Newfoundland's best customer during the Napoleonic Wars but she was certainly the Island's greatest disappointment afterwards. Throughout the Peninsula Wars Spain bought most of Newfoundland's exports with 400,000 quintals, for instance, being purchased in 1813.¹ After the war this trade declined and by 1833 the quantity of Newfoundland fish being bought by Spain had dropped as low as 100,000 quintals annually.² However, a considerable increase doubled this amount by the latter 1850's (See Table 29)³

TABLE 29

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Spain: 1857-1900
(Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1857-1860	216,465	1881-1885	138,281
1861-1865	252,610	1886-1890	106,430
1866-1870	177,292	1891-1895	64,029
1871-1875	231,042	1896-1900	40,325
1876-1880	123,517		

and Spain remained, on the whole, a very good customer until the middle of the 1870's when a serious and rapid decline

¹C.O. 194:60, p. 292, Report of the Select Committee on Newfoundland Trade, 1917.

²Harris, "Government", p. 94.

³See Table 31, Appendix I.

began. This continued to the end of the century by which time Spain had become a very fourth rate importer of Newfoundland cod.¹

The other traditional area in which Newfoundland sold her fish were the British West Indies and there were very few changes in this market during the century. Newfoundland had expanded into this market after the American War of Independence and exports there increased in the early years of the century. (See Table 30, below)² However,

TABLE 30

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to the
British West Indies: 1803-1833

Year	Average Number of Quintals per Year
1803-1809	91,531
1811-1815	123,977
1816-1820	142,125
1821-1825	119,577
1826-1833	129,779

there was a decline in Newfoundland's sales to this region

¹As Table 31, Appendix I illustrates the statistics on Newfoundland exports to Spain are broken down after 1890 and it can be seen that Spain imported some Labrador fish besides that mentioned above. However, purchases of this product also declined.

²See Table 48, Appendix I.

during the second half of the century. (See Table 31, below)¹

TABLE 31

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to the
British West Indies: 1857-1900
(Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1857-1860	104,510	1881-1885	84,103
1861-1865	92,092	1886-1890	96,373
1866-1870	91,278	1891-1895	86,643
1871-1875	87,960	1896-1900	97,727
1876-1880	69,267		

It seems that this decline was offset by sales of fish to the other West Indian Islands and to Nova Scotia.²

The most extraordinary development in the Newfoundland fish trade during the nineteenth century was the growth of Brazil as a major market for dried cod. After 1808³ when it became possible to ship fish directly to Brazil Newfoundland became the chief supplier of that country. This trade

¹See Table 31, Appendix I.

²See the Customs Records in the Newfoundland Journals, Appendices, 1857-1900.

³In that year the Portuguese Government fled from Portugal to Brazil because of the outbreak of the Peninsula War. It was then decided that commercial agreements would have to be made directly with other nations since the legitimate Portuguese Government was in Brazil. See E. Bradford Burns, ed., A Documentary History of Brazil (2d.ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 100.

developed slowly during the early decades of the century, (See Table 32, below)¹ but by 1848 approximately 100,000

TABLE 32

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod
to Brazil: 1819-1833

Year	Average Number of Quintals per Year
1819-1833	13,100
1824-1828	50,847
1829-1833	51,847

quintals were being imported annually from Newfoundland.² There was a rapid growth during the following decade and by the late 1850's Newfoundland exports to Brazil had tripled. (See Table 33, below).³ There was a decline in the 1860's but a rapid recovery in the 1870's continued, with few exceptions, to the end of the century so that by

¹See Table 40, Appendix I. The "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" records that Newfoundland fish was first sent to Brazil in 1811 when a total of 6,710 quintals were exported to that country. However, it is possible that some fish was exported to Brazil immediately after the ports were opened in 1808. Job Brothers and Company sent their first cargo to Brazil in 1818. Robert Brown Job, John Job's Family (2d. ed.; St. John's: Evening Telegram Printing Company, 1954), p. 125.

²C.O. 194:130, pp. 125-26, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 11, 1848.

³See Table 31, Appendix I.

TABLE 33

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1857-1900
(Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1857-1860	347,451	1881-1885	342,665
1861-1865	186,405	1886-1890	273,362
1866-1870	174,054	1891-1895	311,558
1871-1875	274,206	1896-1900	397,120 ✓
1876-1880	309,305		

1900 Brazil was buying almost 400,000 quintals annually.

(It was this growth of the Brazilian market which kept the Newfoundland fishery from a much more serious predicament than the one in which it found itself.) ✓

(There were many reasons why the above countries were the major markets for Newfoundland dried cod. Some of these reasons were common to all such as the need for an easily preserved food, the absence of fishing grounds and the ability to pay for imports while others applied to individual markets). Unfortunately, in studying why these countries purchased dried fish one is thwarted by the lack of available information regarding conditions, particularly social and economic, within these countries. Nevertheless, it can be seen, in some cases briefly and in other cases more fully, why certain European and New World markets were importers of dried cod.

Dried cod was in fairly high demand in Italy during the nineteenth century. She could not produce a sufficient quantity of livestock for her own needs and with a very poor inland transportation system and a hot climate she could not store nor distribute such products. Being comparatively underdeveloped Italy needed a supply of inexpensive, easily preserved protein food within reasonable sailing distance. At the same time she had no nearby fishing grounds where cod or any other easily preserved fish could be obtained in adequate quantities. Also Italy had several important cities with fairly dense populations and these could be more easily supplied by sea than from the nearby hinterland. These included Naples, Leghorn, and Genoa, which in 1901 had populations of 547,503; 174,836; and 522,542 people.¹ Finally, the Italian markets were commercially advanced and could purchase imports from the proceeds of their exports of wine, oil and other products.

The British West Indies were exporters of one staple product, sugar (and its by products) and were forced to import most of their protein food. They needed a product which could be stored and distributed without deterioration in the hot climate. It is possible that they could have

¹Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. Vol. XIX, p. 178; Vol. XVI, p. 377 and Vol. XI, p. 579 respectively.

developed their local fisheries but that would have reduced the amount of labour available for sugar production and consequently would have been detrimental to the exportation of sugar, rum and molasses. Finally, these three commodities could be produced very cheaply and traded for dried fish from nearby suppliers where transportation costs due to the two way cargoes and short distances were relatively low.

A large supply of dried cod was also vital to Portugal during the nineteenth century. She was not a good producer of livestock products and poor inland transportation facilities plus a warm climate would have made storage and distribution of beef and mutton difficult if not impossible. At the same time Portugal's population increased considerably throughout the century. (See Table 34, below) Like Italy,

TABLE 34

Population of Portugal:
1814-1900

Year	Population
1814 ^a	2,225,000
1871 ^b	3,990,570
1900 ^c	5,016,267

^aEgerton, Salazar, p. 82.

^bAmerican Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge, 1883, XIII, p. 737.

^cEncyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., Vol. XXII, p. 134.

portugal's most densely populated areas were her coastal cities, Lisbon and Oporto, which could be more easily supplied by sea than by land. A steady supply of dried fish was ideal for Portugal's purposes and although she had no adjacent fishing grounds of her own she was within easy sailing distance of a major supplier of dried cod--Newfoundland. Even with the loss of her American colony, Brazil, and the revenue from it,¹ early in the nineteenth century, Portugal, from her earnings on wine and other exports, was still able to afford to buy the necessary supplies of dried cod from abroad.²

Spain also needed a large supply of dried cod during the nineteenth century, probably more than any other European country. Her population increased quite extensively (See Table 35, below)³ but there was not a comparable increase in

TABLE 35

Population of Spain: 1797-1900

Year	Population
1797	10,541,000
1822	11,661,865
1857	15,454,000
1887	17,549,600
1900	18,549,000

¹See C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415-1825 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).

²Portugal tried to develop a dried fish industry of her own during the nineteenth century. This will be discussed later.

³Vicens Vives, Spain, p. 617.

livestock production (See Table 36, below)¹ in fact per

TABLE 36

Spanish Livestock Production: 1803 and 1888

Animals	1803 (Head)		1888 (Head)	
	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita
Sheep	12,000,000	1.091	13,773,000	.787
Cattle	2,680,000	.244	1,460,000	.083
Swine	2,100,000	.191	1,162,000	.066

capita production declined. To add to this difficulty most meat was produced and consumed in the central provinces² and since Spain had only 28 kilometers of railway track in operation by 1850³ this is understandable. Beginning in the 1860's rapid progress was made in this area so that by 1901 this figure had been increased to 13,168 kilometers.⁴ While the growth in railway transportation could encourage the shipment of local beef towards the coast it could also

¹Ibid., p. 654. Figures for other years are also given but Vicens Vives suggests that those for 1803 and 1888 are the most reliable. The writer computed the per capita production statistics by assuming that the approximate population figures for 1803 and 1888 were 11,000,000 and 17,500,000 respectively.

²Ibid., p. 655.

³Ibid., p. 687.

⁴Ibid.

facilitate the shipping of dried fish inland and it is impossible at this moment to ascertain which, if either, occurred. However, although there were 10,021 kilometers of railway track in use in 1886-1890¹ the production of beef certainly hadn't expanded because of it. Also, the whole Spanish coast was ringed with cities of varying sizes and all were much more easily supplied by sea than by land. Like the other dried cod markets Spain had a warm climate and needed a food that was plentiful and relatively inexpensive and could be easily preserved. Although she had no fishing grounds of her own she was near the North Atlantic dried cod producers and therefore became a market for that product. Moreover, out of the earnings from her exports of wine, fruit, nuts, salt, minerals and olive oil she could afford to purchase the necessary supplies of dried cod for her population.

Brazil's need for dried fish was a nineteenth century phenomenon and her imports of the product expanded considerably throughout the century. Her population increased tremendously (See Table 37, below)² during this period and

¹Ibid.

²Smith, Brazil, p. 44.

TABLE 37

Population of Brazil: 1808-1900

Year	Population
1808	2,419,406
1854	7,677,800
1900	17,318,556

this resulted in an increased demand for food. Since the climate was generally very hot Brazil required an easily preserved item and in the beginning this demand was supplied by the production of dried beef from Brazil's interior and from Argentina. However, the increased production of coffee and cotton after 1850 in the coastal parts of Pernambuco and San Salvador resulted in the growth of large urban areas around Recife and Bahia.¹ Poppino claims that: "During the half century from 1870 to 1920 Brazil was caught up in a frenzy of uneven growth and modernization that affected every aspect of national life."² Also since over 75% of the immigrants to Brazil after 1874 came from Italy, Portugal,

¹Herman G. James, Brazil After a Century of Independence (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), p. 294.

²Rollie E. Poppino, Brazil: The Land and People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 200.

and Spain where dried cod had always been a staple food¹ there is no doubt that they brought their food preferences with them. Schurz reports that "The Portuguese brought with them to Brazil an obsession for cod fish or bacalhau."² and he quotes a nineteenth century account: "... whilst the river flowing before their doors [in Sao Ramao on the Sao Francisco River] produces the best of fish, the townspeople eat the hard, dry bacalhau or codfish ... from Newfoundland."³ Nevertheless, unlike other dried cod markets Brazil was most heavily dependent on its own supplies of dried beef. In 1914 (the earliest year for which a comparison can be made) Brazil, with a population of approximately 25,000,000 people⁴ consumed 180,000,000 pounds of dried beef of which 40,000,000 pounds was imported.⁵ During the years ending June 30, 1914 and June 30, 1915, she imported 462,233 quintals (51,770,096

¹Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler, eds., Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1955), p. 256.

²William Lytle Schurz, Brazil: The Infinite Country (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1961), p. 123.

³Ibid.

⁴Kuznets, Economic Growth, p. 73.

⁵Ibid., p. 33.

pounds), and 362,018 quintals (40,546,016 pounds) respectively of Newfoundland dried cod.¹ To feed her growing population Brazil continued to require dried cod imports and with her increasing exports of cotton, coffee, and other products, particularly after 1850, she was quite capable of purchasing them.

Although many of the factors which explain why these markets purchased dried cod are similar it would be a mistake to assume that they all demanded a similar product. Unfortunately it is virtually impossible at this stage to deal with each individual market within each country but one can mention, in general, the types of fish required by certain areas. Spain seems to have been a major market for two general types of fish. In Southern and Mediterranean Spain, at Malaga and Alicante for example, where the climate was warm a well dried product which could be stored and distributed without deterioration was preferred. In Northern Spain where the climate was much cooler, as for instance at Bilbao and Santander, a moister and softer fish could be sold.²

¹Newfoundland Journals, 1915 and 1916, Appendices, p. 196.

²Cutting, Fish Saving, pp. 147-48. He quotes a French publication of 1911. "In Granada and Malaga merchants prefer English ... cod for this reason; they keep, and if they must stand over in the warehouse the merchant's mind can be at ease. It is not the same with the French cod ... It is softer than the English cod which goes harder after it has been stored for a certain time. If the temperature rises, the French cod very quickly begins to be the worst for it." See Map 7, Appendix II for the more important Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian markets.

Most fish exported to Portugal was handled in Oporto and Lisbon where a light well dried product, similar to that sold in Southern Spain, was required. However, it is quite possible that Oporto, being farther North, could and did use a moister fish as well. In the Italian ports--Naples, Leghorn, and Genoa--a well dried fish was also preferred. All three countries demanded a medium and large fish. However, it must be remembered that a large supply of low priced heavy salted moist fish could, at certain times, seriously disrupt the markets which bought only the light well dried product as a rule. Also any substandard fish in a given shipment was usually purchased as well although generally at a loss to the exporter, in both money and reputation. The Brazil markets, Recife and Pernambuco, bought a very dry small fish (10-18 inches)¹ which could be shipped across the equator without spoilage. The West Indian markets purchased the poor quality fish which could not be sold elsewhere as well as surplus stocks which could not be held indefinitely in Newfoundland. The fact that markets preferred a specific type of fish must be kept in mind when one discusses why

¹On one occasion Newman, Hunt and Company advised their agents to buy fish 18 inches and under in length for Brazil. Usually the maximum length for this market was set at 14 inches and even at 12 inches. Newman, Book 63, pp. 357-61, March 24, 1858; Book 64, pp. 235-86, August 8, 1863; Book 67, pp. 192-95, November 8, 1881; and Book 68, pp. 72-75, July 7, 1865.

these markets developed as they did during the century.¹

It is now necessary to investigate the external causes for the comparative lack of growth in the Newfoundland dried cod industry, in other words, were there any developments in other countries which caused or contributed to this decline? (First of all the writer will discuss the growth in the dried cod exports of other producers and why this occurred. Secondly the internal developments within the markets themselves that influenced Newfoundland's dried cod trade will be examined. It will be shown that the increased exports of the other producers combined with a number of developments in the markets which were disadvantageous to Newfoundland caused her share of the world trade in dried cod to decline.)

The dried cod producing countries of the nineteenth century, in addition to Newfoundland, were Iceland, United States, Nova Scotia, France, and Norway. Iceland, France, and Norway sold most of their exported fish in Europe while American and Nova Scotian exports were generally sent to the West Indies. / None of these countries, as far as it can be ascertained, sold any fish to Brazil during this period. /

¹ Punton and Munn Letter Book 1855-1857, A letter from Punton and Munn to Messrs. Waterman and Ryan, Merchant, St. Louis, October 29, 1856. "We have codfish of various qualities and prices in this place and ship them to all parts of the world. Our largest and best fish find the best sale in Portugal, Spain, and Italy whereas the smallest and driest cured are taken off in large quantities for Brazil leaving the inferior qualities for the West India Islands."

However, these competing countries were not of the same stature and their trade varied from the virtually insignificant quantities of Iceland to the extremely large amount produced and sold by Norway.

Iceland was the least important of the dried cod producers of the nineteenth century. This Island entered the dried fish trade in 1787 after the Danish Government (under which they were governed at the time) lifted the oppressive trade restrictions which had caused such hardships previously.¹ Although Hermannson states that by 1800 "a very considerable traffic in fish was carried from Iceland to Spain and the Mediterranean."² Iceland remained basically a very small producer. During the Napoleonic Wars Denmark sided with France and as a result the British Navy blockaded Iceland and cut off her trade.³ However, after the war exports increased from 15,160 quintals in 1801 to 85,000 in 1855.⁴ Throughout the 1860's exports declined somewhat but

¹William S. Mattox, Jr., "The Fishing Industry of Iceland" (Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Geography, McGill University, Montreal, 1960), p. 37.

²Halldor Hermannson, "Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland," Islandica, XVIII, 1928. (Reprint; New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966), p. 82.

³Mattox, "Iceland", p. 38.

⁴Ibid.

at least 44,000 and sometimes as much as 66,000 quintals continued to be exported.¹ Although Denmark was Iceland's major trading partner the best quality fish was sent to Spain.² In 1865 out of a total export of 23,000 quintals³ (a very poor year) about 12,000 of the most inferior was purchased by Denmark while the rest was sent to Spain, particularly Bilbao and Barcelona.⁴ However, the Iceland fishery continued to increase and by 1897 she was selling 60,000 quintals annually in Genoa compared with 50,000 quintals of Labrador fish.⁵ It was reported in that year that in Genoa "Iceland [fish] is taking the place of our Shore [fish]".⁶ Nevertheless Iceland was not considered as a serious competitor in general for her production was comparatively low.

(The American cod fishery, although large, did not affect the sale of Newfoundland fish to any great extent

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1868, Appendix, p. 840, Report of Vice Consul J.R. Crowe, Christiania, on the Fisheries, Trade, and General Features of Iceland for the years 1865-1866 to Lord Stanley.

²Ibid., pp. 847-48.

³Ibid., p. 840.

⁴Ibid., pp. 847-48.

⁵Report of the Trade Commissioners on the Mediterranean Markets, Etc., (St. John's: Daily News Job Print, 1893), p. 13.

⁶Ibid., p. 14.

throughout the century for most of the production was sold in their own home markets for local consumption. Nevertheless, the rights granted the American fishermen on parts of the Newfoundland coast caused internal problems in Newfoundland somewhat similar to those created by the French fishermen on the French Shore)¹ However, the New England states had always carried out a West Indian trade selling dried cod for sugar, molasses, and rum.

After 1818 the American cod fishery prospered and expanded.² Bounties encouraged this fishery and their tariff regulations protected them from competition.³ They lost their markets in the British West Indies during the 1812-1814 War but they continued to supply the other islands.⁴ During the 1820's and 1830's the Americans sent a fair amount of fish to these non-British West Indian Islands while their exports to Europe nearly disappeared. (See Table 38, below).⁵ It is difficult to ascertain how extensive American competition was in the Foreign West Indies during the second half

¹See Map 4, Appendix II.

²McFarland, New England Fisheries, p. 169.

³Ibid., p. 168.

⁴Ibid., p. 167.

⁵Ibid. These are the only figures available for this period.

TABLE 38

American Dried Cod Exports: 1821, 1825, and 1832

Year	Foreign West Indies (Quintals)	Europe (Quintals)
1821	214,018	21,184
1825	251,034	3,042
1832	233,247	430

of the century. However, since Nova Scotia certainly expanded into this area the writer feels that American dried cod exports remained much the same as in the first half of the century or maybe even declined. (The low prices received in these markets discouraged Newfoundland from trying to expand into this trade although it could be argued that the Americans with their lower shipping charges and relatively large exports helped to keep fish prices low and therefore unprofitable for Newfoundland).

The Nova Scotian fishery benefited by New England's withdrawal from the British Empire in 1783¹ and, like Newfoundland, had prospered during the Napoleonic Wars. Although she did not compete with Newfoundland in the European markets she exported large quantities of dried cod to the

¹Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 226.

British West Indies during the first half of the century.
(See Table 39, below).¹ By mid century these exports had

TABLE 39

Nova Scotia's Dried Cod Exports to Various Markets:
1840, 1844, and 1851

Market	1840 ^a (Quintals)	1844 ^b (Quintals)	1851 ^c (Quintals)
British West Indies	232,541	194,624	136,048
Foreign West Indies	14,065	23,213	93,564
Brazil	17,063	18,054	2,858
Foreign Europe	5,335	958	3,300
Other	58,022	13,744	8,077
Total	327,026	250,593	243,847

^aJournal of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia,
(Halifax; Printer to the Assembly, 1841), Appendix 62,
p. 164.

^bIbid., 1845, Appendix 87, p. 314.

^cIbid., 1852, Appendix 30, pp. 268-71.

declined somewhat and at the same time there was a noticeable growth in the amount of dried cod being sold to the Foreign West Indies. By the 1860's Nova Scotia was exporting a fair amount of fish to both the British and Foreign West Indies although her exports to the former had declined while her

¹These are the only years in this period for which the writer has been able to find actual figures.

exports to the latter had increased. (See Table 40, below).¹

TABLE 40

Nova Scotia's Dried Cod Exports to Various Markets:
1864 and 1865

Market	Year ending Sept. 30, 1864. (Quintals)	Year ending Sept. 30, 1865. (Quintals)
Great Britain	93	4,849
Canada	1,111	1,509
New Brunswick	3,167	7,048
Prince Edward Island	67	20
Newfoundland	7,540	2,724
British West Indies	161,867	174,936
Foreign West Indies	106,831	85,550
United States	13,929	49,058
Portugal	2,165	222
Jersey	2,352	3,112
Italy	2,819	4,007
Brazil	4,775	2,474
Madeira	234	93
Spain	3,210	2,540
Mauritias	48	.....
Africa	.....	233
St. Domingo	.....	2,363
Total	310,209	340,738

Since Newfoundland exports to the British West Indies had declined somewhat from their pre 1830 level Nova Scotia was

¹The years 1864 and 1865 are the only two during this period for which the writer has been able to find available figures. The original statistics were in pounds and these have been converted into quintals. (to the nearest whole number). See Various Statements connected with the Trade and Commerce of the Province of Nova Scotia (2 vols.; Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1864 and 1865), pp. 149-151 and 166-67.

probably an effective competitor in this area. (In any case the supplies of Nova Scotian fish no doubt helped to keep export prices to the British West Indies at a low level).

After 1869 Nova Scotia's dried cod industry expanded. There were several reasons for this including the introduction by the Dominion Government of a protection fleet and the lack of employment in other fields during 1873-1879.¹ These factors combined with "the inauguration of a steamship service to the West Indies and Brazil in 1881, the development of the bank fishery, and the payment of bounties which began in 1882"² led to an increase in Nova Scotia's dried cod exports between 1869 and 1888. (See Table 41 below)³

TABLE 41

Nova Scotia's Dried Cod Production in
Five Year Averages: 1869-1903

Years	Quintals
1869-1873	464,686
1874-1878	506,345
1879-1883	616,115
1884-1888	791,044
1889-1893	569,388
1894-1898	557,204
1899-1903	569,309

¹Ruth Fulton Grant, The Canadian Atlantic Fishery (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1934), p. 17.

²Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 372.

³Grant, The Canadian Atlantic Fishery, p. 16. See footnote 1 (following page).

With this expansion sales to the British and Spanish West Indies also increased. The former bought 251,535 quintals and the latter 211,786 quintals in 1880.¹ During the late 1880's the Nova Scotia dried cod trade declined due mainly to the expansion of the European sugar beet industry which seriously affected the production of West Indian cane sugar.² Canadian (Nova Scotian) exports of dried cod to the British West Indies declined (See Table 42, below)³ but the exports

TABLE 42

Canadian Dried Fish Exports to the
British West Indies: 1885-1904
(Average Number of Quintals per Year)

Years	Quintals	Years	Quintals
1885-1889	238,565	1895-1899	202,565
1890-1894	186,316	1900-1904	177,957

to the Spanish West Indies remained relatively unchanged.

¹Canadian Sessional Papers of the Parliament of Canada, (Vol. XLI, No. 1, Ottawa, 1880), p. 625. According to this source the word 'production' in Table 41 is synonymous with 'exports'.

²Grant, The Canadian Atlantic Fishery, p. 22.

³Ibid. In Tables 42 (above) and 43 (following page) some other fish besides cod may have been included.

(See Table 43, below)¹ By examining Tables 41, 42, and 43

TABLE 43

Canadian Dried Fish Exports to the
Spanish West Indies: 1880-1899
(Average Number of Quintals per Year)

Years	Quintals	Years	Quintals
1880-1884	210,191	1890-1894	215,377
1885-1889	191,638	1895-1899	209,644

it can be seen that Nova Scotia's nineteenth century peak in the dried cod trade occurred during the latter 1880's and during the remainder of the century a much smaller quantity of fish was exported.

Since Newfoundland's exports to the British West Indies did not change much during the last half of the century it is difficult to ascertain Nova Scotia's influence on the market. However, in spite of a report in 1885 which claimed that Nova Scotian fish was disliked in Barbados and could not be sold² it seems that Nova Scotia, which may have

¹Ibid.

²Diary of a Trip to the West Indies in 1885, February 21, 1885, Harvey and Company Papers.

had lower production costs,¹ could compete effectively and help keep the prices low in this market thereby limiting Newfoundland's trade.

During the nineteenth century the French fishery recovered and once again became a serious competitor in the dried cod trade. Although she instituted a generous system of bounties and drawbacks in 1815² and although production increased, most of her catch, in the first half of the century was consumed at home. During a five year period in the 1830's, for example, the total catch averaged 245,000 quintals per year of which only 17,000 quintals were exported to Spain, Portugal, and Italy.³ While this stage in the expansion of the French fishery was of very little consequence to the Newfoundland trade, in the second half of the century France became an increasingly serious competitor particularly in Italy and Spain during the 1880's and 1890's.

Beginning in about 1850 the Newfoundland exporters became concerned about the amount of French fish being sold

¹Evening Telegram, (St. John's) March 24, 1893. Mr. Fearn, speaking in the House of Assembly March 13, 1893, stated: "At the time the Maritime Provinces joined the Upper Provinces of Canada in Confederation, an agreement was brought about by which the fishermen were protected against the imposition of duties on their gear. The result is that nearly all the articles required for fishery purposes are, if not entirely, almost duty free, and it is only right that our fishermen should be placed upon the same terms."

²Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 218.

³Ibid.

in Newfoundland markets although there is no evidence to suggest that the amount was very significant at the time. The increase in French bounties and drawbacks in 1851¹ encouraged the expansion of the French fishery and Innis claims it also brought about the use of larger and more efficient fishing units.² At the same time they expanded their operations on the French Shore and at Labrador.³ However, the introduction of several Newfoundland fishery protection vessels to these areas in the 1850's forced the French to confine their fishing to the French Shore and to remain north of Cape St. John. The French bank fishery was also expanded at this time and soon there were 12,000 men employed in that industry alone.⁴ (compared with a total of 12,000 men employed in all branches of their fishery in the 1830's).⁵ Despite this growth there are indications

¹See Appendix III for a complete account of the new system of bounties and drawbacks established by France in 1851.

²Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 376.

³Newfoundland Journal, 1860, Appendix, pp. 466-76, Report of James L. Frendergast, Superintendent of Fisheries for the Straits of Belle Isle and Labrador, September 26, 1859. For complete information on the French Shore issue see Peter F. Neary, "The French Shore Question: 1865-1878" (Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961) and Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland. See also Map 4, Appendix II.

⁴Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 378.

⁵Ibid., p. 218.

that the quality of the French product was quite inferior to that of Newfoundland. In 1857 it was reported that the French fish was generally ragged in appearance, poorly split, more heavily salted and soft and limp after curing.¹ Since the French bounties were paid on fish according to the weight of the finished product it was to the fishermen's advantage to produce fish with a higher water content.² However, there is no doubt that competition from France did commence around the middle of the century and the Newfoundland Chamber of Commerce first showed its concern in 1849.³ Ten years later they wrote:

In former years we had to sustain the unequal competition with them [the French] in the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian markets, and now they compete with us in the Brasils and even in our own West Indies and North American markets.⁴

Nevertheless this competition seems to have remained relatively insignificant until later in the century.

During the 1880's French competition reached its

¹C.O. 194:151, p. 503, Report of Commander M.H. Perley of H.M.S. Atlanta, October 19, 1857.

²Ibid.

³Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1846-1851, Vol. 2., A letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 5, 1849; and C.O. 194:137, pp. 65-80, A letter from E.M. Archibald, St. John's, to E. Rushworth, London, July 15, 1852.

⁴Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1851-1860, Vol. 3, Annual Report, August 12, 1859.

TABLE 44

Newfoundland and French Exports of Dried Cod to
Selected Markets for Various Years
between 1878 and 1898
(Quintals)

Place of Origin	Naples ^a		1883	Leghorn ^b	
	1884	1886		1887	1887
Newfoundland	34,800	25,600	No information		
France	0	19,800	'Small amount'		
.....
	Bilbao ^c		Valencia ^d		
	1882	1886	1885	1886	1886
Newfoundland	22,843	3,708	35,000	22,000	
France	20,784	137,387	0	20,000	
.....
	Alicante ^e				
	1885-1886	1886-1887	1887-1888	1897	1898
Newfoundland	96,600	87,000	70,000	27,000	25,000
France	3,200	10,000	7,800	8,000	19,000

^aFrederic F. Thompson, "A Background of the Newfoundland Clauses of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904" (Thesis, 1953), p. 241. According to Table 40, Appendix I there were 12,400 quintals of French fish imported into Naples in 1886 not 19,800 as stated above. A similar discrepancy exists regarding the Newfoundland figures. However, it is indisputable that there was an increase in the imports of French fish and a decrease in the quantity from Newfoundland.

^bInnis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 383.

^cSee Table 42, Appendix I.

^d"Report of Judge Bennett together with Evidence respecting Bait Protection Service, 1890", (St. John's 1891), p. 5.

^eSee Table 43, Appendix I.

third stage as their fish began to enter the Spanish and Italian markets in large quantities. (See Table 44, above)

There was a decline in Newfoundland dried cod exports to Naples, Bilbao, Valencia and Alicante. At the same time French exports of fish to Leghorn and these other markets all increased. The total Alicante market seems to have deteriorated but the same pattern of a French growth versus a Newfoundland decline is evident to some degree. Meanwhile cod exports from St. Pierre and Miquelon increased from 374,017 quintals in 1881 to 908,300 quintals in 1886¹ although it is unknown, at the moment, how much of this found its way into foreign markets. After 1886 the French fishery suffered various setbacks. In the first place the Newfoundland Bait Act of that year prevented them from purchasing bait on the South Coast of the Island. In addition they no doubt suffered adverse effects from the market glut they helped to create for in the autumn of 1886 French shippers at Bordeaux sold fish to Spanish buyers for nothing except their own government bounties.² In the meantime the French Shore fishery in Newfoundland declined considerably. (See Table 45, below).³ However, French exports continued to

¹Thompson, "Background of the Newfoundland Clauses", p. 223.

²Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 383.

³Thompson, "Background of the Newfoundland Clauses", p. 249.

TABLE 45

Number of French Fishermen on the
French Shore: 1829-1898

Year	Number
1829	10,560
1871	7,858
1881	5,165
1898	291

compete with those of Newfoundland in Italy and Spain during the remainder of the century.¹

Norway's dried cod exports increased at a rapid rate during the nineteenth century. This had significant consequences for the Newfoundland fish trade since most of Norway's expansion involved Newfoundland's traditional markets, particularly Spain, and therefore Norway's growth was at the expense of Newfoundland.

Unlike France, Norway began competing with Newfoundland in the dried cod markets immediately after the Napoleonic Wars. Her fish first secured an entry into the Iberian markets during the American Revolution.² After 1783 Newfoundland fish recaptured most of this market but Norway managed

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1897, Appendix, p. 309; and 1898, Appendix, p. 341.

²Matthews, "West of England-Newfoundland Fishery", p. 479.

to retain a small foothold.¹ Throughout the Napoleonic Wars the Danish Government which also ruled Norway allied itself with France and consequently the Norwegian fish trade was disrupted by the British Navy. In 1814, by the Treaty of Kiel, Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden. This marked the beginning of the expansion of Norway's dried cod trade.

Exports of dried cod (both klipfish--dried with salt, and stockfish--dried without salt) from Norway increased steadily throughout the century, (See Table 46, below)²

TABLE 46

Norway's Dried Cod Exports: 1815-1865 and 1877-1889
(Average Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1815-1819	184,175	1846-1850	537,489
1820-1824	290,514	1851-1855	605,738
1825-1829	424,464	1856-1860	654,071
1830-1835	457,044	1861-1865	655,409
1836-1840	495,257		
1841-1845	409,121	1877-1889	1,191,979

and it was the Norway fish which competed the most seriously and successfully with the Newfoundland cod.

¹Ibid.

²See Table 41, Appendix I. Although there are no complete statistics available for the period following 1889 there is other information (discussed below) which indicates that the amount of fish exported from Norway remained high throughout the remainder of the century.

Norway fish began entering the Spanish markets after 1815 and although a fair amount of fish was sold in Portugal and a little in Italy later in the century Spain remained the major market for this fish. (See Table 47, below, for the only available statistics of this nature).¹ However,

TABLE 47

Norway's Dried Cod Exports to Several Markets:
1855, 1856, 1857, and 1865
(Quintals)

Market	1855	1856	1857	1865
Spain	374,040	362,860	452,480	404,547
Mediterranean	91,520	42,640	40,980	92,902
Brazil	37,280	40,700	47,580	8,758
West Indies	15,680	10,800	12,760	37,148
Portugal	7,860	8,340	....	19,853
Italy	....	....	....	41,705

other markets also bought varying amounts at different times. Spain's imports of Norway cod continued to grow and by 1898 Northern Spain (Bilbao and Santander) alone was buying about 550,000 quintals annually.² By the last decade of the century Portugal was also purchasing a large quantity of Norway fish particularly at Lisbon and Oporto--where most

¹See Table 45, Appendix I.

²Report of the Trade Commissioners, p. 25.

of Portugal's fish trade was handled. (See Tables 48 and 49, below).¹ Although Spain was, by far, Norway's major

TABLE 48

Lisbon, Dried Cod Imports: 1891-1897
(Quintals)

Year	Newfoundland	Norway	Iceland
1891	35,041	46,690	.....
1892	39,462	43,504	4,900
1893	30,032	48,472	2,100
1894	26,166	60,365	1,600
1895	39,235	55,562	1,080
1896	44,003	48,552	1,700
1897	29,088	54,550	1,420

TABLE 49

Oporto, Dried Cod Imports: 1891-1897
(Quintals)

Year	Newfoundland	Norway
1891	135,332	96,731
1892	121,620	93,837
1893	102,752	159,216
1894	92,317	202,646
1895	167,240	129,558
1896	202,943	99,100
1897	141,952	124,049

¹Ibid., pp. 19-20.

market by the end of the century a fair amount of fish was being sent to Portugal and a smaller quantity to Italy, or at least Naples.¹

It appears that Norway fish enjoyed great popularity only in certain markets although there was probably enough product differentiation so that some fish went to almost every market. In Northern Spain where a moister fish was marketable Norway's trade expanded enormously. Her dried cod exports to Bilbao, the largest port in that area, rose from about 7,000 quintals in 1815 (See Table 50, below)²

TABLE 50

Bilbao, Dried Cod Imports: 1815-1828
(Quintals)

Year	Newfoundland	Norway	United States
1815	85,382	7,270	1,420
1816	74,155	11,118	24,295
1817	65,442	5,980	30,174
1818	61,523	2,320	2,541
1819	53,914	11,370	3,329
1820	63,756	16,630	4,565
1821	28,565	12,428	650
1822	90,792	14,720	1,174
1823	45,629	19,151	1,357
1824	63,230	35,612	140
1825	53,890	35,438	.....
1826	52,805	45,069	118
1827	39,512	72,081	350
1828	35,456	70,092	.....

¹See Table 40, Appendix I. Naples imported an average of about 35,000 quintals of Norway fish annually during 1886-1894.

²Keith Matthews, D.Phil., Notes, Original Source Newfoundland Gazette, September 22, 1829.

when she first challenged Newfoundland in that market to about 400,000 quintals annually by 1898.¹ However, since as much as over 200,000 quintals annually were going to Portugal during the last years of the century it would seem that Norway was by this time producing a drier fish or Portugal had been successfully persuaded to purchase the damper, cheaper variety. It was probably a combination of product differentiation and good salesmanship. Although Norway did sell some fish to the traditional 'hard dried' markets such as Alicante² and Brazil³ the only other variety that she produced in any quantity was stockfish and both Italy and the Mediterranean (excluding Spain) area were good markets for this fish.⁴

(These developments in the Norway fishery helped to make the fish trade very competitive and consequently, at least in part, resulted in a lack of growth in the Newfoundland fishery). (See Table 51, below).⁵ Norway began to

¹Report of the Trade Commissioners, p. 25. See also Table 42, Appendix I.

²See Table 43, Appendix I.

³See Table 45, Appendix I.

⁴See Tables 41 and 45, Appendix I.

⁵See Tables 14 and 41, Appendix I.

TABLE 51

A Comparison of the Dried Cod Exports from Newfoundland and Norway: 1815-1865 and 1877-1889
(Annual Average Number of Quintals)

Years	Newfound- land	Norway	Total	Newfound- land's Share (%)	Norway's Share (%)
1815-1819	944,998	184,175	1,129,173	84	16
1820-1824	917,056	290,514	1,207,570	76	24
1825-1829	925,242	424,464	1,349,706	69	31
1830-1835	762,524	457,044	1,219,568	63	37
1836-1840	841,525	495,257	1,336,782	63	37
1841-1845	961,260	409,121	1,370,381	70	30
1846-1850	930,340	537,489	1,517,829	65	35
1851-1855	959,126	605,738	1,564,864	61	39
1856-1860	1,188,616	654,071	1,842,687	65	35
1861-1865	912,849	655,409	1,568,258	58	42
1877-1889	1,281,376	1,191,979	2,473,355	52	48

displace Newfoundland in Northern Spain very early in the century (See Table 50) and the Island's share of that market was reduced to only a few quintals annually by the early 1880's.¹ By the end of the century Newfoundland had been ousted completely from this area.² Similarly Norway's sales to Portugal (See Tables 48 and 49) were also detrimental to the Newfoundland fish trade and the expansion of the Norway

¹See Table 42, Appendix I. French competition which was also a factor here has already been discussed.

²Report of the Trade Commissioners, p. 25.

fishery during 1877-1881 in particular,¹ was no doubt partially responsible for the reduction in Newfoundland dried cod exports to Spain, Portugal and Italy. (See Table 52, below).² (The Labrador exports of dried cod were recorded

TABLE 52

Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports to Spain, Portugal, Italy, British West Indies and Brazil: 1874-1880
(Quintals)

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil
1874	259,064	254,656	70,202	150,579	326,969
1875	139,031	208,405	48,014	82,717	275,482
1876	161,983	150,829	53,947	63,791	228,470
1877	109,583	150,228	23,716	75,417	292,129
1878	77,916	150,026	39,383	57,459	268,455
1879	157,942	182,957	50,242	66,821	362,429
1880	109,356	170,872	46,179	82,847	395,044

separately from those of the Island after 1873 but they were not differentiated according to market. Therefore, this decline demonstrated her concerns only the Island's fish.) Besides this decline in the amount exported Newfoundland experienced a decline in price about this time.

¹See Table 41, Appendix I.

²See Table 31, Appendix I.

(See Table 53, below)¹ It was also during these years that

TABLE 53

Price of Newfoundland Cod for
Various Markets: 1876-1880
(Dollars per Quintal)

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy
	\$	\$	\$
1876	5.40	5.70	5.40
1877	5.00	5.00	3.20
1878	4.90	5.00	3.20
1879	3.70	3.90	2.60
1880	3.50	3.80	2.60

most of the complaints regarding Norway's usurpation of the Newfoundland markets were registered by the Island's exporters.² While it would be an oversimplification to lay all the blame for the stagnation of the Newfoundland fishery on Norway it certainly must be accepted that the latter's fishery was instrumental in keeping prices and profits low

¹See Table 46, Appendix I.

²Chamber of Commerce, Annual Reports 1849-1884, Annual Report for 1877. Newman, Book 66, pp. 292-93, May 15, 1877; Book 66, p. 292, June 12, 1877; Book 66, pp. 343-44, March 21, 1878; Book 66, pp. 346-49, April 12, 1878; Book 66, pp. 350-53, April 30, 1878; Book 66, pp. 362-65, June 25, 1878; Book 67, pp. 20-21, March 5, 1879; Book 67, pp. 22-23, March 20, 1879; Book 67, pp. 32-35, April 29, 1879; Book 67, pp. 41-42, May 27, 1879; Book 67, pp. 42-43, June 10, 1879; Book 67, p. 46, June 24, 1879; Book 67, pp. 46-48, July 3, 1879; Book 67, p. 52, July 22, 1879; Book 67, pp. 57-59, August 5, 1879; Book 67, p. 95, April 9, 1880; Book 67, pp. 100-101, April 13, 1880; and Book 67, pp. 158-59, April 26, 1881.

and in many cases traditional Newfoundland markets were captured by Norway.

Although information regarding the Norway fishery is very scarce the writer has been able to piece together a rough sketch of this industry and consequently provide some explanations for its rapid expansion.

The Norway cod fishery was carried out all along the coast but basically it consisted of three distinct branches: The Finmark in the far north near the Russian frontier; the Lofoten which was in the middle, between north latitude $67^{\circ}20'$ and $69^{\circ}20'$; and the Romsdal fishery in the South. The most important of these was the Lofoten but the Finmark was a very close second while the Romsdal was generally of much lesser importance.¹ The Lofoten fishery was prosecuted on a three terrace bank which extends out from the coast. Near the land this bank has a depth of 20-30 fathoms of water; farther out its depth is 4-50 fathoms; while the outside section has between 90 and 120 fathoms.² This fishery usually began about the end of December and lasted three to four months.³ When the Finmark fishery started about the

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1868, Appendix, pp. 857-83, Report of Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Christiania, on the Cod and Herring Fisheries of Norway, for the year 1866, p. 866.

²Ibid., p. 857.

³Ibid., p. 858.

first of April many of the Lofoten fishermen went there where they fished until about August.¹ Although, at the moment, further information regarding the Romsdal fishery is unavailable one can see that the supplementary nature of the Lofoten and Finmark fisheries combined with the mobility of the fishermen resulted in a fishing season of at least seven or eight months.² However, it is probable that this type of fishery required that fish be kept in salt for longer and more irregular periods than was the case in the Newfoundland shore fishery. If this is true than Norway's fish was a moister and more heavily salted product. This would help to explain why Norway's exports to Northern Spain increased so extensively while her exports to Southern Spain (Alicante for example)³ remained limited. It would also help to explain why Norway was never able to take over the Brazil markets where a hard dried fish was needed. Nevertheless, as has already been stated, out of the huge volume of fish being produced by Norway it is likely that some hard dried salted fish was produced if only

¹Ibid., p. 858 and p. 865.

²See Table 25, Appendix I, for the approximate length of the Newfoundland fishery in various areas.

³See Table 43, Appendix I.

by accident.¹ The structure of the Lofoten fishing grounds probably contributed to a certain regularity of catch since fish were quite likely to be found at some levels. This type of fishing grounds plus the long season may be some of the explanations for one of the major difference apparent in the export figures of Norway and Newfoundland during the century. (See Tables 14 and 41, Appendix I). Newfoundland's exports fluctuated from year to year while Norway's (klipfish and stockfish combined) exports showed remarkable stability, plus of course impressive growth. The cod migration into Newfoundland waters was unpredictable with fish failing to appear in some places every year and in no locality did it ever appear in such concentration and abundance as at Lofoten. In addition, all the best fishing areas around the Island had become inhabited very early so that it was difficult for floating fishermen to shore dry their catch should they try following the fish around. And, of course, it was senseless for Newfoundland to cease making a high priced product which could be sold without much competition in Brazil, for example, and to begin producing a low priced article which could only be sold in competition with Norway

¹Stockfish was produced in the winter by hanging the fish on poles to dry in the frost and sun; a hard, almost indestructible, product with about a 16% water content resulted. However, it does not seem to have appealed to most of the traditional dried salt fish consumers.

(and even France). The only Newfoundland practice that resembled the Lofoten fishery was the migratory Labrador floater fishery which, as has already been shown, was not too successful. Finally the Finmark fishermen had the added advantage of being able to sell large quantities (between 10,000 and 15,000 tons annually in the 1860's)¹ of salt bulk and fresh fish to Russian ships. This additional market for an easily prepared product increased the stability of the Norway fishing industry. The nature of the Norway fishery encouraged the mass production of a certain type of relatively inexpensive fish.

The Norway Government² seems to have become directly involved in their cod fishery early in the century but it is difficult to say with any certainty to what extent, if any, they were responsible for the expansion of the industry. In 1815 the Norway fishery was a relatively small operation and the established fish trade interests were, very likely, in a weak position which allowed the Government to become directly involved. In the beginning Government regulations

¹Newfoundland Journal, 1868, Report of Consul-General, p. 867.

²Norway became part of Sweden in 1814 and consequently the Swedish Government was probably responsible for much of the policy regarding the fishery resources. However, the writer consistently uses the phrase "Norway Government" in this work since it is less likely to confuse the reader and also because the enforcement of all local fishing regulations was in the hands of Norwegians.

were rather strict and inflexible.¹ Fishing grounds, for example, were divided up by inspectors and marked with bouys. These areas were assigned to certain fishing stations and the fishermen all left for their respective fishing grounds at a given signal each morning (if the inspector had decided that the weather was suitable for fishing) and returned at the sound of a similar signal each evening.² The inspectors settled disputes and enforced regulations. Medical officers were also on hand to look after the sick and injured. Around 1860 the Government decided that fewer restrictions might be more desirable and the inflexible system of fishing ground divisions and morning and evening signals was discontinued at Lofoten³ (and presumably elsewhere later in the century). Besides this the Norwegian Government attempted to improve their industry by sending a Professor Stewitz to Newfoundland in 1841 to study the cod fishery there and make recommendations on better methods that could be adapted to Norway.⁴ Patrick Hogan, in his report (see footnote 4 below) claimed that the Norway cod fisheries were

¹Ibid., p. 865.

²Ibid., p. 863.

³Ibid., p. 865.

⁴Newfoundland Journal, 1882, Appendix, p. 613, Report on the Cod Fishery to the Hon. E.D. Shea, Colonial Secretary, by Patrick Hogan, March 31, 1881.

very poor before that time but "... have since run us out of sight."¹ In addition the Government carried out an aggressive sales policy by using travelling agents in order to keep in constant contact with the markets and this was considered to be quite beneficial to their trade.² While it is difficult to ascertain the general effects of such extensive governmental control and direction one knowledgeable writer reported in 1882 that "... the increase in the Norwegian fishery [was] entirely owing to the protection, encouragement and assistance given by the Government."³

Since a large proportion of her fish exports were sent to Northern Spain Norway probably enjoyed lower shipping costs than Newfoundland. In Newfoundland it was the accepted practice to send medium sized cargoes (2,500-4,000 quintals) to European ports and then have local agents redirect the shipments to the markets with the best prices. This system worked very well with sailing ships when all cargoes were of a limited size, time was not such an important factor and market gluts were rare. However, it probably worked to

¹Ibid.

²Report of Trade Commissioners, p. 28.

³Newfoundland Journal, 1882, Appendix, p. 617, A letter from Mr. Patrick Hogan on the Fisheries of Newfoundland, February 27, 1882.

Newfoundland's disadvantage to some extent since customers could not always depend on the Island for their fish. In any case the introduction of steam vessels made it possible for Norway to lower costs because the volume of fish going to specific ports was very large. In Newfoundland's case, however, her trade was based on small shipments to many ports and the big steamer cargoes (10,000-15,000 quintals) caused market gluts and were generally inconvenient. At the same time there is an indication that the quality of Newfoundland fish declined as the exporters competed with each other to send the first cargoes to market. The use of the steamer was to Norway's advantage and probably contributed to the expansion of the Norway fishery during the 1870's.

(It is obvious that Norway became a very serious competitor of Newfoundland in the European fish trade during the nineteenth century. In some cases the consumption of Newfoundland fish ceased altogether (as in Bilbao) while in other cases the Newfoundland trade stagnated (as in Portugal) during the 1890's. At the moment it seems that the nature of her fishing industry and the type of fish produced combined with government assistance and lower shipping charges resulted in the development of Norway as Newfoundland's major competitor in the fish trade.)

The increasing competition from other dried cod producers during the nineteenth century adversely affected

Newfoundland's fish trade. It is impossible to demonstrate explicitly to what extent this occurred due to a multiplicity of other factors but Norway was, no doubt, the most serious competitor especially in the Northern Spanish markets. To a lesser extent, but in varying degrees, Norwegian exports to Portugal, French exports to Italy and Spain, Nova Scotian exports to the West Indies, and American and Icelandic fish sales likewise contributed to a decline in Newfoundland's share of the expanding world markets. These developments then led to a decline in Newfoundland's per capita exports¹ and, particularly during the last decades of the century, to a decline in price.) (See Table 54, below).²

TABLE 54

Price of Newfoundland Dried Cod Exports: 1866-1900
(Average annual price per quintal for
each five year period)

Years	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Brazil	British West Indies
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1866-1870	4.20	4.20	4.00	4.50	3.35
1871-1875	4.28	4.26	3.98	4.48	2.54
1876-1880	4.50	4.68	3.40	4.54	3.30
1881-1885	4.04	4.34	3.48	4.24	3.04
1886-1890	4.02	4.26	3.46	4.44	3.08
1891-1895	3.60	4.32	3.26	3.72	3.00
1896-1900	3.37	3.55	3.24	3.53	2.98

¹See Table 30, Appendix I.

²See Table 46, Appendix I.

Although the increase in foreign competition hastened the decline in Newfoundland's share of the world fish markets another influence in that direction was provided by developments within the market countries themselves. There were many developments within each market which could affect dried cod imports but generally the system of tariff regulations was the most important. If the duty was universally low it kept down the consumer price and increased profits for all producers. If, on the other hand, the duty was universally high the profit margin was very low as the producers tried to keep the fish within the consumers' purchasing power. This could be harmful to all producers and in cases of this nature it was the country which had the lowest cost of production and/or highest government assistance which had the advantage. Another tariff arrangement was the preferential duty which resulted from a bilateral agreement between a producing country and a market. This arrangement gave the producer involved an advantage over the others. A variation of this was the discriminatory duty which was placed on one (or more) country's produce to put her (or them) at a disadvantage. It was unfortunate, for Newfoundland, that, generally speaking, she lost more than she gained from these arrangements. Besides the tariff regulations there were other factors, both intentional and unintentional, that influenced the dried fish trade. These include clearance charges, quarantine laws, shipping regulations, wars,

revolutions, depressions, droughts, and other political, social, or economic upheavals. It would require a very detailed study to examine fully all the individual factors which determined the quantity and kind of fish imported by the markets in any one year so the writer will only mention those developments which had direct and unmistakeable results. All these factors could be examined in various ways but probably the most convenient way is to study each market individually and show as clearly as possible to what extent developments there adversely affected the Newfoundland fish trade.

The British West Indies and Italy were the least important of Newfoundland's major markets during the nineteenth century and this relative unimportance is also reflected in the lack of information on developments within these markets which may have affected their imports from Newfoundland. The nature of the British West India markets with their demand for very inexpensive fish made it difficult for profits to be earned in this trade since Nova Scotia and the United States were strong competitors in this area. This market declined somewhat in importance during the second half of the century probably because of the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1846.¹ However, a small increase in

¹Compare Tables 14 and 31, Appendix I.

exports to the Foreign West Indies, as discussed earlier, plus the development of a new market in Nova Scotia for a small quantity of Newfoundland fish,¹ no doubt, offset this decline. The Newfoundland-Italian fish trade was also of a comparatively minor nature (bearing in mind its importance to the Labrador cod and salmon fisheries) and there does not seem to have been much Italian interference regarding imports of Newfoundland cod. In 1816 the duty at Naples was fixed at 9s.8d. per quintal² and while this was fairly high it did not cause much alarm since Italy purchased very little fish. It is not known at the moment what changes, if any, were made in this 1816 tariff but since the cod exporters remained silent on the subject, except for the occasional perfunctory complaint, it probably stayed much the same throughout the century. However, it was reported in 1898 that taxation was very high in Italy and the people very poor

¹Exports of Newfoundland dried cod to Nova Scotia (later Canada) were fairly significant during the second half of the century and it seems very likely that this fish, its quality (as indicated by the price) being similar to that sent to the West Indies, was re-exported to the West Indies by Nova Scotia which would mean that the West Indian markets were somewhat more important to Newfoundland than they appear at first glance. See Table 50, Appendix I.

²British Sessional Papers, p. 469.

and that these were the reasons why the bounty supported French fish could be sold more easily than the Newfoundland.¹ This could explain the growth in the French fish trade in Naples, Leghorn, and Genoa during the latter years of the century.² While there was little governmental interference in the British West Indies and Italy which determined the amount of cod purchased from Newfoundland the very nature of the demands of these markets placed Newfoundland at a disadvantage and prevented the Island from deriving any benefit from the increase in consumption that occurred in these two areas.

The Brazilian Government also interfered very little with the importation of Newfoundland dried cod during the century although there were other problems. The agreement between Britain and Brazil in 1808 established the duty on British goods entering Brazil at a very reasonable 15%.³ This was revised upward in 1844⁴ but within a short while the duty on cod was reduced considerably so that by 1881, with the exception of a period of increased duties for

¹Report of the Trade Commissioners, p. 16.

²See Table 40 and 49, Appendix I.

³Joao Pandia Calogeras, A History of Brazil, trans. and ed. by Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 145.

⁴Ibid.

revenue purposes during the Paraguayan War (1865-1870),¹ it had declined to 3s.3d. per quintal.² This would help explain the large quantity of Newfoundland fish imported by Brazil during this period.³ However, after the establishment of a Republic in 1889⁴ the economy of Brazil deteriorated⁵ and duties on fish were increased to about 7s.7d. per drum⁶ (128 lbs.). However, while Brazilian tariffs were generally favorable to the fish trade political, social, and economic upheavals caused severe depressions on two major occasions. A financial crisis in 1864⁷ followed by the Paraguayan War (1865-1870) placed a severe strain on the economy⁸ and were no doubt at least partially responsible for the decline in the importation of Newfoundland fish.

¹Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1866-1875, Vol. 5, Annual Report, August 4, 1869.

²C.O. 194:201, pp. 404-407, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to Earl Kimberley, November 19, 1881.

³See Table 31, Appendix I.

⁴Calogeras, Brazil, pp. 270-77.

⁵Ibid., p. 279.

⁶C.O. 194:210, pp. 158-60, Extract of a Minute of the Executive Council to the Governor, August 29, 1887; and Job Family Papers.

⁷Clarence Henry Haring, Empire in Brazil (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 69.

⁸Calogeras, Brazil, p. 200.

(See Table 55, below)¹ There was another series of disturb-

TABLE 55

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1861-1869
(Quintals)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1861	232,219	1864	154,518	1867	171,456
1862	203,400	1865	178,362	1868	98,426
1863	163,528	1866	149,749	1869	201,212

ances in the 1880's and early 1890's which included the complete emancipation of the slaves in 1888;² the forced abdication of Emperor Dom Pedro in favor of a Republic in 1889;³ followed by a financial crisis as the milreis declined in value from 27 pence (English Sterling) in 1889 to 12 pence in 1891;⁴ and a violent revolution in 1892-1894.⁵ These developments were very likely responsible for the decline in the importation of Newfoundland fish which occurred at this time. (See Table 56, below)⁶ (It is therefore

¹See Table 31, Appendix I.

²Calogeras, Brazil, pp. 256-58

³Ibid., pp. 270-77

⁴Ibid., p. 281.

⁵Ibid., pp. 290-95

⁶See Table 31, Appendix I.

TABLE 56

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Brazil: 1880-1900
(Quintals)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1880	395,044	1887	315,150	1894	356,929
1881	471,244	1888	276,058	1895	342,692
1882	312,078	1889	262,501	1896	338,193
1883	295,094	1890	218,833	1897	321,910
1884	375,089	1891	250,663	1898	402,724
1885	259,818	1892	255,347	1899	464,531
1886	294,267	1893	352,160	1900	458,240

apparent that political, social, and economic upheavals in Brazil were much more instrumental in curtailing the importation of Newfoundland fish than any Government regulations.

(Newfoundland exports of dried cod to Portugal were hampered by several Portuguese developments during the century. There was a decline in the Portuguese economy early in the century which encouraged an increase in tariffs for revenue purposes and furthermore encouraged the development of a local fishery.) There were also some minor irritations which were often disruptive.

Although the imports of gold and diamonds into Portugal from Brazil declined after 1760¹ Brazil continued to play an important role in Portuguese commerce. All

¹Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415-1825, p. 181.

Brazilian trade was handled by Lisbon and Portugal had a non competitive market for her industrial products and a source of cheap raw materials.¹ The opening of Brazilian ports to English commerce in 1808 was a major setback to Portuguese trade and Brazil's declaration of independence in 1822 ended Portugal's chances of regaining her colony. While Portugal's ability to purchase dried cod abroad continued her major source of revenue was removed.

(Portugal's tariff regulations played an important part in the Newfoundland fish trade throughout the century not because they discriminated against Newfoundland (although this eventually became the case) but because they removed the advantages upon which the Island had come to depend.) In 1810 a commercial treaty between Portugal and Britain granted British goods preferential treatment in Portuguese markets at an ad valorem duty of 15%.² This was probably one of the main reasons why the exports of Newfoundland dried fish to Portugal increased to about 350,000 quintals annually by 1833.³ During the following year there was a reduction in

¹Ibid., p. 202.

²Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1834-1841, Vol. 1, A letter to George Richard Robinson, M.P., London, November 20, 1834.

³C.O. 194:88, pp. 16-17, Governor's Observations on the Fishery for 1833.

the duties paid by other countries¹ so that Newfoundland no longer enjoyed any advantage. At the same time a group of Lisbon business men formed a fishing company and requested greater tariff protection from the Government.² In 1835, after the expiration of the treaty with Britain, Portugal increased the duties on dried cod imports from an average of 2s.10d. per quintal (15% ad valorem) to a flat rate of 3s.6d.³ This increase was followed by another in 1838 when the duty became 7s. per quintal.⁴ By the late 1850's exports of dried cod from Newfoundland to Portugal had declined considerably and averaged only 168,322 quintals annually during 1857-1860.⁵ The rate of duties established in 1838 remained very much the same throughout the century⁶ (as far as the writer can ascertain) but beginning in 1896 Norway fish was

¹C.O. 194:89, p. 468, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, June 25, 1834.

²Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1834-1841, Vol. 1, Annual Report, August 10, 1836.

³Ibid., A letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, August 25, 1837.

⁴Ibid.

⁵See Table 31, Appendix I.

⁶Report of the Trade Commissioners, p. 17.

given preferential treatment with a reduction of 10d. per quintal.¹ This probably encouraged the importation of Norway fish but occurring when it did it had no real bearing on developments. Portugal's tariff policy during the nineteenth century can be divided into three periods: 1810-1833; 1833-1896; and 1896-1900 and into the twentieth century. During the first period Newfoundland fish received preferential treatment and by the 1830's Portugal was "... regarded as the main stay of their [the Newfoundland exporters'] fishery."² Throughout the second period all dried cod imports into Portugal paid the same rate of duty which increased several times during these years. Newfoundland fish exports to Portugal declined after the 1830's and Portugal never regained its position as Newfoundland's major market (except during the 1880's) although she continued to purchase a fair quantity of fish from the Island. During the final years of the second period and, of course, during the third period when Norway fish was given preferential treatment over Newfoundland, Norway captured a large portion

¹C.O. 194:236, pp. 140-41, A letter from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, October 6, 1896; and C.O. 194:239, p. 342, A letter from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, September 2, 1897.

²C.O. 194:89, p. 468, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, July 25, 1834.

of Portugal's market.

The Newfoundland fish trade in Portugal received some competition from Portugal's own fisheries after the 1830's but only to a very limited extent. In the early 1830's, as has been mentioned, a fishing company was formed at Lisbon and given some tariff protection. Not much is known about this National Fishing Company of Portugal but in 1852 some consideration was given to allowing the Company to dry their catch in Newfoundland in return for a lower duty on Newfoundland fish.¹ This idea was never acted upon and the Company dropped out of the picture shortly afterwards. However, in 1884 Government encouragement and assistance was given to the development of a Portuguese banking fleet in Lisbon.² The fish caught by this fleet was charged only a nominal duty³ and could be sold at a profit at 1s.6d. per quintal less than the Newfoundland fish.⁴ However, the fish had to be kept in salt bulk for a fairly long time and was only dried as required.⁵ This, apparently, meant that the fish had to be sold before the weather became

¹C.O. 194:136, pp. 363-66, A letter from Governor Lemarchant to John L. Pakington, London, July 12, 1852.

²Report of the Trade Commissioners, pp. 17-18.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 18.

⁵Ibid.

too hot and consequently it did not compete with the Newfoundland product during the warmest months.¹ Nevertheless, by the end of the century the quantity of fish being sold in Lisbon by these bankers amounted to about one-third of that being sold by Newfoundland² and therefore it provided some competition although it must be remembered that most Newfoundland fish exported to Portugal was handled in Oporto and not Lisbon. (See Tables 48 and 49.) X

There were other developments in Portugal which disrupted the Newfoundland fish trade but these were usually of a minor nature and had a limited duration. The War of the Two Brothers (1832-1834) disrupted Portuguese trade since the coastal area was the one most directly involved in the fighting.³ A cholera outbreak in the European ports about this time also proved to be a hinderance to commerce.⁴ Even the appointment of a Portuguese Vice-Consul in St. John's and the establishment of clearance charges of £2.14.0

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 17.

³For instance, in 1834 the port of Oporto was blockaded by some of the revolutionary forces.

⁴C.O. 194:88, p. 352, Explanatory Observations Relating to the Quarantine Act, March 21, 1834.

per vessel with cargo and £1.1.0 per vessel in ballast¹ irritated the Newfoundland exporters.² In the early 1890's there were a series of political disturbances in Portugal³ and in 1892 imports of Newfoundland fish dropped below 200,000 quintals annually for the first time in twelve years.⁴ Similarly during the last several years of the century political instability in Portugal, combined with Norwegian competition, again disrupted the Newfoundland-Portuguese fish trade.⁵ Unlike Brazil, however, internal upheavals in Portugal were not that important to the Newfoundland fish trade.

(Although many developments of a relatively minor nature occurred in Portugal and affected the Newfoundland fish trade to a greater or lesser extent the major difficulty emanating from that market involved tariff regulations.)
Regardless of whether Newfoundland had any right to expect

¹C.O. 194:133, pp. 283-86, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to Earl Grey, October 7, 1850.

²Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1846-1851, Vol. 2, Annual Report, August 4, 1851.

³Newman, Book 69, pp. 208-10, August 4, 1891; and Book 70, pp. 2-3, June, 1894.

⁴See Table 31, Appendix I.

⁵Newman, Book 70, pp. 267-69, May 31, 1898. "Riots in Portugal and the possibility of a revolution...."

preferential treatment in Portugal the cessation of this policy was a severe blow to the Island's fish trade. The increase in duties which took place during the remainder of the century reduced the profit margin and by the last decades Norway's cheaper fish was taking over much of this market.

During the nineteenth century Spain increased her total imports of dried cod and Newfoundland not only failed to retain a fair share of this market but her actual exports to Spain declined. Among the numerous developments in Spain which encouraged this movement away from Newfoundland fish in favor of Norway and French fish the most important, by far, was the Spanish system of tariff regulations. As in the case of Portugal most of the other developments were of a relatively minor nature and can be described as irritations rather than major causes.

After the Napoleonic Wars Spain lost most of her colonial empire and although there was a decline in Spanish trade as a consequence she was still able to purchase dried cod imports from the proceeds of her exports as previously mentioned but her revenues declined considerably. In 1789, for example, Spain received 488 million reales de vellon in specie from her colonies of which 348 million were used to help buy foreign imports valued at 520 million reales de vellon.¹ By 1829 the richer colonies had all become inde-

¹Vicens Vives, Spain, p. 694.

pendent and the specie shipments had ceased. In that year foreign imports were valued at 380 reales de vellon and there was a large trade deficit.¹ At the same time "the Spanish economy was unable to furnish the government with the financial aid it required as a result of the collapse of the American empire."² This loss of Government revenue from the colonies was one of the major reasons why duties were increased during the early part of the century for it is significant that in the 1820-1825 period when the protectionist fever was at its height (In 1822 duties on dried cod reached their highest level.) Spain lost her cocoa interests in Venezuela and Columbia, and her mines in Mexico and Peru.³ However, Spanish commerce began to recover in the 1850's and while the first half of the century (1814-1854) was noted for its contraction in foreign trade the second half was noted for expansion.⁴ (See Table 57, below)⁵ Although there were periods of stagnation during the latter 1860's, the latter 1870's, and in the 1890's there was a considerable

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 720.

³Ibid., p. 612.

⁴Ibid., p. 693.

⁵Ibid., pp. 694-96. In 1808 one peseta was the equivalent of eight reales de vellon or four reales. Ibid., p. 585.

TABLE 57

Total Spanish Foreign Trade: 1850-1884
(Millions of Pesetas, Average per Year)

Years	Pesetas	Years	Pesetas
1850-1855	352	1870-1874	1,025
1856-1859	606	1875-1879	1,045
1860-1864	759	1880-1884	1,445
1865-1869	724		

growth in Spanish foreign trade during the second half of the century.¹ Information concerning the total imports of dried cod into Spain is incomplete but it has been shown that Northern Spain, at least, increased its imports of fish considerably during the century. Similarly the total value of dried cod imports increased from 37,360,000 reales to 59,850,000 reales between 1851 and 1857.² (Many of the problems which became identified with the Newfoundland - Spanish fish trade owe their origin to the early nineteenth century loss in Spain's revenue resulting from her colonial difficulties.

Spain's tariff regulations were certainly a major factor in the decline of the Newfoundland-Spanish fish trade.) Vicens Vives divides Spanish tariff policy during 1814-1900

¹Ibid., pp. 694-97.

²Ibid., p. 698.

into four stages.¹ He claims that Spain was very protectionist between 1814 and 1841, moderately so between 1841 and 1869, inclined towards free trade during 1869-1891, and protectionist after 1891. Apparently the failure of protectionist policies to bring about economic growth in the early part of the century led eventually to the later free trade policies. However, protectionism among other countries in the 1870's produced a reaction in Spain and protectionist ideas became increasingly popular until the new tariff schedule of 1891 repudiated the previous free trade policies.²

During the period immediately following the 1815 peace treaty Spanish duties on dried cod rose drastically and practically wiped out the importation of Newfoundland fish. The duty increased from 3s.8d. per quintal in 1808³ to 14s. per quintal in 1822.⁴ At the same time the price of dried cod declined from between 9s. and 14s.6d. per quintal to between 6s. and 10s.6d. per quintal.⁵ This meant that the

¹Ibid., pp. 705-12.

²Ibid., pp. 711-12.

³British Sessional Papers, p. 469.

⁴C.O. 194:94, 131-32, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, January 26, 1836; and C.O. 194:87, p. 273, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, June, 1834.

⁵See Table 15, Appendix I.

cheaper Norway fish had an advantage particularly in Northern Spain where it quickly displaced the Newfoundland product. Between 1813 and 1833 exports of Newfoundland fish to Spain declined from about 400,000 quintals to about 100,000 quintals annually and it was felt at the time that this was chiefly due to the stringent tariff regulations.¹

The Carlist War (1833-1839) caused many disruptions in Spanish Commerce but it did help to bring about a more moderate tariff schedule in 1841.² This new schedule reduced the duties on dried cod but introduced a flag differential to encourage Spanish shipping. The new duties were set at 6s.3d. per quintal on fish imported in Spanish ships and 8s.4d. per quintal on fish imported in other ships.³ By the late 1850's exports of Newfoundland dried cod had more than doubled partly as a result of the lower duties but also because of the growth in the Spanish economy which received its first impetus from the Crimean War.⁴

Although the lower duties, no doubt, stimulated cod imports from Newfoundland the introduction of a flag differ-

¹Harris, "Newfoundland", p. 94.

²Vicens Vives, Spain, pp. 706-707.

³C.O. 194:133, pp. 348-50, A letter from the Foreign Office to Herman Merivals, January 10, 1850.

⁴Ibid., p. 694. See Table 56.

ential was detrimental to the Island's shipping.¹ Spanish shipping increased and in 1851 it was reported that "... whilst during the past season 69 Spanish vessels of 8496 tons have taken cargoes to Spain [from St. John's] not a single British vessel has cleared for that Country from this Port."² Spain continued to supply most of its own shipping in the Newfoundland dried cod trade³ until the increased use of steam by Britain⁴ and the growing free trade climate brought an end to the differential flag duty in 1868.⁵ Spanish shipping engaged in Newfoundland trade declined considerably during the 1860's and 1870's until Spain was handling only about 20% of this commerce by 1875.⁶ However, the remaining Spanish fleet continued to irritate the Newfoundland shippers.⁷ Spanish shipping, in general, increased

¹Prowse, Newfoundland, pp. 452-54.

²C.O. 194:134, pp. 6-7, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, January 6, 1851.

³See Table 47, Appendix I.

⁴Vicens Vives, Spain, p. 689.

⁵Ibid., p. 709.

⁶See Table 47, Appendix I.

⁷John and William Boyd Letter Book 1875-1878, A letter to James Mc Lea, Greenock, August 11, 1875. The Boyds were independent agents and owned two vessels which they chartered to exporters. In the letter they complained that their vessels would find no employment that year since there were 18 Spanish vessels in St. John's waiting for cargoes.

again after 1875¹ but it did not continue to compete in the Newfoundland fish trade.

With very few exceptions Newfoundland continued to enjoy a fairly brisk trade with Spain until the mid 1870's stimulated somewhat by the overthrow of the monarchy in 1868 and the establishment of a government committed to the ideas of free trade.² (See Table 58, below)³ Tariffs were

TABLE 58

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod to Spain: 1857-1900
(Average Number of Quintals per Year)

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1857-1860	216,465	1881-1885	138,281
1861-1865	272,610	1886-1890	136,430
1866-1870	177,292	1891-1895	64,029
1871-1875	231,048	1896-1900	40,325
1876-1880	123,517		

reduced⁴ and the imports of Newfoundland fish recovered from a decline in the late 1860's. Plans were made for a more extensive reduction in duties but before this could

¹Vicens Vives, Spain, pp. 690-691.

²Ibid., p. 614.

³See Table 31, Appendix I.

⁴Vicens Vives, Spain, p. 710; and Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1866-1875, Vol. 5, A letter to the Chamber from the Spanish Consulate, November 25, 1868.

take place the Bourbons were restored to the throne in 1875¹ and free trade began to lose its popularity. Two years later a new differential tariff policy was drawn up² and in 1882 the duty on dried cod from Norway and France was reduced 2s.6d. per quintal less than that paid by Newfoundland.³ The increased duties plus the discriminatory tariff system doubtlessly contributed to the severe decline in the Newfoundland-Spanish fish trade during the last decades of the century.)

Besides the major problems concerning Spain's foreign trade and her tariff regulations there were other developments of a relatively minor nature which also affected the Newfoundland-Spanish fish trade but only for a short while or in a small way. For instance, in 1808 Spain placed an additional duty on all fish imported into Spain from another Iberian or Mediterranean port.⁴ Since it was the practice

¹Vicens Vives, Spain, p. 710.

²Ibid., p. 711.

³C.O. 194:204, pp. 96-97, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to Earl Kimberly, September 9, 1882; and Ibid., pp. 62-64, A letter from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, August 4, 1882; and Chamber of Commerce Annual Reports 1849-1884, Annual Report for 1884.

⁴William Cox and Company Letter Book, A letter from J.B. Highmore, Agent at Fogo, to Charles Edmonds, Agent at Twillingate, October 23, 1858.

for agents in the markets to forward cargoes from one European port to another as demand and price fluctuated it became necessary for most ships leaving Newfoundland to take out Spanish clearance papers in St. John's. In 1858 this amounted to very little since only a Bill of Health costing 10s. was needed.¹ However, by 1864 other charges had been added so that in addition to the 10s. each ship clearing for Spain was required to pay 8s.4d. for a register and 2s.3½d. per one hundred quintals of fish.² A vessel with load of 4,000 quintals was, therefore, forced to pay £5.10.0 in clearance charges while those bound for Portugal and America paid 7s.6d. and \$4.00 respectively.³ By 1874 these Spanish charges had been further increased to an average cost of \$39.00 per vessel.⁴ Since few shippers could be sure that it would not be necessary to forward their cargoes to Spain it was essential that most ships carry Spanish papers in

¹C.O. 194:133, pp. 283-86, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to Governor Le Marchant, October 7, 1850.

²C.O. 194:173, pp. 35-37, A letter from the Chamber of Commerce to Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, October 13, 1864.

³Ibid.

⁴Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1866-1875, Vol. 5, A letter to the Chamber from the Spanish Consulate, November 25, 1868; and Ibid., A letter from the Chamber to Sir Stephen J. Hill, August 26, 1874. See also Newman, Book 66, p. 147.

order to avoid the extra duty. Wars and plagues were other developments that added to the problems of the Newfoundland exporters. During the Carlist War (1833-1839), for example, not only was trade disrupted but Norway was forced to re-direct her Spanish fish to the Portuguese markets where it competed quite successfully with the Newfoundland produce.¹ Similarly an outbreak of yellow fever in Spain in 1867² was very disadvantageous to Newfoundland's trade. The Spanish Government immediately ordered all British vessels arriving from Newfoundland or Labrador to be quarantined in port for five days before unloading.³ In 1868 the quarantine was reduced to three days⁴ but the losses from spoilage and demurrage plus the advantages of Newfoundland's competitors who were unaffected by the quarantine were partly responsible, at least, for the decline in Spain's imports of Newfoundland dried cod. (See Table 59, below)⁵ Nevertheless, while high clearance charges and internal disturbances were a nuisance

¹Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1834-1841, Vol. 1, Annual Report, August 10, 1836.

²A letter from J. Randell, Job Brothers, St. John's to Robert Tilly, Bird Island Cove, Trinity Bay, September 29, 1870. Tilly Family Papers.

³Chamber of Commerce Minute Book 1866-1875, Vol. 5, Annual Report, August 8, 1867.

⁴C.O. 194:177, pp. 304-5, A Memo from the British Foreign Office to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, September 19, 1868.

⁵See Table 31, Appendix I.

TABLE 59

Exports of Newfoundland Dried Cod
to Spain: 1860-1869

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1860	259,406	1865	173,714
1861	262,092	1866	182,940
1862	274,737	1867	171,543
1863	309,740	1868	150,128
1864	242,768	1869	170,628

they were not of any overall great importance throughout the century.

Newfoundland's exports of dried cod to Spain were adversely affected by Spain's faltering Government revenues which brought about high tariffs during the nineteenth century. Later, discriminatory tariffs caused additional problems. This made it possible for Norway fish to compete successfully with Newfoundland fish especially in the Northern Spanish markets where the Norway product had an advantage.

Looking briefly at these most important dried cod markets several conclusions can be drawn. (In Portugal and Spain a loss of colonial revenues resulted in changes in tariff regulations and made it more difficult for Newfoundland to sell a high priced product. In addition the very nature of her cod fishery rendered impossible any successful

competition with Norway in the sale of a damper fish) However, as it has been pointed out developments in these markets differed greatly. High Spanish tariffs nearly wiped out the imports of Newfoundland fish early in the century and differential duties in 1877-1882 which discriminated against Newfoundland destroyed the mid century recovery that had taken place. In Portugal the situation was somewhat different in that the removal in 1833 of the preferential treatment that had been granted Newfoundland fish in 1810 caused a decline in the Portuguese-Newfoundland fish trade. The situation in Brazil was quite unlike that in Spain and Portugal. (The only serious problems originating in this market concerned internal disturbances rather than Government tariffs and in any case the growth of this market more than compensated for any problems there) Most markets by the very nature of their trade (cheap fish to the West Indies, small cargoes to Spain and Portugal) caused problems for the Newfoundland exporters and consequently exports to all markets fluctuated. (However, all things considered, Spain's tariff regulations was probably the most important market problem of the century with Portugal's tariff changes being also quite serious.)

In general Newfoundland's position as a major dried cod exporter was adversely affected by external factors during the nineteenth century. Other producers, notably

Norway, increased their production of cod and moved into markets that had always belonged to Newfoundland. The demand for the Island's hard dried, light salted fish expanded only in Brazil while most of Europe became more and more inclined to buy the Norwegian product¹ which by the nature of her fishery Norway was able to produce in large quantities. (This increase in world production combined with developments in the markets which were for the most part detrimental to Newfoundland resulted in a decrease in her share of the world markets and a decline in her per capita exports of dried cod.)

¹See Table 44, Appendix I for an indication of the decline in exports to Europe from three Newfoundland firms.

CONCLUSION

During the nineteenth century Newfoundland's population increased five-fold due mainly to natural growth. The dried cod industry provided the major economic base throughout this period but production and consequently exports did not increase sufficiently to meet the growing needs of the population. At the same time the world demand for dried cod was rapidly expanding although Newfoundland could not retain her share of these markets. A combination of internal and, more important, external factors were responsible for the decline in Newfoundland's per capita exports and in her share of the markets. The nature of her cod fishery and the deterioration of her product combined with increasing foreign competition and difficulties within the markets resulted in the general decay of the Newfoundland fish trade.

The effects of this general decay of the Newfoundland cod fishery, due to internal and external conditions during the century, manifested themselves in the decline in population growth, the increase in public debt, and the retrenching of commerce which was all the more serious in 1894 since it had been artificially postponed during the 1880's and

early 1890's.

[The Newfoundland population increased at a fairly steady rate after the Napoleonic Wars but by the latter part of the century this rate of increase had declined considerably. (See Table 60, below).¹ There were two reasons

TABLE 60

Average Percentage of Newfoundland's Population
Growth per Year

Year	%	Year	%
1836-1857	2.4	1874-1884	2.0
1857-1869	1.4	1884-1891	0.3
1869-1874	2.0	1891-1901	0.9

for this decline: the decrease in immigration, and the increase in emigration--the latter being by far the more important. [The failure of the cod fishery to expand and the lack of diversification in the economy resulted in a decline in employment opportunities which no doubt explains the decline in population growth.] Governor Bannerman pointed out that the decline in the number of immigrants from an average of 545 annually during the seven year period ending

¹Computed from the statistics in Table 1, Appendix I.

in 1847 to only 197 annually during the nine year period ending in 1856 was the direct result of this.¹ When in 1857 a prosperous fishery increased the demand for labour and the [merchants tried to have the British Passenger Act relaxed to stimulate immigration² the Emigration Office refused to comply and they maintained that immigration into Newfoundland had declined because of the shortage of employment not because of the Act.³ However, as Table 60 (above) indicates the Newfoundland population was increasing at an average rate of 2.4 % annually during this period and it was the out migration of people later in the century which was the more significant.] There is very little evidence, other than the percentages in Table 60, to show what happened during the latter decades of the century. Captain Brown, speaking of Harbour Grace in 1871, reported that, "The Roman Catholics emigrate in large numbers to the States from this port."⁴ No doubt most Newfoundlanders who

¹C.O. 194:154, pp. 46-52, A letter from the Emigration Office, London to Herman Merivale, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, January 6, 1858.

²C.O. 194:151, pp. 87-89, A letter from Governor Bannerman to Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 8, 1857.

³See footnote 1 above.

⁴Newfoundland Journal, 1872, Appendix, p. 645. The Report of Captain Brown of the H.M.S. Niobe to the Governor of Newfoundland for 1871.

emigrated went to New York and the New England States where many found employment as fishermen or sailors. Even Raymond McFarland, in his first fishing voyage on a mackerel schooner in the 1890's described the seventeen man crew, which, was an average one, as having two Newfoundlanders.¹ [The major part of the emigration from Newfoundland during the last part of the century came from the districts of Port de Grave, Harbour Grace and Carbonear where the population declined between 1884 and 1901.²] However, as previously stated, it is difficult to ascertain how many people emigrated from Newfoundland during this period since no statistics on this subject were recorded in the Island or in the American statistical records accessible to the writer: Newfoundland immigrants were recorded with the British North Americans or (later) Canadians. [The most that one can say is that considerable emigration from Newfoundland occurred, particularly from the north side of Conception Bay,³ due to the lack of employment in the Island which was mainly the result

¹Raymond McFarland, The Masts of Gloucester: Recollections of a Fisherman (New York: J.D. Norton and Company, 1934), p. 47.

²See Table 4, Chapter I.

³Rare indeed is the Conception Bay family of today that does not have relatives in the New England - New York area whose ancestors came from Newfoundland after 1870.

of problems in the dried cod industry.¹

While the impact of fishery developments on population growth resulted in an increase in emigration the impact on the Government led to an increase in expenditure and eventually a fairly substantial debt.² In the first place the decline in the (per capita) exports of dried cod resulted in a decline in the value of total exports (per capita) and this was followed by a decline in the value of total imports (per capita).³ At the same time the Government became responsible for larger and larger welfare payments⁴ which in turn led to increased Government expenditure.⁵ Since it was necessary to increase the revenue to meet the additional expenditures and since the custom duties were the main source of revenue and imports were not increasing very quickly (They were actually declining in per

¹The writer is also aware that the decline of the seal industry was also a factor here.

²The actions of the Newfoundland Government in trying to alleviate the problems of the fishery and consequently their own financial problems have already been discussed.

³See Table 52, Appendix I. The writer did not think it necessary to compile a table of per capita imports and exports since it has already been shown that dried cod made up the major part of exports and a table of the per capita exports of this product has already been used. See Table 30, Appendix I.

⁴See Table 53, Appendix I.

⁵See Table 54, Appendix I.

capita value as previously mentioned.) the only solution was an increase in tariff rates which continued throughout the century (See Table 61, below)¹ and no doubt increased

TABLE 61

Value of Imports and Customs Revenue
(Annual Average)

Year	Imports	Customs Revenue	Customs Revenue as a Percentage ^a of Imports
	£	£	%
1836-1841	713,373:16:0	35,582:18:0	5
1857-1861	1,263,313: 8:0	97,924: 6:5	8
	\$	\$	
1870-1874	6,706,487.20	794,181.35	12
1875-1879	7,151,527.60	840,673.76	12
1880-1884	7,877,487.80	1,000,033.36	13
1885-1889	6,428,681.60	1,077,552.46	17
1890-1894	6,597,704.80	1,535,496.99	23

^aTo the nearest whole number.

the cost of production in the dried cod trade. [At the same time the value of goods imported did not remain at the same level as the value of goods exported.] Table 52, Appendix I illustrates the trend throughout the century in this regard. Prior to about 1850 there was, for the most part, a very favourable trade balance on current account with the value of

¹Blue Books, 1836-1841; and Newfoundland Journals, 1857-1895, Appendices.

goods exported exceeding the value of goods imported by fairly considerable amounts. [During the 1850's and 1860's, however, this picture changed and the value of goods imported was approximately equal to the value of goods exported. By the mid 1870's the original situation had been completely reversed and the Island experienced an unfavourable trade balance on current account during 1875-1894 (inclusive) with the exception of three years--1881, 1891, and 1892. Commensurate with the reversal in this trade balance the increasing customs duties (and other revenues) failed to meet Government expenditures and consequently the public debt increased rapidly after 1880.] (See Table 62, below.)¹ However,

TABLE 62

Newfoundland's Public Debt: 1875-1898

Year	\$	Year	\$
1875	1,258,710.43	1887	3,105,071.32
1876	1,319,390.22	1888	3,335,589.30
1877	1,320,652.64	1889	4,144,292.43
1878	1,347,692.74	1890	4,138,627.49
1879	1,451,290.44	1891	5,223,363.71
1880	1,450,990.44	1892	6,439,367.41
1881	1,350,500.29	1893	8,255,546.56
1882	1,498,777.32	1894	9,116,534.73
1883	1,549,313.12	1895	.....
1884	2,149,153.12	1896	14,427,985.39
1885	2,150,131.12	1897	17,221,855.38
1886	2,391,650.72	1898	16,993,422.06

¹ Newfoundland Journals, 1876-1899, Appendices.

this was probably to be expected and does not, of itself, seem to have been considered too serious. In fact a contemporary report stated that Canada with a public debt of \$60 per capita and New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia and Victoria with public debts of between \$200 and \$500 per capita were all in a more difficult financial position.¹ [However, since it is difficult to separate public confidence in governments from public confidence in the commercial life of a country the Newfoundland Government's credit rating and hence its financial condition deteriorated during the business crisis of 1894.]

[The difficulties in the fish trade (and of course the decline of the seal fishery) resulted in a retrenching by merchants, particularly the large exporting firms and not all were able to survive. [By the 1880's with the exception of John Munn and Company, Harbour Grace, and Newman and Company on the south coast the fish trade was under the controls of the St. John's businesses.] Despite the increasing difficulties of the 1880's and early 1890's these major St. John's firms were able to avoid serious retrenching by borrowing heavily

¹ Evening Telegram (St. John's) January 7, 1895.

One must remember that the efforts to find alternatives to the failing cod fishery, particularly the building of the railroad, was the major cause of the increased Government expenditure and consequently the growing public debt.

from the Union and Commercial Banks. Extensive borrowing from the banks was possible because the bank directors were, for the most part, principals or representatives of the largest firms.] Edwin Duder, Goodfellow and Company, A. Goodridge and Sons, Job Brothers and Company, and J. and W. Pitts provided the directors for the Commercial Bank while the directors of the Union Bank consisted of representatives from Thorburn and Tessier, Harvey and Company, Baine Johnston and Company, and W.J.S. Donnelly. [Whereas previously companies were usually forced out of business before their debts became too high the St. John's merchants during this period were able to remain solvent by borrowing.] In addition not only were the banks unwise in their loans but it seems they also tried to make their assets appear larger by including in them such doubtful items as the debit balances of insolvent firms. When the banks were forced to suspend business in 1894 the fish trade in general was forced to retrench quickly with such firms as Edwin Duder, and Thorburn and Tessier having to liquidate and others including Baine Johnston and Company, and Job Brothers and Company having to compromise. Besides the companies which by and large controlled the banks others were indirectly involved and a few of these, of which John Munn and Company was the largest, were also forced to liquidate. When one considers that John Munn and Company, Thorburn and Tessier, and Edwin Duder--three of

the major firms to go bankrupt--together employed 19,000 people (presumably men and women) in the cod fishery, 650 labourers, 100 clerks, and had 1,500 planters dependent on them¹ one can get some idea of the magnitude of the consequences of these insolvencies. Similarly, since most, if not all, of the major firms were forced to retrench the number of fishermen and employees adversely affected must have been considerable.² [Although it had serious consequences the "bank crash" of 1894 can be seen as the too successful postponement of business retrenching so that the over extension of credit to the point reached in 1894 resulted in a business collapse all the more extensive.] However, most of the St. John's companies were able to survive and with the bankruptcy of John Munn and Company the

¹C.O. 194:230, pp. 211-12, A letter from Governor O'Brien to the Marquis of Ripon, January 28, 1895.

²The writer is of the opinion that the disappearance of a large segment of the commercial side of the fish trade created a vacuum which prompted the entry of the Fishermen's Protective Union into the business after 1908. See John Feltham, "The Development of the F.P.U. in Newfoundland: 1908-1923" (Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959). While the writer does not disagree with Mr. Feltham's point that the F.P.U. was formed to fill the need for "reform in the economic, political and social fields" he does feel that its successful expansion into the fish trade was made possible by the contraction of business after 1894. The disappearance of firms during periods of economic depressions and the developments of new firms with the return of prosperity was always a common phenomenon of the Newfoundland dried cod industry.

last of the "independent" outports was finally brought under the control of the St. John's firms.

[Stagnation in the fish trade caused a frantic search by Government and investors for an alternative or at least a supplement to the dried cod industry, and resulted in many attempts to diversify the economy. However, for the most part, these efforts seldom met the expectations of those involved and usually increased the debt of the Colony. The opening of the iron ore mines on Bell Island in 1895 can be taken as the first really successful effort to diversify the economy and since other mines and pulp and paper operations followed very quickly in the early decades of the twentieth century] one can look at 1800-1900 as the century of the "Newfoundland Cod Fishery" unsuccessful though it was in many ways.

APPENDIX I

TABLES

Table	Page
1. Population of Newfoundland: 1803-1901	X209
2. Occupations of the Newfoundland Population: 1857-1901	X210
3. Newfoundland's Exports of Copper: 1856-1901 . .	X214
4. Newfoundland's Exports of Iron Pyrites and Iron Ore: 1887-1901	X215
5. Newfoundland's Exports of Cod Oil and Cod Liver Oil: 1803-1901	X216
6. Newfoundland's Exports of Pickled Salmon: 1803-1901	X218
7. Newfoundland's Exports of Fur and Trout: 1850-1901	X221
8. Newfoundland's Exports of Pickled Herring: 1836-1901	X222
9. Newfoundland's Exports of Frozen Herring: 1880-1901	X224
10. Newfoundland's Exports of Lobsters: 1870-1901 .	X225
11. Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Skins (Quantity): 1803-1900	X226
12. Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Skins (Value): 1836-1900	X228
13. Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Oil: 1807-1900.	X230
14. Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod (Quintals) 1803-1901	X232

15.	Prices of Newfoundland Dried Cod: 1801-1833 . . .	X 234 ✓
16.	Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Products: 1850-1901	235
17.	Newfoundland Sealing Vessels: 1827-1833 . . .	X 236 ✓
18.	Percentage of the Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports consisting of Oil and Seal Skins: 1836-1900	X 237 ✓
19.	Harbour Grace Sealing Fleet: 1867-1900 . . .	239
20.	Newfoundland's Population by Districts: 1789-1845	241
21.	Newfoundland's Population by Districts: 1857-1901	242
22.	Newfoundland's Wages per Year or Season: 1804-1818	243 ✓
23.	Prices of Goods in Newfoundland: 1804-1818 . .	245 ✓
24.	Emigrants to Newfoundland on British Fishing Ships: 1803-1833	246 ✓
25.	Cod Fishing Seasons in Newfoundland and Labrador	248
26.	Newfoundland Vessels on the North Shore and Labrador: 1803-1833	250 ✓
27.	Newfoundland and Labrador Fishing Grounds . . .	252
28.	Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports: 1836-1901	254 ✓
29.	Percentage of the Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports consisting of Dried Cod: 1836-1900 .	255 ✓
30.	Newfoundland's Per Capita Exports of Dried Cod for selected Years between 1803-1901	257 ✓
31.	Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to the Major Markets (Quintals): 1857-1900	258
32.	Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to the Major Markets (Value): 1857-1900	261

33.	Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod (Value): 1836-1901	264
34.	Harbour Grace - Labrador Fishing Fleet: 1866-1900	266
35.	Newfoundland and Labrador Exports of Dried Cod: 1874-1897	268
36.	Average price of Dried Cod Exported from Newfoundland and Labrador: 1850-1901	269
37.	Newfoundland's Exporters and Exports: 1865 . .	271
38.	Job Brothers Fish Collections: 1854-1882 . . .	281
39.	The Shore, Labrador, and Bank Catch: 1890 and 1900	282
40.	Imports of Dried Cod into Naples: 1886-1894 .	283
41.	Norway's Exports of Dried Cod (Quintals): 1815-1865 and 1877-1889	284
42.	Imports of Dried Cod into Bilbao: 1882-1886 .	286
43.	Imports of Dried Cod into Alicante: 1884-1898	287
44.	Some Exports of Dried Cod by Munn, Baine Johnston, and Bowring to Various Markets: 1878-1889	288
45.	Norway's Exports of Dried Cod to the Various Markets (Quintals): 1855, 1856, 1857, and 1865	291
46.	Prices per Quintal received for Newfoundland Dried Cod in the Major Markets: 1856-1900 .	293
47.	Shipping in the Newfoundland-Spanish Fish Trade: 1857-1879	295
48.	Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to the Major Markets: 1803-1833	296
49.	Imports of Dried Cod into Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples: 1897	298

50. Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to
Nova Scotia and Canada (Quintals):
1858-1900 299
51. Newfoundland Vessels on the North Shore and
Labrador: 1812-1833 301 ✓
52. Total Value of Newfoundland Imports and Exports
1835-1901 X303 ✓
53. Newfoundland Government Expenditures for the
Relief of Distress: 1855-1901 ✓305
54. Total Newfoundland Government Revenue and
Expenditure: 1835-1901 ✓309 ✓

TABLE 1

Population of Newfoundland: 1803-1901^a

Year	Number	Year	Number
1803	19,034	1821	47,083
1804	20,380	1822	47,530
1805	21,975	1823	49,503
1806	.....	1824	.....
1807	25,234	1825	55,504
1808	24,625	1826	.....
1809	25,157	1827	53,238
1810	.....	1828	59,101
1811	25,985	1829	59,035
1812	30,772	1830	60,088
1813	32,749	1836	74,993
1814	35,952	1845	96,296
1815	40,568	1857	124,228
1816	41,898	1869	146,536
1817	43,409	1874	161,374
1818	40,854	1884	197,335
1819	40,937	1891	202,040
1820	42,535	1901	220,249

^aStatistics for the 1803-1830 period were taken from the "Collection of C.O.194 Statistics" while all others excepting these for 1845 were taken from the Population of Census Returns for the appropriate years. (See Bibliography). The Statistics for 1845 were taken from Censuses of Canada: 1665-1871 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1876), p. 160.

TABLE 2

Occupations of the Newfoundland
Population: 1857-1901^a

1857

77	Clergymen
71	Doctors, Lawyers
1,697	Farmers
1,973	Mechanics
694	Merchants, Traders
39,805	Engaged in Fisheries
20,887	Seamen and Fishermen
334	Engaged in Lumbering
122,638	Total population of the Island

1869

99	Clergymen
24	Lawyers
42	Doctors
591	Merchants
1,784	Farmers
2,019	Mechanics
37,259	Engaged in Fisheries
20,617	Seamen
391	Timber men
462	Miners
2,353	Miscellaneous
146,536	Total population including Labrador

TABLE 2--Continued

1874

4	Bishops
120	Clergymen
30	Lawyers
41	Doctors
589	Merchants, Traders
1,004	Farmers
2,171	Mechanics and Handicrafts
45,845	Engaged in Fisheries
26,377	Seamen and Fishermen
453	Engaged in Lumbering
29	Miners
3,023	Miscellaneous
161,374	Total population including Labrador

1884

185	Clergymen
173	Teachers
41	Lawyers
59	Doctors
905	Merchants, Traders
1,601	Engaged in Office or Shop Work
1,685	Farmers
3,628	Mechanics
60,419	Engaged in Fisheries
1,507	Engaged in Lumbering
402	Miners
3,330	Miscellaneous
197,335	Total population including Labrador

TABLE 2--Continued1891

183	Clergymen
606	Teachers
43	Lawyers
62	Doctors
771	Merchants, Traders
1,952	Engaged in Office or Shop Work
614	Engaged in Government Service
1,547	Farmers
36,303	Fishermen and others who cultivate land
2,682	Mechanics
54,775	Engaged in Fisheries
625	Engaged in Lumbering
1,258	Miners
1,058	Employed in Factories or Work Shops
8,686	Otherwise employed
202,040	Total population including Labrador

TABLE 2--Continued1901

4	Bishops
239	Clergymen
789	Teachers
55	Lawyers
83	Doctors
1,040	Merchants, Traders
2,353	Engaged in Office or Shop Work
739	Engaged in Government Service
2,475	Farmers
40,438	Fishermen and others who cultivate land
3,111	Mechanics
62,674	Engaged in Fisheries
1,408	Engaged in Lumbering
1,576	Miners
626	Engaged in Factories or Workshops
11,639	Otherwise employed
220,249	Total population including Labrador

^aCensus Reports of Newfoundland and Labrador. (6 Vols.)
1857-1901.

TABLE 3

Newfoundland's Exports of Copper: 1856-1901^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1856	310	1879	511,290
1857	3,480	1880	440,840
1858	4,275	1881	547,020
1859	31,250	1882	468,576
1860	1,565	1883	256,724
1861	295	1884	99,217
1862	1,705	1885	102,420
1863	7,390	1886	247,520
1864	10,650	1887	168,846
1865	8,496	1888	816,386
1866	10,206	1889	356,350
1867	237	1890	226,792
1868	....	1891	565,850
1869	123,192	1892	690,008
1870	167,232	1893	410,795
1871	45,024	1894	236,235
1872	158,560	1895	352,395
1873	194,355	1896	483,814
1874	121,248	1897	410,953
1875	370,666	1898	401,332
1876	614,700	1899	291,874
1877	1,264,044	1900	617,015
1878	788,106	1901	390,779

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1857-1902, Appendices.

Prior to 1887 the exports were in Green Ore and Regulus; after that date Copper Ingots were exported until 1892 when the smelting operations were discontinued and the exported product was for the most part Green Ore and Regulas.

TABLE 4

Newfoundland's Exports of Iron Pyrites and Iron Ore:
1887-1901a

Year	Iron Pyrites Value	Iron Ore Value
	\$	\$
1887	8,200	
1888	37,000	
1889	64,000	
1890	72,315	
1891	57,900	
1892	316,584	
1893	227,334	
1894	285,474	
1895	161,450	
1896	182,480	
1897	155,925	44,110
1898	78,620	56,002
1899	168,210	137,370
1900	107,265	313,940
1901		455,554

^a Newfoundland Journals, 1888-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 5

Newfoundland's Exports of Cod Oil and Cod Liver
Oil--Refined and Unrefined: 1803-1901^a

Year	Tons	Price per ton		
		£		
1803	2029	23	to	27
1804	2529	21	"	23
1805	3703	21	"	22
1806	2040			
1807	3205	16	"	18
1808	2043½			18
1809	2600			25
1810	1306½			
1811	3375			22
1812	3453½	21	"	26
1813	4054½	26	"	32
1814	4126½	20	"	26
1815	4298½	22	"	30
1816	3555½	16	"	18
1817	3371½	17.10		35
1818	2658	22	to	35
1819	3807½	24	"	30
1820	4487½	18	"	24
1821	4276	18	"	24
1822	3631½	14	"	18
1823	4012	14	"	18
1824	3902	14	"	18
1825		14	"	22
1826	4364½	16	"	25
1827	3803½	16	"	20
1828	3590½	16	"	20

TABLE 5--Continued

Year	Value	Year	Value
	£		\$
1853	118,083	1877	404,712
1854		1878	250,264
1855		1879	461,830
1856	178,221	1880	577,350
1857	167,668	1881	516,915
1858	157,072	1882	513,500
1859	141,521	1883	441,725
1860	148,796	1884	519,991
1861	107,710	1885	295,130
1862	120,172	1886	263,398
1863	152,438	1887	223,627
1864	140,137	1888	220,657
	\$	1889	248,605
1865	788,636	1890	247,192
1866	793,000	1891	237,042
1867	584,160	1892	203,793
1868	454,700	1893	216,384
1869	754,025	1894	265,002
1870	618,625	1895	364,758
1871	548,350	1896	345,065
1872	646,060	1897	284,780
1873	636,470	1898	200,184
1874	505,235	1899	271,977
1875	505,257	1900	310,113
1876	391,714	1901	398,339

^aStatistics for 1803-1828 taken from the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" and those for 1853-1900 taken from the Newfoundland Journals, 1854-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 6

Newfoundland's Exports of Pickled Salmon: 1803-1901^a

Year	Number of Tierces	Value per Tierce		
		$\frac{\text{£}}{\text{s}}$		
1803	3709	40 s.	to	50 s.
1804	2610	40 s.	"	70 s.
1805	1916	50 s.	"	65 s.
1806	2040			
1807	3469	40 s.	"	72 s.
1808	3272	63 s.	"	70 s.
1809	4064			
1810	4222	60 s.	"	80 s.
1811	2694			
1812	3831	60 s.	"	70 s.
1813	3761	60 s.	"	95 s.
1814	3425	65 s.	"	80 s.
1815	2752	60 s.	"	85 s.
1816	2499	50 s.	"	75 s.
1817	2194	60 s.	"	84 s.
1818	1194	60 s.	"	90 s.
1819	2087	60 s.	"	75 s.
1820	1808	60 s.	"	95 s.
1821	1916	60 s.	"	75 s.
1822	2650	50 s.	"	75 s.
1823	2257	60 s.	"	84 s.
1824		67 s.	"	75 s.
1825	3122	65 s.	"	84 s.
1826	3204	60 s.	"	75 s.
1827	2889 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 s.	"	70 s.
1828	2330 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 s.	"	70/6s.
1829	2795	60 s.	"	75 s.
1830	4445	50 s.	"	70 s.
1831	3710	60 s.	"	75 s.
1832	3302 $\frac{1}{2}$	57/6s.	"	70 s.
1833	2901	60 s.	"	67/6s.

TABLE 6--Continued

Year	Tierces	Value of Salmon
		£
1834		-
1835		
1836	1847	6,264
1837		
1838	4408	13,310
1839	2922	11,692
1840	3396	12,939
1841	3642	12,302
1842		
1843	4058	12,216
1844	3753½	11,945
1845	3545	12,794
1846	5201 Barrels	10,598
1847	4917 "	9,782
1848	3822 "	6,597
1849	5911 "	10,815

Year	Value	Year	Value
	£		\$
1850	9,200	1865	60,282
1851	12,024	1866	101,216
1852		1867	89,200
1853	14,357	1868	92,358
1854		1869	107,792
1855	13,578	1870	81,840
1856	9,801	1871	43,620
1857	15,936	1872	66,640
1858	12,400	1873	121,250
1859	17,651	1874	115,201
1860	18,324	1875	110,818
1861	14,620	1876	90,434
1862	12,631	1877	84,326
1863	14,308	1878	71,644
1864	9,320	1879	120,726

TABLE 6--Continued

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1880	56,900	1891	91,587
1881	77,675	1892	
1882	77,952	1893	55,984
1883	108,790	1894	51,483
1884	69,467	1895	68,295
1885	63,644	1896	57,003
1886	63,080	1897	89,581
1887	79,218	1898	61,312
1888	93,210	1899	72,020
1889	81,786	1900	95,788
1890	110,346	1901	139,101

^aStatistics on the 1803-1833 period from the "Collection of C.O. 19th Statistics", 1836-1849 from the Sessional Papers of the Newfoundland House of Assembly commonly referred to as the Blue Books; and 1850-1901 from the Newfoundland Journals, 1851-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 7

Newfoundland's Exports of Fur and Trout: 1850-1901^a

Year	Value of Fur	Value of Trout	Year	Value of Fur	Value of Trout
	£	£		\$	\$
1850	2,160		1876	13,120	5,940
1851	2,000	40	1877	8,100	449
1852			1878	9,780	2,818
1853	2,489	80	1879	14,118	11,256
1854			1880	11,200	4,280
1855	1,026	339	1881	9,082	7,452
1856	4,044	236	1882	9,817	15,624
1857	1,430	142	1883	17,436	4,262
1858	2,104	442	1884	14,602	6,332
1859	2,349	1,632	1885	12,696	4,128
1860	2,821	1,500	1886	9,522	3,678
1861	3,886	558	1887	20,608	7,220
1862	3,001	1,098	1888	18,030	7,588
1863	1,364	1,222	1889	31,965	12,360
1864	919	1,458	1890	15,859	10,050
	\$	\$			
1865	6,816	3,248	1891	27,400	3,880
1866	15,933	4,080	1892	8,000	17,497
1867	5,199	8,084	1893	10,000	12,463
1868	7,836	7,776	1894	9,200	7,902
1869	18,342	10,576	1895	16,280	12,636
1870	4,571	8,436	1896	22,332	12,102
1871	4,935	4,904	1897	12,390	9,144
1872	7,841	17,392	1898	24,387	4,632
1873	8,080	5,392	1899	39,376	10,912
1874	7,204	15,600	1900	44,087	14,541
1875	13,634	11,408	1901	49,842	6,048

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1851-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 8

Newfoundland's Exports of Pickled Herring: 1836-1901^a

Year	Barrels	Value	Year	Value
		£		£
1836	1,534	955	1851	18,261
1837			1852	
1838	15,726	10,728	1853	31,706
1839	20,806	13,840	1854	
1840	14,686	9,036	1855	19,794
1841	10,156	6,361	1856	19,220
1842			1857	31,110
1843			1858	51,345
1844	13,410	6,665	1859	34,955
1845	20,903	11,234	1860	31,856
1846	12,119½	6,876	1861	32,189
1847	9,907½	5,177	1862	17,242
1848	13,872	7,644	1863	35,733
1849	11,471	5,671	1864	30,217
1850	19,566	9,779		

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1865	161,427	1876	289,641.50
1866	181,650	1877	382,597
1867	181,442	1878	256,830
1868	152,265	1879	163,419
1869	166,896	1880	159,706
1870	188,868	1881	301,661
1871	151,023	1882	291,984
1872	104,226	1883	433,571
1873	309,838	1884	154,969
1874	256,564.50	1885	96,738
1875	294,480.50	1886	100,960

TABLE 8--Continued

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1887	125,055	1895	110,784
1888	232,947	1896	98,665
1889	248,453	1897	49,960
1890	244,847	1898	68,143
1891	201,058	1899	166,356
1892	212,678	1900	146,803
1893	181,094	1901	169,281
1894	197,551		

^aStatistics for 1836-1850 taken from the Blue Books and those for 1851-1900 taken from the Newfoundland Journals, 1851-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 9

Newfoundland's Exports of Frozen Herring:
1880-1901^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1880	1,200	1891	21,539
1881		1892	
1882	13,760	1893	46,883
1883	10,480	1894	56,907
1884	19,176	1895	52,652
1885	15,556	1896	32,628
1886	11,740	1897	52,216
1887	23,840	1898	33,904
1888	14,705	1899	79,513
1889	26,686	1900	54,186
1890	34,700	1901	62,132

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1881-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 10

Newfoundland's Exports of Lobster: 1870-1901^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1870	100	1886	145,491
1871	450	1887	209,708
1872	680	1888	385,077
1873	1,390	1889	472,524
1874	5,190	1890	520,078
1875	14,472	1891	429,681
1876	29,020	1892	206,048
1877	82,115	1893	265,522
1878	148,328	1894	312,364
1879	116,880	1895	420,881
1880	124,997	1896	376,711
1881	118,464	1897	529,947
1882	79,565	1898	619,519
1883	50,597	1899	565,362
1884	60,782	1900	441,202
1885	82,406	1901	448,501

^a Newfoundland Journals, 1871-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 11

Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Skins (Quantity):
1803-1900^a

Year	Number	Year	Number
1803	53,468	1838	375,361
1804	106,739	1839	437,501
1805	....	1840	631,385
1806	....	1841	417,115
1807	153,175	1842	....
1808	141,237	1843	651,370
1809	92,231	1844	685,530
1810	....	1845	352,202
1811	143,004	1846	265,169
1812	116,290	1847	436,831
1813	133,847	1848	521,604
1814	110,275	1849	306,072
1815	121,282	1850	440,828
1816	147,009	1851	511,630
1817	38,288	1852	....
1818	165,622	1853	521,783
1819	279,670	1854	....
1820	194,260	1855	293,038
1821	265,192	1856	361,317
1822	368,336	1857	496,113
1823	218,853	1858	507,624
1824	166,424	1859	329,185
1825	284,944	1860	344,202
1826	282,793	1861	375,282
1827	371,163	1862	268,624
1828	217,448	1863	287,151
1829	199,179	1864	125,950
1830	536,757	1865	242,471
1831	601,742	1866	269,029
1832	469,073	1867	399,041
1833	425,084	1868	335,858
1834	....	1869	334,958
1835	....	1870	265,189
1836	384,321	1871	486,262
1837	....	1872	231,244

TABLE 11--Continued

Year	Number	Year	Number
1873 ^b	449,727	1888	286,464
1874	392,228	1889	335,627
1875	370,679	1890	220,863
1876	341,292	1891	364,854
1877	431,373	1892	390,174
1878	419,220	1893	175,217
1879	457,855	1894	284,060
1880	261,508	1895	302,958
1881	408,479	1896	297,651
1882	178,812	1897	195,040
1883	322,603	1898 ^c	190,262
1884	266,290	1899	276,879
1885	238,596	1900	203,858
1886	272,656		
1887	230,355		

^a Figures for the 1803-1833 period taken from the "Collection of C.C. 194 Statistics"; 1836-1850 from the Blue Books; and 1851-1900 from the Newfoundland Journals, Appendices, 1852-1901.

^b From 1873 to 1897 there are occasional reports of a seal skins being exported from Labrador. Because the numbers are insignificant and incomplete they are excluded from this table.

^c After 1897 exports of seal skins from Labrador are included.

TABLE 12

Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Skins (Value):
1836-1900^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
	£		\$
1836	34,930	1865	181,852
1837	••••	1866	201,771
1838	30,474	1867	319,233
1839	46,336	1868	268,686
1840	39,408	1869	234,958
1841	29,961	1870	265,189
1842	••••	1871	486,262
1843	40,497	1872	231,244
1844	39,648	1873	472,213
1845	40,123	1874	509,887
1846	29,500	1875	481,882
1847	46,280	1876	443,679
1848	58,426	1877	323,529
1849	33,780	1878	293,454
1850	66,359	1879	320,498
1851	76,596	1880	209,206
1852	••••	1881	367,631
1853	88,067	1882	178,812
1854	••••	1883	322,603
1855	46,836	1884	319,548
1856	71,386	1885	214,736
1857	99,217	1886	272,656
1858	88,834	1887	230,355
1859	57,607	1888	286,464
1860	51,631	1889	302,064
1861	56,292	1890	220,863
1862	40,294	1891	364,854
1863	43,073	1892	468,209
1864	18,893	1893	116,456

TABLE 12--Continued

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1894	227,248	1898	129,840
1895	378,698	1899	136,563
1896	372,063	1900	162,330
1897	117,024		

^aSee Footnote following Table 11 for comments applicable to this table.

TABLE 13

Newfoundland's Exports of Seal Oil: 1807-1900^a

Year	Tons	£ per Ton	Year	Tons	£ per Ton
1807	3293	16 to 22	1822	4590	18 to 20
1808	1118	22	1823	2975	16 " 22½
1809	1209	.....	1824	.....	17 " 22
1810	.....	25 " 32	1825	3611	14 " 25
1811	1581	30	1826	3734	20 " 25
1812	1455½	34 " 30	1827	4726	16 " 25
1813	1583¾	28 " 35	1828	3297	18 " 24
1814	1263¾	28 " 37	1829	.....	20 " 24
1815	1397	25 " 36	1830	7110	21 " 24
1816	1760	17 " 25	1831	8761	22 " 25
1817	431	20 " 36	1832	6072	19 " 25
1818	1808½	28 " 36	1833	8639	20 " 27
1819	4253	26 " 32	1834	.....	.....
1820	2219	22 " 30	1835	.....	.....
1821	3004¾	18 " 25			

Year	Value	Year	Value
	£		£
1836 ^b	246,947	1851	208,524
1837	.....	1852	.....
1838	249,428	1853	273,751
1839	245,269	1854	.....
1840	305,197	1855	154,624
1841	.....	1856	216,006
1842	.....	1857	265,131
1843	335,975	1858	200,809
1844	315,690	1859	166,970
1845	243,646	1860	145,959
1846	182,974	1861	173,753
1847	229,172	1862	136,263
1848	253,472	1863	186,568
1849	213,742	1864	76,247
1850	193,289		

TABLE 13--Continued

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1865	751,574	1883	662,253
1866	708,000	1884	460,404
1867	787,627	1885	344,100
1868	772,640	1886	257,112
1869	899,937	1887	228,497
1870	847,067	1888	287,520
1871	972,020	1889	373,317
1872	585,060	1890	334,710
1873	801,710	1891	414,584
1874	612,290	1892	397,575
1875	634,160	1893	203,980
1876	636,990	1894	274,924
1877	762,112	1895	304,786
1878	708,600	1896	228,734
1879	598,368	1897	245,250
1880	614,885	1898 ^c	218,279
1881	759,030	1899	252,036
1882	409,324	1900	433,605

^aFigures for 1807-1833 taken from the "Collection of C.O. 19⁴ Statistics", those for 1836-1850 taken from the Blue Books, and those for 1851-1900 taken from the Newfoundland Journals, 1852-1901, Appendices.

^bThe figures listed for the period of 1836-1849 include the value of all oil exports.

^cPrior to 1898 the few occasional statistics for Labrador are not included here. From 1898 to 1900 Labrador figures are included.

TABLE 14

Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod (Quintals):
1803-1901^a

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1803	582,849	1838	724,575
1804	559,442	1839	865,377
1805	625,519	1840	915,795
1806	772,809	1841	1,009,725
1807	674,810	1842	1,007,980
1808	576,132	1843	936,202
1809	810,219	1844	852,162
1810	884,474	1845	1,000,233
1811	923,540	1846	879,015
1812	711,056	1847	837,973
1813	912,183	1848	920,366
1814	947,811	1849	1,175,167
1815	1,182,661	1850	1,089,182
1816	1,046,626	1851	1,017,674
1817	935,636	1852	973,731
1818	751,818	1853	922,718
1819	808,250	1854	774,118
1820	874,606	1855	1,107,388
1821	963,892	1856	1,268,334
1822	924,284	1857	1,392,322
1823	858,813	1858	1,038,069
1824	963,683	1859	1,105,793
1825	892,366	1860	1,138,544
1826	994,014	1861	1,021,720
1827	876,782	1862	1,080,069
1828	934,232	1863	811,777
1829	928,818	1864	849,339
1830	906,119	1865	801,339
1831	726,881	1866	716,690
1832	707,382	1867	815,088
1833	867,187	1868	688,063
1834	674,988	1869	874,106
1835	712,588	1870	970,176
1836	860,354	1871	957,488
1837	.....	1872	916,843

Table 14--Continued

Year	Quintals	Year	Quintals
1873	1,316,785	1888	1,175,720
1874	1,595,827	1889	1,076,507
1875	1,133,196	1890	1,040,916
1876	1,068,471	1891	1,244,834
1877	1,034,101	1892	1,160,335
1878	1,035,013	1893	1,107,696
1879	1,387,770	1894	1,312,608
1880	1,383,531	1895	1,436,083
1881	1,535,573	1896	1,135,817
1882	1,391,102	1897	1,145,540
1883	1,532,023	1898	1,226,336
1884	1,397,637	1899	1,300,622
1885	1,284,710	1900	1,233,107
1886	1,344,180		
1887	1,080,024		

^aFigures for 1803-1833 taken from the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics"; 1836-1850, Blue Books; and 1851-1901, Newfoundland Journals, 1852-1902, Appendices. For information missing from the above the writer used the Table in the Newfoundland Journal, 1890, Appendix, 323-24. All figures rounded to the nearest whole number.

TABLE 15

Prices of Newfoundland Dried Cod:
1801-1833^a

Year	Price (Shillings and Pence)		
1801	14s.6d.	to	22s.6d.
1802	12	"	15
1803	12	"	15
1804	10 .6	"	16 .6
1805	10	"	14 .6
1806	8	"	13
1807	8 .6	"	13 .6
1808	9	"	14 .6
1809	9 .6	"	13 .6
1810	8	"	14 .6
1811	11 .6	"	22
1812	11	"	22 .6
1813	24	"	32
1814	14 .6	"	24 .6
1815	14	"	21
1816	9	"	15
1817	8	"	14
1818	10	"	17
1819	9	"	17
1820	9	"	14
1821	8	"	14
1822	6	"	10 .6
1823	6	"	13
1824	7	"	13
1825	7	"	12
1826	8	"	12
1827	8	"	12 .6
1828	7	"	12 .6
1829	7 .6	"	13
1830	8	"	12
1831	8	"	12
1832	8	"	13
1833	7	"	12

^a"Collection of C.O. 19th Statistics."

TABLE 16

Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports of Seal
Products: 1850-1901^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
1850	259,648	1875	1,116,042
1851	285,120	1876	1,080,669
1852	.....	1877	1,085,641
1853	361,818	1878	1,002,054
1854	.....	1879	918,866
1855	.....	1880	824,091
1856	287,392	1881	1,126,661
1857	364,348	1882	588,136
1858	289,643	1883	984,856
1859	224,577	1884	779,952
1860	197,590	1885	558,836
1861	230,045	1886	529,768
1862	176,557	1887	458,852
1863	229,641	1888	573,984
1864	95,140	1889	675,381
		1890	556,968
1865	\$ 933,426	1891	780,807
1866	909,771	1892	865,784
1867	1,106,860	1893	221,944
1868	1,041,326	1894	503,852
1869	1,234,895	1895	685,216
1870	1,112,256	1896	602,529
1871	1,458,282	1897	363,467
1872	816,304	1898	348,119
1873	1,273,923	1899	388,599
1874	1,122,177	1900	595,935
		1901	707,527

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1851-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 17

Newfoundland Sealing Vessels: 1827-1833^a

Year	Number of Ships	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total number of men	Average number of men
1827	290	17,445	60	5,418	19
1828	296	18,612	63	5,759	19
1829 ^b	278	17,659	64	5,284	19
1830	293	23,208	79	5,735	20
1831	407	27,241	67	8,649	21
1832	369	....	..	...	..
1833					

^a"Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics."^bFigures for Burin and Bonavista not included.

TABLE 18

Percentage of the Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports
consisting of Oil and Seal Skins: 1836-1900^a

All Oil					
Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1836	29	1841	..	1846	24
1837	..	1842	..	1847	28
1838	30	1843	34	1848	30
1839	27	1844	35	1849	24
1840	31	1845	25	1850	31

Cod Oil			Seal Products		
Year	Percentage		Year	Percentage	
1850	11		1850	27	
1851	11		1851	30	
1852	..		1852	..	
1853	11		1853	31	
1854	..		1854	..	
1855	13		1855	18	
1856	13		1856	21	
1857	10		1857	22	
1858	12		1858	22	
1859	10		1859	17	
1860	12		1860	16	
1861	10		1861	21	
1862	10		1862	15	
1863	12		1863	19	
1864	13		1864	9	
1865	14		1865	17	
1866	10		1866	16	
1867	12		1867	22	
1868	11		1868	24	
1869	12		1869	20	
1870	10		1870	18	

TABLE 18--Continued

Year	Cod Oil Percentage	Seal Products Percentage
1871	9	23
1872	11	14
1873	8	17
1874	7	15
1875	8	17
1876	6	16
1877	6	16
1878	4	18
1879	8	16
1880	10	15
1881	7	15
1882	7	8
1883	6	14
1884	8	12
1885	6	12
1886	5	11
1887	4	9
1888	3	9
1889	4	11
1890	4	9
1891	3	11
1892	4	15
1893	4	6
1894	5	9
1895	6	11
1896	5	9
1897	6	7
1898	4	7
1899	4	6
1900	4	7

^aRounded off at the nearest whole number.

TABLE 19

Harbour Grace Sealing Fleet: 1867-1900^a

Year	No. of Ships	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total of Crews	Average Crew	Supplied by		
						Ridley & Sons	Punton & Munn	W.J.S. Donnelly
1867	50	5,923	119	2,504	50	21	20	7
1868	58	5,743	99	2,407	42	21	27	8
1869	52	5,743	110	2,574	50	16	34	0
1870	53	5,966	113	2,825	53	13	28	7
1871	52	6,292	121	2,930	56	13	28	9
1872	43	5,456	127	2,762	64	12	23	6
1873	35	4,385	125	2,401	69	8	20	4
1874 ^b	20	2,768	138	...	..		17	3
1875	21	2,869	137	...	..		19	2
1876	19	2,740	144	1,633	86		19	
1877	18	2,640	147	1,418	79		18	
1878	17	2,814	166	1,655	97		17	
1879	12	2,085	174	1,374	115		12	
1880 ^c	17	2,458	145	1,515	89		15	
1881	11	1,884	171	1,185	108		10	
1882	13	2,308	178	1,520	117		12	
1883	10	1,884	188	1,305	131		10	
1884	7	1,166	167	...	...		7	
1885	5	945	189	585	117		5	

TABLE 19--Continued

Year	No. of Ships	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total of Crews	Average Crew	Supplied by		
						Ridley & Sons	Punton & Munn	W.J.S. Donnelly
1886	3	752	251	575	192		3	
1887	3	826	275	600	200		3	Paterson & Foster:1
1888	3	826	275	590	197		3	" " 1
1889	3	826	275	630	210		3	
1890	3	827	276	600	200		3	
1891	3	826	275	620	207		3	
1892	3	826	275	630	210		3	
1893	2	581	291	516	258		2	
1894 ^d	4	920	230	720	180		4	
1895 ^d	4	1,113	278	865	221		4	
1896								
1897								
1898	1	51	17					
1899								
1900								

^a"Book of Coasting and Fishing Ships Clearing from Harbour Grace 1866-1918".

^bRidley and Son declared insolvency. Punton and Munn was dissolved and John Munn and Company replaced them.

^cAlso 2 small ships sent by Rose; and Paterson & Foster.

^dSealing operations under the control of the Trustees of John Munn and Company.

TABLE 20

Newfoundland's Population by Districts: 1789-1845

District	1789 ^a	1804 ^b	1815 ^c	1828 ^d	1836 ^e	1845 ^f	
Conception Bay	5,636	7,127	11,755	17,859	23,115	28,026	
St. John's	4,420	4,535	11,866	15,165	18,926	25,196	
Bay Bulls	836	374	1,200	1,140	} 5,111	4,370	
Ferryland	1,177	1,252	1,745	1,976			
Placentia	819	779	783	2,802	} 4,701	6,473	
St. Mary's	304	} 398	820	847			
Trepassey	386						
Burin	486	470	1,426	2,120	3,140	4,358	
St. Lawrence to Hr. Breton	594	1,188	2,000	2,808	2,129	5,100	
Trinity Bay	2,023	1,525	3,511	5,153	6,802	8,801	
Bonavista Bay	1,435	2,019	3,427	4,671	5,183	7,227	
Fogo and Twillingate	1,010	833	1,529	3,547	4,886	6,744	
Others				2,000			
Total	19,126	20,500	40,072	60,088	74,993	96,295	

^aC.O. 194: 21, p. 264, Vice Admiral Milbank's Report on Newfoundland for year ending October 10, 1789.

^bC.O. 194: 45, 17-47, Governor Gower's Report on Newfoundland for year ending October 10, 1804.

^cC.O. 194: 56, 105-114, Governor R.G. Keats' Report on Newfoundland for year ending October 10, 1815.

^dNewfoundland Journal, 1833, Appendix, p. 64. The "Collection of C.O. Statistics" reports that the population for 1828 was 59,101 and that for 1830 was 60088.

^ePopulation Returns of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1836.

^fCensuses of Canada: 1665-1871, (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1876), p. 160

TABLE 21

Newfoundland's Population by Districts: 1857-1901^a

District	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901
St. John's East	17,352	17,204	17,811	22,183	20,776	21,511
St. John's West	13,124	11,646	12,763	15,962	15,251	18,483
Harbour Main	5,386	6,542	7,174	8,935	9,189	9,492
Port de Grave	6,489	7,536	7,919	8,698	7,986	7,445
Harbour Grace	10,067	12,740	13,055	14,727	13,881	12,671
Carbonear	5,233	5,633	5,488	6,206	5,765	5,024
Bay de Verde	6,221	7,057	7,434	8,403	9,708	9,929
Trinity Bay	10,726	13,817	15,677	19,005	18,872	20,695
Bonavista Bay	8,850	11,560	13,008	16,486	17,849	20,538
Twillingate	9,717	13,067	15,135	14,058	16,780	18,843
Fogo				6,264	6,700	7,569
St. Barbe ^b	Included in St. George			6,500	6,690	8,126
Ferryland	5,228	5,991	6,419	6,472	5,853	5,697
Placentia and St. Mary's	8,334	8,794	9,857	11,789	12,801	15,206
Burin	5,529	6,731	7,678	8,502	9,059	10,402
Fortune Bay	3,493	5,233	5,788	6,917	7,671	8,762
Burgeo and La Poile	3,545	5,119	5,098	6,544	6,471	7,010
St. George	3,334	5,387	8,654	5,473	6,632	9,205
Labrador	1,650	2,479	2,416	4,211	4,106	3,634
Total	124,228	146,536	161,374	197,335	202,040	220,249

^aCensus Returns. (See Bibliography).^bReferred to as the French Shore prior to 1884.

TABLE 22

Newfoundland Wages per Year or Season: 1804-1818

	1804 ^a	1814 ^b	1815 ^c	1816 ^d	1817 ^e	1818 ^f
	£	£	£ <u>St. John's</u>	£	£	£
Boat Master	40 - 50			35		35
Midshipman	30 - 40	60 - 70		20		25
Foreshipman	30 - 40	60 - 70		16		
Captain	30 - 35					
Master of Voyage	40 - 50		55	42		40
Splitter	30	90 - 140	52	31/10		30
Salter	26		45	25		20
Header	24		33	18		

Placentia

Boatmaster	30 - 40	30 - 50	30 - 50	18 - 35	30 - 40
Midshipman	25 - 30	30 - 40	28 - 40	17 - 23	20 - 28
Foreshipman	20 - 26	20 - 30	20 - 30	12 - 15	16 - 18
Captain	16 - 20	20 - 25	15 - 20	8 - 12	12 - 15
Master of Voyage	30 - 35				
Splitter	30 - 32				
Salter	25 - 28				
Header	25 - 28				

TABLE 22--Continued

	1804	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
	<u>Bonavista</u>					
Boatmaster			40 - 45		30	23 - 25
Midshipman			35 - 40		25	15 - 20
Foreshipman			30 - 35		22	
Captain			25 - 30		22	
Master of Voyage						
Splitter						23 - 25
Salter						15
Header						14

^aC.O. 194-45, p. 47. Governor Gower's report for year ending October 10, 1804, Submitted March 18, 1806.

^bPedley Newfoundland, p. 284. These were general prices for the Island. In the winter of 1812-1813 prices were even higher.

^cC.O. 194-57, pp. 9-12. Admiral R.G. Keats' report to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, for year ending October 10, 1815, dated April 9, 1816.

^dC.O. 194-59, p. 27. Admiral Thomas Pickmore's report to Earl Bathurst for year ending October 10, 1816, dated January 20, 1817.

^eC.O. 194-61, p. 22. Commodore Bowker's report to Earl Bathurst for year ending October 10, 1817, dated March 5, 1818.

^fC.O. 194-61, p. 158. Governor Hamilton's report to Earl Bathurst for year ending October 10, 1818, dated December 24, 1818.

TABLE 23

Prices of Goods in Newfoundland: 1804-1818^a

	1804	1813	1815	1816	1817	1818
	£ s.d.	£ s.d.	£ s.d.	£ s.d.	£ s.d.	£ s.d.
<u>St. John's</u>						
Bread (Cwt)	20/	70/-84/		40/-45/	32/-40/	
Flour (Barrel)	44/-50/	120/-126/		80/	60/	50/
Pork (Barrel)	4/10-5	9-10		4/17/6	5/9	5/10-6
Butter (lbs)	1/			1/2	9 -1/	1/-1/2
<u>Placentia</u>						
Bread	26/-28/		42/	32/	48/	36/
Flour	50/-55/		70/	63/	100/	70/
Pork	6/10-6/15		7	5/5	6	7
Butter	1/4		2/	1/6	1/4	1/8
<u>Conception Bay</u>						
Bread	20/-30/		30/-40/	40/-45/	35/-50/	30/-45/
Flour	46/-60/		65/-70/	65/	75/-85/	60/-70/
Pork	6/6-6/10		6/10	5 - 6	4	6/10
Butter	1/6		1/10	1/-1/6	1/4	
<u>Bonavista</u>						
Bread			35/	30/	48/	35/
Flour			70/	70/	96/	40/
Pork			7/7	5/5	6	7
Butter			2/-2/6.	1/4		

^aAll references identical to those in the footnotes in Table 22.

TABLE 24

Emigrants to Newfoundland on British Fishing Ships: 1803-1833^a

Year	From England	From Ireland	From Jersey	Total
1803	1047	1642	43	2732
1804	163	443	40	646
1805	191men, 5 women	507men, 76 women	4	783
1806				
1807	238	699	20	957
1808	67	43		110
1809	157	173	32	362
1810				
1811	145	1368	5	1518
1812	228	1943	13	2184
1813	303	1842	5	2150
1814	502	2254	44	2800
1815	833	5838	64	6735
1816	1112	2636	78	3826
1817	332	441	38	811
1818	353	417	35	805
1819	705	642	34	1381
1820	303	934	18	1255

TABLE 24--Continued

Year	From England	From Ireland	From Jersey	Total
1821	231	707	9	947
1822	200	242	31	473
1823	185	291	10	486
1824				
1825	228	901	117	1246
1826	247	1150	11	1408
1827	250	1352	30	1632
1828	224	890	28	1142
1829				
1830	224	1423	29	1676
1831	165	1218	29	1412
1832	354	549	36	939
1833	413	603	26	1042

^a"Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics".

TABLE 25

Cod Fishing Seasons in Newfoundland and Labrador^a

Latitude	Locality	Mean date of arrival of Cod	Mean date of close of Fishery	Average length of Fishery
Newfoundland				
47.30	Conception Bay	1st June	20th Nov.	143 days
48.20	Bonavista Bay	10th "	10th "	
48.30	Notre Dame Bay	20th "	10th "	
50	Cape St. John to Par. Pt	20th "	1st "	
49.30	White Bay	10th "	1st "	
51	Cape Rouge Harbour	10th "	1st "	
51.30	Cape Bauld to Cape Onion	20th "	20th Oct.	
Southern Labrador				
52-0	Chateau Bay	20th June	1st Oct.	87 days
	Batteaux	12th "	"	
54-30	Indian Harbour	15th "	"	
54-54	Cape Harrison	18th "	"	

TABLE 25--Continued

Latitude	Locality	Mean date of arrival of Cod	Mean date of close of Fishery	Average length of Fishery
Northern Labrador				
55-9	Aillik	20th July	1st Oct.	52 days
55-12	Kypokok	20th "	"	
55-27	Hopedale	20th "	"	
53-30	Double Island Harbour	22nd "	"	
56	Ukkasiksalik	28th "	"	
56-30	Nain	28th "	"	
57-30	Okak	28th "	"	52 days
58-30	Hebron	15th Aug.	25th Sept.	
58-46	Lampson	15th "	15th "	

^aNewfoundland Journal, 1877, Appendix, pp. 738-39.

TABLE 26

Newfoundland Vessels on the North Shore and Labrador: 1803-1833^a

Year	Number of Ships	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total Number of Men	Average Number of Men	Remarks
1803	47	1,921	41	435	9	
1804	99	4,245	43	716	7	
1805	156	6,542	42	1,463	9	
1806	...	.....		.....
1807	131	5,786	44	1,549	12	
1808	95	4,310 ⁺	45	794	8	
1809	90	3,352	37	763	8	
1810	...	.....		.....
1811	107	5,130	48	717	7	
1812	111	5,752	52	822	7	
1813	116	5,562	48	1,221	11	
1814	129	6,932	54	1,101	9	
1815	106	6,018	57	1,053	10	
1816	104	5,448	52	878	8	
1817	110	6,048	55	826	8	
1818	153	8,473	55	950	6	
1819	214	11,803	55	1,832	9	
1820	263	13,871	53	2,838	11	

TABLE 26--Continued

Year	Number of Ships	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total Number of Men	Average Number of Men	Remarks
1821	261	13,714	53	2,798	11	
1822	17 ¹ / ₄	12,547	72	2,159	12	
1823	237	12,770	54	2,058	9	
1824	251	13,556	54	2,102	8	
1825	20 ¹ / ₄	10,974	54	1,694	8	
1826	239	12,752	53	2,400	10	
1827	302	13,062	43	2,490	8	North Shore & Labrador
1828	300	16,977	57	3,004	10	Labrador
1829 ^b	243	14,483	60	2,864	12	Labrador
1830	286	14,296	50	2,048	7	Coasting and Labrador
1831	...	.....	..	.....	..
1832	274	16,432	60	3,171	12	Coasting and Labrador
1833	223	.....	..	.....	..	Labrador

^a"Collection of C.O. 19¹/₄ Statistics".

^bNo figures for Burin and Bonavista.

TABLE 27

Newfoundland and Labrador Fishing Grounds^a

	Area of Fishing Grounds, Square Miles
Northern Labrador Boat Fishery--Cape Harrison to Cape Mugford, 260 miles, averaging 20 miles deep	5200
Newfoundland Boat Fishery--French Shore--Cape St. John via Cape Bauld to Cape Ray, 696 miles, by 3 Miles deep--Shore Boat Fishery.....	2088
South Shore of Newfoundland Boat Fishery --Cape Ray to Cape Race, 573 Miles, 3 miles deep--Shore Fishery.....	1719
East Shore of Newfoundland Boat Fishery--Cape Race to Cape Bonavista, 294 miles, 3 miles deep--Shore Fishery.....	882
North Shore of Newfoundland Boat Fishery--Cape Bona- vista to Cape St. John, 225 miles, 3 miles deep-- Shore Fishery.....	675
North East Shore of Newfoundland Boat Fishery--among islands in Bonavista Bay and Bay of Notre Dame, 120 miles, 7 miles deep.....	840
Area of British Newfoundland Boat Fishery.....	4119
Area of French Newfoundland Boat Fishery.....	2085
Total Area of Newfoundland Boat Fishery.....	<u>6204</u>

TABLE 27--Continued

	Area of Fishing Grounds, Square Miles
Area of Northern Labrador Boat Fishery--Cape Harrison to Cape Muford.....	5200
Area of Southern Labrador Boat Fishery--Cape Harrison to Blanc Sablon, estimated five miles deep.....	1900
Total Area of Labrador Boat Fishery.....	7100

^aNewfoundland Journal, 1877, Appendix, pp. 732-33.

TABLE 28

Total Value of Newfoundland's Exports: 1836-1901^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
	£		\$
1836	850,334	1869	6,096,779
1837	906,705	1870	6,230,276
1838	829,605	1871	6,292,283
1839	901,385	1872	5,707,002
1840	983,961	1873	7,700,799
1841	952,525	1874	7,336,039
1842	952,555	1875	6,432,003
1843	960,461	1876	6,562,090
1844	882,905	1877	6,841,582
1845	939,436	1878	5,630,891
1846	759,103	1879	5,918,924
1847	806,565	1880	5,635,797
1848	837,581	1881	7,818,880
1849	876,567	1882	7,801,222
1850	975,770	1883	7,050,730
1851	.....	1884	6,567,135
1852	.....	1885	4,726,608
1853	1,170,503	1886	4,862,951
1854	.....	1887	5,176,730
1855	.....	1888	6,582,013
1856	1,338,797	1889	6,122,985
1857	1,651,171	1890	6,099,686
1858	1,318,836	1891	7,437,158
1859	1,357,113	1892	5,651,111
1860	.....	1893	5,651,111
1861	1,092,551	1894	5,811,169
1862	1,171,723	1895	6,219,921
1863	1,233,353	1896	6,638,187
1864	1,111,330	1897	4,925,789
	\$		
1865	5,493,005	1898	5,226,933
1866	5,694,305	1899	6,936,315
1867	5,068,603	1900	8,627,576
1868	4,263,660	1901	8,359,978

^aFigures for 1836-1850 were taken from the "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics" and those for 1853-1901 from the Newfoundland Journals, 1854-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 29

Percentage of the Total Value of Newfoundland's
Exports consisting of Dried Cod: 1836-1900^a

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1836	61	1866	64
1837	..	1867	58
1838	58	1868	56
1839	56	1869	57
1840	59	1870	62
1841	64	1871	62
1842	..	1872	66
1843	55	1873	66
1844	55	1874	84
1845	64	1875	76
1846	67	1876	81
1847	61	1877	63
1848	59	1878	75
1849	67	1879	75
1850	55	1880	74
1851	51	1881	80
1852	48	1882	91
1853	48	1883	85
1854	51	1884	81
1855	60	1885	86
1856	59	1886	82
1857	61	1887	83
1858	58	1888	76
1859	66	1889	77
1860	67	1890	65
1861	61	1891	66
1862	67	1892	..
1863	62	1893	77
1864	72	1894	64
1865	62	1895	63

TABLE 29--Continued

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1896	65	1899	65
1897	58	1900	64
1898	62		

^aFigures for the 1836-1850 period were taken from the "Collection of C.O. 19⁴ Statistics", and those for the 1851-1900 period from the Newfoundland Journals, 1852-1901, Appendices.

TABLE 30

Newfoundland's Per Capita Exports of Dried Cod
for selected Years between 1803 and 1901^a

Year	Quintals Per Capita	Year	Quintals Per Capita
1803	30.6	1821	20.5
1804	27.2	1822	19.4
1805	28.5	1823	17.3
1807	26.8	1825	16
1808	23.4	1827	16.5
1809	32.2	1828	15.8
1811	35.5	1830	15
1812	23.1	1836	11.5
1813	27.9	1845	10.4
1814	26.4	1857	11.2
1815	29.2	1869	6
1816	25	1874	9.9
1817	21.6	1884	7
1818	18.4	1891	6.2
1819	19.8	1901	5.6
1820	20.6		

^a The writer selected only those years for which the total dry cod exports and the total population are known.

TABLE 31

Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to the
Major Markets (Quintals): 1857-1900^a

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil	Total
1857	266,775	206,076	144,754	118,997	368,205	1,392,322
1858	120,127	149,603	54,048	78,351	394,092	1,038,089
1859	239,552	113,323	56,902	87,850	358,568	1,105,793
1860	259,406	204,285	45,008	132,841	268,937	1,138,544
1861	262,092	182,125	51,427	123,919	232,219 ✓	1,021,720
1862	274,737	267,806	54,098	95,916	203,400	1,080,069
1863	309,740	136,956	37,138	75,432	163,528	811,777
1864	242,768	182,390	47,780	97,908	154,518	849,339
1865	173,714	201,559	28,842	67,287	178,462	801,339
1866	182,940	165,795	25,782	83,105	149,749	716,690
1867	171,543	198,294	19,550	102,453	171,456	815,008
1868	150,128	150,316	25,104	100,799	98,426	688,063
1869	170,628	206,027	68,948	83,570	201,212 ✓	874,106
1870	211,222	167,589	62,146	86,461	249,425	930,204
1871	218,864	191,545	65,511	77,978	255,708	957,488
1872	185,551	231,102	31,254	92,366	246,292	916,843
1873	247,710	197,045	42,968	81,159	266,577	999,637
1874	259,064	254,656	70,202	105,579	326,969	1,249,320
1875	139,031	208,405	48,014	82,717	275,482	888,489

TABLE 31--Continued

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil	Total
1876	161,983	150,829	53,947	63,791	228,470	757,218
1877	109,888	150,228	23,716	75,417	292,129	760,446
1878	77,916	150,026	39,383	57,459	268,455	694,339
1879	157,942	182,967	50,242	66,821	362,429	994,334
1880	109,856	170,872	46,179	82,847	395,044	985,134
1881	139,882	236,617	56,190	96,395	471,244	1,173,510
1882	166,489	362,033	80,830	67,486	312,078	1,027,269
1883	158,828	332,030	61,097	85,011	295,094	1,163,934
1884	133,872	318,820	45,941	88,758	375,089	1,197,637
1885	92,336	362,084	47,891	82,865	259,818	1,034,710
1886	115,630	370,257	36,049	102,829	294,267	1,088,004
1887	139,536	215,518	28,400	82,033	315,150	913,145
1888	123,672	260,520	25,422	77,439	276,058	953,537
1889	87,736	267,231	15,622	112,392	262,501	889,574
1890	65,574	208,474	16,850	107,173	218,833	774,294
1891	90,660	219,129	39,773	101,383	250,663	947,575
1892	86,695	198,568	35,394	93,176	255,347	795,549
1893	70,841	190,903	27,575	71,385	352,160	900,744
1894	29,546	187,335	20,121	73,697	356,929	898,359
1895	42,404	247,099	43,734	93,575	342,692	1,026,636
1896	60,424	352,214	40,374	112,328	338,193	1,150,297
1897	20,396	298,501	29,473	98,403	321,910	980,573

TABLE 31--Continued

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil	Total
1898	28,632	235,368	16,838	107,250	402,724	951,234
1899 ^b	24,793	211,991	38,726	102,489	464,531	1,226,336
1900	67,380	226,366	24,114	68,166	458,240	1,300,622

Labrador's Exports of Dried Cod: 1891-1898^c

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Gibraltar	United Kingdom	Total
1891	114,056		104,985	7,500	53,398	297,259
1892	No Records					
1893	52,991	10,365	77,188	41,952	59,533	259,591
1894	42,750	2,800	22,657	80,212	41,478	209,337
1895	36,708	5,350	75,904	96,684	49,126	285,972
1896	32,592	5,350	89,936	88,562	49,126	285,786
1897						155,244
1898	26,926		61,843	38,047	51,390	194,306

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1858-1901, Appendices. The amount exported from Newfoundland and Labrador to the smaller insignificant markets are not included in this Table.

^bIn the figures for 1899 and 1900 it appears likely that the Labrador cod exports are included.

^cOnly those Labrador cod exports which can be differentiated by markets are included in this Table. Therefore the totals listed under Newfoundland exports do not include, with the possible exception of 1899 and 1900, the exports from Labrador.

TABLE 32

Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to the
Major Markets (Value): 1857-1900¹

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil
	£	£	£	£	£
1857	193,411	149,405	86,852	77,348	322,179
1858	82,486	102,852	37,157	53,472	328,410
1859	179,664	84,992	42,254	70,280	340,640
1860	194,554	153,214	33,755	79,705	228,596
1861	170,316	118,381	33,428	60,155	174,144
1862	206,053	200,855	40,574	62,345	152,550
1863	301,997	133,532	29,710	56,584	163,528
1864	242,768	182,390	38,224	73,431	154,518
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1865	981,713	707,015	100,947	235,504	802,629
1866	1,006,170	911,892	141,801	332,420	823,619
1867	636,172	793,176	58,650	281,746	685,824
1868	525,448	526,106	88,142	302,397	393,704
1869	682,512	824,108	275,792	292,495	905,454
1870	844,888	670,356	248,504	302,613	1,122,413
1871	875,456	766,180	262,044	272,923	1,150,686
1872	742,204	924,408	125,016	323,281	1,108,314
1873	1,040,382	866,998	154,685	259,709	1,172,940
1874	1,139,881	1,120,486	266,768	369,527	1,373,270
1875	667,349	937,822	216,063	330,868	1,322,313

TABLE 32--Continued

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil
	\$	¢	\$	\$	\$
1876	874,708	859,725	291,314	280,680	1,256,585
1877	549,940	751,140	78,891	241,334	1,460,645
1878	381,788	750,130	126,027	189,614	1,288,584
1879	584,385	713,571	130,629	200,463	1,377,230
1880	384,496	649,314	120,065	215,402	1,422,158
1881	629,469	1,183,085	202,284	308,464	2,120,598
1882	782,498	1,388,775	339,486	269,944	1,560,390
1883	635,312	1,494,135	219,949	255,033	1,180,376
1884	508,713	1,434,690	147,011	230,771	1,575,373
1885	295,475	1,231,086	124,517	198,876	909,363
1886	381,579	1,221,848	100,937	205,658	1,029,935
1887	572,100	926,728	99,400	246,100	1,442,621
1888	556,524	1,198,392	96,604	263,294	1,325,080
1889	368,491	1,202,539	65,612	382,132	1,302,004
1890	262,296	958,980	50,562	385,823	904,748
1891	398,904	1,051,819	115,114	344,701	1,102,785
1892	286,093	983,556	106,182	279,528	919,249
1893	240,859	916,334	93,755	214,155	1,408,640
1894	103,411	749,340	60,363	221,091	1,213,559
1895	144,173	864,846	131,202	243,295	1,096,614
1896	205,441	1,232,749	121,122	292,053	1,082,217
1897	57,109	835,802	70,735	196,806	836,966

TABLE 32--Continued

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	British West Indies	Brazil
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1898	68,717	753,178	42,095	257,400	1,288,717
1899 ^b	87,753	798,929	139,847	380,503	1,912,868
1900	291,040	1,009,007	112,520	289,180	2,068,586

Labrador's Exports of Dried Cod (Value): 1891-1898

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Gibraltar	United Kingdom
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1891	319,357		293,958	21,000	149,514
1892	No records		No records	No records	No records
1893	148,375	29,022	216,126	117,465	166,692
1894	139,300	7,840	63,439	224,594	116,138
1895	84,428	12,305	174,579	222,373	112,990
1896	74,961	22,258	193,052	203,693	112,990
1897	89,040		34,668	42,940	71,862
1898	56,545		129,870	75,898	107,919

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1858-1901, Appendices.

^bIn the figures for 1899 and 1900 it seems that Labrador fish is included.

TABLE 33

Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod
(Value): 1836-1901^a

Year	Value	Year	Value
	£		\$
1836	517,457	1865	3,390,491
1837	.....	1866	3,654,455
1838	484,649	1867	2,956,195
1839	508,157	1868	2,378,655
1840	576,245	1869	3,500,951
1841	605,014	1870	3,892,528
1842	.....	1871	3,918,817
1843	532,194	1872	3,744,335
1844	481,680	1873	5,112,675
1845	596,990	1874	6,195,774
1846	504,008	1875	4,863,938
1847	489,940	1876	5,323,627
1848	497,924	1877	4,319,583
1849	558,728	1878	4,203,661
1850	532,969	1879	4,415,056
1851	493,014	1880	4,147,484
1852	463,741	1881	6,211,464
1853	561,100	1882	6,316,766
1854	517,818	1883	5,797,099
1855	680,283	1884	5,286,487
1856	789,124	1885	3,936,600
1857	1,006,129	1886	3,944,339
1858	765,101	1887	4,255,535
1859	894,966	1888	4,938,048
1860	846,338	1889	4,542,777
1861	668,263	1890	3,886,898
1862	787,821	1891	4,863,525
1863	761,275	1892	.....
1864	795,460	1893	4,328,499

TABLE 33--Continued

Year	Value	Year	Value
	\$		\$
1894	3,703,338	1898	3,230,928
1895	3,876,964	1899	4,445,031
1896	4,297,699	1900	5,453,538
1897	2,824,242	1901	5,171,910

^aFigures for 1836-1850 were taken from the Blue Books and those for 1851-1901 from the Newfoundland Journals, 1852-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 34

Harbour Grace - Labrador Fishing Fleet: 1866-1900^a

Year	Number	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total Crew	Average Crew	Passengers
1866 ^b	82	6,669	81	2,958	48	
1867	90	7,681	85	3,493	39	
1868	75	5,772	77	3,709	51	
1869	84	6,654	79	4,474	54	
1870	76	6,046	80	4,073	54	
1871	67	5,201	78	3,856	59	
1872	56	4,178	75	2,370	42	
1873	49	3,285	67	1,526	32	
1874	55	3,635	66	.....	..
1875	52	3,322	64	.....	..
1876	..	.....	..	.....	..
1877	57	3,926	69	2,412	42	
1878	61	4,181	69	1,803	30	
1879	58	3,868	67	.....	..
1880	65	4,329	67	952	15	
1881	71	4,671	66	1,718	24	
1882	71	4,817	68	719	10	
1883	64	4,334	68	643	10	
1884	44	2,799	64	394	9	
1885	58	3,773	65	.....	..

TABLE 34--Continued

Year	Number	Total Tonnage	Average Tonnage	Total Crew	Average Crew	Passengers
1886	47	3,522	75	.....	..
1887	46	3,341	73	.....	..
1888	45	.....	..	.....	..
1889	61	3,840	63	.....	..
1890	36	2,066	57	.....	..
1891	..	.....	..	.....	..
1892	56	3,217	57	536	10	1,595
1893	69	4,016	58	610	9	1,837
1894	80	4,521	57	661	8	2,103
1895	64	3,284	51	514	8	1,733
1896	50	2,846	57	368	7	1,302
1897	45	2,433	54	334	7	1,310
1898	27	1,394	52	201	7	852
1899	33	1,688	51	251	8	962
1900	28	1,409	50	177	6	854

^a"Book of Coasting and Fishing Ships cleared from Harbour Grace".

^bThe figures for crew members during 1866-1879 include the number of passengers. During certain years the number of crew members was not recorded for all ships. The number of crews counted in 1866 was 62, 1868--73 crews, 1869--83 crews, 1871--65 crews, and 1873--48 crews. After 1879 the figures for crew members refer to men only.

TABLE 35

Newfoundland and Labrador Exports of
Dried Cod: 1874-1897^a

Year	Newfoundland		Labrador	
	Quintals	Value	Quintals	Value
		\$		\$
1874	1,249,320	5,166,649	346,507	1,029,125
1875	888,489	4,036,829	244,707	827,109
1876	757,218	4,028,815	311,253	1,294,812
1877	760,446	3,451,887	237,655	876,696
1878	694,339	3,086,251	340,674	1,117,410
1879	994,334	3,490,482	393,436	924,574
1880	985,134	3,282,963	398,397	864,521
1881	.....	.....	.....	.....
1882	1,027,269	4,974,223	363,833	1,342,543
1883	1,163,934	4,725,960	368,089	1,071,139
1884	1,197,637	4,728,487	200,000	558,000
1885	1,034,710	3,311,600	250,000	625,000
1886	1,088,004	3,431,987	256,176	512,352
1887	913,145	3,761,574	166,879	493,961
1888	953,537	4,182,626	221,183	755,422
1889	889,574	3,907,205	186,933	635,572
1890	774,294	3,193,681	266,622	693,217
1891	947,575	4,032,201	297,259	832,324
1892	.....	.....	.....	.....
1893	900,744	3,601,646	259,591	726,853
1894	898,359	3,117,195	209,337	586,143
1895	1,026,636	3,219,229	285,972	657,735
1896	1,150,297	3,640,392	285,786	657,307
1897	980,573	2,513,754	155,244	310,488

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1875-1898, Appendices. Prior to 1874 and after 1897 Labrador exports were included with those from the Island.

TABLE 36

Average price of Dried Cod exported from
Newfoundland and Labrador: 1850-1901^a

Year	Newfoundland	Labrador
	Shillings	Shillings
1850	10	..
1851	10	..
1852	10	..
1853	12	..
1854	13	..
1855	12	..
1856	12	..
1857	14	..
1858	15	..
1859	16	..
1860	19	..
1861	13	..
1862	15	..
1863	19	..
1864	19	..
	\$	\$
1865	4.23	....
1866	5.09	....
1867	3.62	....
1868	3.45	....
1869	4.00	....
1870	4.01	....
1871	4.09	....
1872	4.08	....
1873	4.06	3.30
1874	4.13	2.97
1875	4.54	3.38
1876	5.32	4.16
1877	4.53	3.17
1878	4.44	3.28
1879	3.51	2.35
1880	3.33	2.17

TABLE 36--Continued

Year	Newfoundland	Labrador
	\$	\$
1881	4.36	3.00
1882	4.84	3.69
1883	4.06	2.91
1884	3.94	2.79
1885	3.20	2.05
1886	3.15	2.00
1887	4.11	2.96
1888	4.38	3.40
1889	4.39	3.40
1890	4.12	2.60
1891	4.25	2.80
1892	....	....
1893	4.00	2.80
1894	3.46	2.80
1895	3.13	2.30
1896	3.16	2.30
1897	2.56	2.00
1898	2.82	for both
1899	3.62	" "
1900	4.19	" "
1901	4.19	" "

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1851-1902, Appendices. The price of dry cod exported from Labrador for years 1874, 75, 76, 78, 79; 1880, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87 had to be computed using the average difference between the price of Newfoundland cod and Labrador cod for other years. It worked out that Labrador cod was usually \$1.15 or \$1.16 per quintal cheaper than Newfoundland cod.

TABLE 37

Newfoundland's Exporters and Exports: 1865^a

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fined Cod		
Saint John's								
	Walter Grieve & Co.	97,432	27,819	468	184	12	68	3,560
	Bowring Brothers	57,929	28,897	407	187	38	287	929
	Baine Johnston & Co.	57,123	33,430	443	102	3	..	1,301
	P. & L. Tessier	58,571	12,375	244	101	98	65	2,904
	Job Brothers & Co.	45,430	11,995	132	224	32	546	1,225
	J. & W. Stewart	35,850	17,102	220	83	15	56	1,931
	Brooking & Co.	23,329	5,569	72	12	..	..	..
	McBride & Co.	29,277	17,071	213	96	6	86	1,930
	Muir & Duder	20,099	7,184	55	36	1	187	620
	Harvey Tucker & Co.	24,631	.....	101	703	43	558	2,665
	L. O'Brien & Co.	16,066	1,598	18	22	36	5	534
	C.F. Ansell	15,800	.....	..	..	..	..	..
	Stabb, Row & Holmwood	15,186	.....	..	..	2	..	96
	Kenneth McLea & Sons	13,938	297	3	40	10	8	1,029
	C.F. Bennett & Co.	8,975	.....	..	26	..	..	.....
	Charles Cowan	3,400	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	H.C.B. Thomas	3,248	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	Ridley & Sons	2,430	.....	..	..	..	100	.....
	Punton & Munn	2,402	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	A. Shea	.....	.....	..	..	2	41	935
	Evans & LeMessurier	700	.....	..	1	1	218	194
	Edward Meehan	.....	.....	..	..	..	..	820

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fined Cod		
Saint John's (continued)								
	A. Goodridge & Sons	2,122	....	....	13	7	...	7
	Edward White	.....	....	....	..	..	...	1,560
	P. Hutchins	1,051	....	....	..	..	...	277
	M.H. Warren & Co.	3,197	....	....	3	..	...	.....
	Hunt & Henley	1,106	....	....	..	..	...	.....
	E. Stabb	290	....	....	3	11	...	.....
	N. Stabb & Sons	510	....	32	62	2	...	442
	Wm. Hounsell & Co.	424	4,363	44	3	9	...	7
	W.H. Mare	6	801	..	..	..	...	429
	A. Pearce	.....	.....	..	..	..	...	.....
	Sundry Shippers	.....	.....	25	22	20	39	690
	Total	540,522	169,101	2,477	1,934	348	2,264	24,085
Twillingate								
	W. Cox & Co.	6,000	.....	...	..	..	150	.....
	Muir & Duder	5,220	.....	...	..	..	...	.....
	Executors of J. Slade Co.	2,115	367	5	8	..	...	.....
	Total	13,335	367	5	8	..	150	.....

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fined Cod		
Fogo								
	Wm. Cox & Co.	4,648	6,467	95	63	..	63	.....
	Muir & Duder	2,200	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	Total	6,648	6,467	95	63	..	63	.....
Greenspond								
	Brooking & Co.	4,500	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	Wm. Cox & Co.	4,248	3,796	60	..	..	..	.....
	Total	8,748	3,796	60	..	..	..	.....
Catalina								
	Ridley & Sons	10,700						
	Bowring Brothers	3,030						
	Total	13,730						
Trinity								
	Brooking & Co.	13,222	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	W. Grieve & Bremner	4,750	.....	..	..	..	..	5
	Total	17,972	.....	..	..	..	..	5

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fined Cod		
<hr/>								
Hants Harbour								
	Job Brothers & Co.	2,200						
	Total	2,200						
<hr/>								
Carbonear								
	John Rorke	7,089	.....	..	..	..	..	.....
	Ridley & Sons	3,703	.....	..	44	..	4	.....
	Total	10,792	.....	..	44	..	4	.....
<hr/>								
Harbour Grace								
	Ridley & Sons	71,546	28,491	367	290	31	142	2,460
	Punton & Munn	37,256	25,630	288	337	5	173	619
	W.J.S. Donnelly	.....	9,004	82	20	..	7	432
	Rutherford Bros.	159	.....	..	27	..	6	364
	M.H. Warren & Co.	1,573	.....	..	..	..	..	..
	Daniel Green	.....	.....	..	..	..	..	72
	Total	110,534	63,125	737	674	36	328	3,947
<hr/>								
Ferryland								
	W. Grieve & Co.	6,100						
	Total	6,100						

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fined Cod		
<hr/>								
St. Mary's								
	W. Grieve & Co.	2,626						
	Stabb, Row & Holmwood	2,000						
	Total	4,626						
<hr/>								
Placentia								
	Kenneth McLea & Sons	2,045						
	Total	2,045						
<hr/>								
Burin								
	R. Falls & Co.	13,303	.....	..	..	..	31	554
	Thomas Foley	.....	.....	..	..	..	..	100
	Total	13,303	.....	..	..	..	31	654
<hr/>								
St. Lawrence								
	James Dunn	630	.....	..	4	..	8	21
	Total	630	.....	..	4	..	8	21

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil		Re- fined Cod	Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod			
Harbour Breton								
	Newman & Co.	14,699	....	6	38	5	17	355
	Nicholle & Co.	9,262	....	..	..	..	..	...
	Baine Johnston & Co.	3,000	....	..	..	..	..	...
	Punton & Nun	2,600	....	..	..	..	..	...
	Joseph Gorman	82	....	..	..	..	34	61
	Onsloy Ludlow	.....	....	..	..	..	..	1,300
	F.W. Levers	.....	....	..	..	..	..	1,000
	Peter Smith	.....	....	..	..	..	..	350
	Henry Hickman	.....	....	..	..	..	..	146
	Solomon Trellick	.....	....	..	..	..	..	700
	A. Givonani	.....	....	..	..	..	..	600
	Total	29,643	....	6	38	5	51	4,512
English Harbour								
	Sundry Shippers in 28 Vessels	352	....	..	..	..	..	16,005
	Total	352	....	..	..	..	..	16,005
Gaultois								
	Newman & Co.	9,965	....	..	..	..	..	28
	Total	9,965	....	..	..	..	..	28

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fine d Cod		
Burgeo								
	Degroucy, Renouf & Co.	179	259	3	13	4	70	....
	Joseph Small	400	....	..	..	..	97	150
	Nathan Crowell	290	....	..	5	..	150	..
	Joseph Pippy	...	....	..	..	..	..	350
	Total	869	259	3	18	4	317	500
La Poile and Rose Blanche								
	Ridley & Sons	13,580	....	..	..	..	..	45
	Nicholle & Co.	3,400	30	2	24	8	59	170
	Degroucy, Renouf & Co.	12,302	....	..	10	..	..	20
	F.A. Cook	.....	....	..	..	..	200	25
	Sundry Shippers	.....	....	..	..	..	..	280
	Total	29,282	30	2	34	8	259	540
Channel								
	W. Pryon & Sons	1,810	....	6	10	..	21	365
	John Poole	.....	....	..	..	..	..	300
	Joseph Parmetin	.....	....	..	..	..	..	300
	George Evans	.....	....	..	..	..	..	61
	Ridley & Sons	.....	....	..	1	..	8	6
	Sundry Shippers	.....	....	..	1	..	53	138
	Total	1,810	....	6	11	..	82	1,170

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil		Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod Re- fined Cod		
Labrador: (Newfoundland Houses)							
	Punton & Munn	58,104	....	..	..	79	6,756
	Ridley & Sons	50,078	....	..	80	..	4,501
	W.J.S. Donnelly	9,715	....	..	..	..	1,000
	Daniel Green	.....	....	..	..	..	1,236
	Rutherford Bros.	.....	....	..	..	..	1,692
	J. & R. Maddock	.....	....	..	..	8	611
	John Norke	10,102	....	..	9	..	1,917
	P. & L. Tessier	5,753	....	..	..	..	1,111
	Mc. Bride & Co.	3,600	....	..	..	..	.....
	W. Grievs & Co.	3,115	....	..	..	..	.....
	Baine Johnston & Co.	8,030	....	..	..	..	.....
	M.H. Warren & Co.	6,000	....	..	..	..	.....
	J. & W. Stewart	9,147	....	..	..	..	.....
	Job Brothers & Co.	11,160	....	..	..	..	.....
	Bowring Bros.	8,900	....	..	..	..	.....
	Stabb, Row & Co.	8,970	....	..	..	..	.....
	L. O'Brien & Co.	3,101	....	..	..	..	.....
	Total	195,775	....	..	89	87	18,824

TABLE 37--Continued

Places Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil			Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
			Seal & Whale	Cod	Re- fined Cod		

Places	Totals						
Saint John's	540,522	169,101	2,477	1,934	328	2,264	24,185
Twillingate	13,335	6,367	5	8	...	150	.....
Fogo	6,848	6,467	95	63	...	63	.....
Greenspond	8,748	3,796	60	.....	...	.....	.....
Catalina	13,730	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....
Trinity	17,972	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....
Hant's Harbour	2,200	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....
Carbonear	10,792	.....	.....	44	...	4	.....
Harbour Grace	110,534	63,125	737	674	36	328	3,947
Ferryland District	6,100	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....
St. Mary's	4,626	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....
Placentia	2,045	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....
Burin	13,303	.....	.....	.....	...	31	654
St. Lawrence	630	.....	.....	4	...	8	21
Harbour Britan	29,643	.....	6	38	5	51	4,512
English Harbour	352	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	16,005
Gaultois	9,965	.....	.....	18	...	.....	28
Burgeo	869	259	3	18	4	317	500

TABLE 37--Continued

Places	Exporters	Quintals Dried Cod	Number Seal Skins	Tuns Oil		Re- fined Cod	Tierces Salmon	Barrels Herring
				Seal & Whale	Cod			
Totals (continued)								
Places	La Poile	29,282	30	2	34	8	259	540
	Channel	1,810	.....	6	11	...	82	1,170
	Labrador Nfld. Houses	195,775	.....	....	89	...	87	18,824
	Total	1,019,081	243,145	3,391	2,917	401	3,644	70,386

^a Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 1866-1875, Vol. V, pp. 46-52.

TABLE 38

Job Brothers Fish Collections: 1854-1882^a

Year	Shore	Labrador	Total
1854	38,731	16,070	54,801
1855	55,452	20,539	75,991
1856	55,391	18,160	73,551
1857	57,888	16,590	74,478
1858	55,797	16,256	72,053
1859	44,763	19,017	63,780
1860	54,300	16,000	70,300
1861	58,500	25,000	83,500
1862	59,442	11,419	70,861
1863	48,748	16,827	65,575
1864	39,328	17,866	57,194
1865	44,058	26,718	70,776
1866	29,829	24,687	54,516
1867	40,989	32,036	73,025
1868	.....	.....	.....
1869	46,854	27,917	74,771
1870	.....	.....	.....
1871	101,820	39,685	141,505
1872	80,104	43,935	124,039
1873	83,392	42,016	125,408
1874	74,723	45,945	120,668
1875	45,375	43,423	88,799
1876	40,418	58,004	98,422
1877	37,120	51,722	88,842
1878	43,168	52,437	95,605
1879	51,526	63,212	114,738
1880	54,980	66,682	121,662
1881	86,801	17,851	104,652
1882	53,646	15,642	69,288

^aJob Brothers and Company Book of Statistics in Office Memorandum, Job Family Papers.

TABLE 39

The Shore, Labrador, and Bank Catch: 1890 and 1900^a)

District	Shore Catch		Labrador Catch		Bank Catch	
	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900
St. John's E.	10,707	27,790	40,590	17,204	8,300	....
St. John's W.	7,854	21,206	.....	.....	2,200	....
Harbour Main	1,765	2,696	27,044	15,356	2,050	....
Port de Grave	1,555	2,457	51,444	76,667	2,000	....
Harbour Grace	1,506	3,309	107,699	74,874	5,570	....
Carbonear	735	872	40,057	38,521	1,860	....
Bay de Verde	23,348	37,571	36,428	19,671	.....	....
Trinity Bay	25,642	47,225	32,159	55,065	24,998	18,711
Bonavista Bay	39,309	69,461	82,093	78,847	1,720	.....
Fogo	21,398	44,837	19,255	16,450	.....	.....
Twillingate	26,777	57,276	18,485	41,613	.....	12
St. Barbe	33,941	50,369	250	1,046	.....	.....
Ferryland	33,143	62,860	56	.....	11,949	2,200
Placentia and St. Mary's	72,561	128,938	.....	.....	20,900	.....
Burin	28,830	68,520	.....	.....	45,318	70,155
Fortune Bay	39,018	35,031	100	2,828	3,760	20,720
Dargo and La Poile	41,249	41,587	225	462	7,004	7,340
St. Georges	16,617	16,763	1,000	1,703	.....	.....
Labrador	.....	.....	11,903	16,000	.....	.....

^aCensus Returns, 1891 and 1901.

TABLE 40

Imports of Dried Cod into Naples: 1886-1894^a
(Quintals)

Year	Newfoundland Shore fish	Labrador	Gaspe'	Norway	France	Total
1886	21,400	34,200	14,960	26,700	12,400	109,666
1887	9,700	14,000	5,020	46,950	34,100	109,770
1888	15,300	19,800	2,900	51,500	27,200	116,700
1888-89	12,769	18,325	6,828	36,926	27,694	102,542
1889-90	4,262	11,488	11,937	29,162	29,556	86,405
1890-91	7,494	20,440	13,222	31,050	25,547	97,753
1891-92	21,000	27,000	14,100	24,000	17,000	103,100
1892-93	12,300	19,500	12,627	40,900	23,000	108,327
1893-94	600	14,558	13,383	32,766	21,642	82,949

^aStatistics gathered from Trade Reports of Consuls by J.K. Miller.

TABLE 41

Norway's Exports of Dried Cod (Quintals):
1815-1865 and 1877-1889^a

Year	Stockfish	Klipfish	Total
1815-1819	155,032	29,143	184,175
1820-1824	203,994	86,520	290,514
1825-1829	309,721	114,743	424,464
1830-1835	324,120	132,924	457,044
1836-1840	294,241	201,016	495,257
1841-1845	243,839	165,232	409,121
1846	313,301	232,771	546,072
1847	297,459	214,710	512,169
1848	270,756	264,212	534,968
1849	324,693	234,055	558,748
1850	301,067	234,321	535,488
1851	381,038	289,894	670,932
1852	344,612	217,221	561,834
1853	293,564	262,632	556,196
1854	317,634	231,151	548,785
1855	292,401	398,542	690,943
1856	358,695	368,142	744,837
1857	305,506	463,621	769,127
1858	243,649	309,506	552,555
1859	203,245	369,738	572,983
1860	259,995	370,860	630,855
1861	244,562	359,563	604,125
1862	264,586	325,199	589,785
1863	237,583	322,100	559,683
1864	246,851	453,857	700,708
1865	332,398	490,344	822,742
<hr/>			
Year	Total	Year	Total
1877	1,400,000	1883	836,093
1878	1,139,700	1884	1,030,820
1879	1,306,870	1885	1,084,040

TABLE 41--Continued

Year	Total	Year	Total
1880	1,444,296	1886	1,147,200
1881	1,215,899	1887	1,193,700
1882	1,100,551	1888	1,265,040
		1889	1,316,520

^aThe information for 1815-1865 was taken from the Newfoundland Journal, 1868, Appendix, pp. 866-67, Report of Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Christiana on the Cod and Herring Fisheries of Norway, for the year 1866. These figures have been converted from pounds to quintals by the writer. For the period, 1815-1845, the average annual exports are given for each five or six years. The figures for 1877-1889 were taken from C.O. 194:218, p. 362, A Minute by Anderson, April 4, 1891, by J.K. Hiller.

TABLE 42

Imports of Dried Cod into Bilbao: 1882-1886^a

Year	Norway	Iceland and Faroes	Newfoundland Shore and Labrador	France	Total
1882	269,747	90,333	22,843	20,784	403,707
1883	210,235	4,618	11,631	85,147	353,198
1884	284,819	30,706	2,377	123,716	441,620
1885	284,819	30,706	2,377	123,716	441,620
1886	254,349	41,139	3,708	137,387	438,584

^aStatistics gathered from Trade Reports of Consuls by J.K. Hiller. The writer converted the original table from kilograms to quintals using the conversion factor, 51 kilogram = 1 quintal.

TABLE 43

Imports of Dried Cod into Alicante: 1884-1898^a

Year	Newfoundland	Norway	France
1884-85	84,800	15,000	.....
1885-86	96,600	14,000	3,200
1886-87	87,000	27,000	10,000
1887-88	70,000	14,800	7,800
1888-89	84,800	13,800	7,800
1889	52,000	18,000	80,000
1890	61,000	27,000	10,000
1891	66,000	.....	.....
1892	80,800	15,400	1,800
1893	42,000	18,800	1,200
1897	27,000	5,000	8,000
1898	25,200	7,800	19,000

^aStatistics gathered from Trade Reports of Consuls
by J.K. Miller.

TABLE 44

Some Exports of Dried Cod by Munn, Baine Johnston,
and Bowring to Various Markets: 1878-1889

John Munn and Company ^a					
Year	Leghorn	Genoa	Naples	England	Lisbon and Oporto
1878	.....	73,572	.....	.....	.....
1879	14,400	47,360	.....	.....	.....
1882	.....	40,905	11,931	20,831	2,990
1883	12,580	48,851	18,862	47,373	4,180
1884	8,000	36,527	9,060	24,582	3,600
1885	11,457	37,334	14,905	30,817	5,100
1886	4,000	34,965	13,461	23,292	3,000
1887	7,101	28,790	7,160	20,077	2,885
1888	8,015	20,412	7,652	37,647	4,000
1889	4,100	13,759	8,862	27,017	.....

Continued

Year	Malaga	Alicante	Valencia	Zante	Patras	West Indies, U.S.A. and Canada
1882	3,200	11,500	20,700	7,658	.....	9,543
1883	3,300	3,900	26,500	16,124	.....	.....
1884	3,000	2,700	19,530	8,000	3,304	2,317
1885	9,400	4,000	27,600	14,700	7,300	9,576

TABLE 44--Continued

Year	Malaga	Alicante	Valencia	Zante	Patras	West Indies, U.S.A. and Canada
1886	6,700	4,000	19,003	16,993	7,200	1,708
1887	2,700	6,200	17,200	7,400	6,981	1,734
1888	12,300	5,700	11,067	14,125	10,797	.....
1889	3,200	5,500	19,500	6,800	7,240	.....

Baine Johnston and Company^b

Year	Mediterranean
------	---------------

1885	61,214
1886	43,570
1887	33,589
1888	36,166
1889	30,155

Bowring Brothers^c

Year	Mediterranean
------	---------------

1885	24,164
1886	14,464
1887	7,880

TABLE 14--Continued

Continued	
Year	Mediterranean
1888	16,945
1889	6,400

^aReport of Judge Bennett together with Evidence Respecting Bait Protection Service, 1890" (St. John's, 1891), pp. 47-49.

^bIbid., p. 114.

^cIbid., p. 102.

TABLE 45

Norway's Exports of Dried Cod to the Various Markets
(Quintals): 1855, 1856, 1857, and 1865^a

Market	1855	1856	1857
Sweden	85,780	96,860	88,800
Holland	74,400	72,560	58,160
Belgium	25,120	28,200	22,940
Mediterranean	91,520	42,640	40,980
Spain	374,040	362,860	452,480
Portugal	7,860	8,340	....
France	1,140	3,220	....
West Indies	15,680	10,800	12,760
Brazil	37,280	40,700	47,580
Russia	1,640	12,760	17,780

Market	1865 Stockfish	Klipfish	Total
Great Britain and Ireland	214	13,159	13,373
Gibraltar	18,980	....	18,980
Sweden	51,446	16	51,462
Russia	17,967	....	17,967
Finland	5,377	....	5,377
Prussia	1,357	....	1,357
Denmark	2,061	38	2,099
Holstein and Altona	11	....	11
Hamburg	7,367	7,539	14,906
Bremen	111	1,949	2,060
Hanover	20	....	20
Holland	48,814	554	49,368
Belgium	16,684	46	16,730
Brazil	....	8,758	8,758
France	4,105	....	4,105
Spain	3,121	401,426	404,547
Portugal	....	19,853	19,853

TABLE 45--Continued

Market	1865	Klipfish	Total
	Stockfish		
Italy	41,705	.....	41,705
Austria	17,849	.....	17,849
Mediterranean	92,661	241	92,902
West Indies	382	36,766	37,148
China	2,132	.....	2,132

^aThe statistics for 1855, 1856, and 1857 were taken from the Newfoundland Journal, 1861, Appendix, p. 31. An Extract from Report by Mr. Crowe, Acting Consul-General at Christiana, on the Trade of Norway, for the years, 1855-1857. These figures have been converted from tons to quintals by the writer. The statistics for 1865 were taken the Newfoundland Journal, 1868, Appendix, pp. 867-68, Report of Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Christiana, on the Cod and Herring Fisheries of Norway, for the year 1866. These figures have been converted from pounds to quintals by the writer.

TABLE 46

Prices per Quintal received for Newfoundland
Dried Cod in the Major Markets: 1856-1900^a

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Brazil	British West Indies
	£	£	£	£	£
1856	***	***	***	***	***
1857	14/6	14/6	12/	17/6	13/
1858	13/9	13/9	13/9	16/8	13/4
1859	15/	15/	14/6	19/	16/
1860	15/	15/	15/	17/	12/
1861	13/	13/	13/	15/	11/
1862	15/	15/	15/	15/	13/
1863	19/6	19/6	16/	20/	15/
1864	20/	20/	16/	20/	15/
<hr/>					
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1865	4.50	4.50	3.50	4.50	3.50
1866	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	4.00
1867	4.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	2.75
1868	3.50	3.50	3.50	4.00	3.00
1869	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.50	3.50
1870	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.50	3.50
<hr/>					
1871	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.50	3.50
1872	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.50	3.50
1873	4.20	4.40	3.60	4.40	3.20
1874	4.40	4.40	3.80	4.20	3.50
1875	4.80	4.50	4.50	4.80	4.00
<hr/>					
1876	5.40	5.70	5.40	5.50	4.40
1877	5.00	5.00	3.20	5.00	3.20
1878	4.90	5.00	3.20	4.80	3.30
1879	3.70	3.90	2.60	3.80	3.00
1880	3.50	3.80	2.60	3.60	2.60
<hr/>					
1881	4.50	5.00	3.60	4.50	3.20
1882	4.70	5.30	4.20	5.00	4.00
1883	4.00	4.50	3.60	4.00	3.00
1884	3.80	4.50	3.20	4.20	2.60
1885	3.20	3.40	2.60	3.50	2.40

TABLE 46--Continued

Year	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Brazil	British West Indies
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1886	3.30	3.30	2.80	3.50	2.00
1887	4.10	4.30	3.50	4.60	3.00
1888	4.50	4.60	3.80	4.80	3.40
1889	4.20	4.50	4.20	4.80	3.40
1890	4.00	4.60	3.00	4.50	3.60
1891	4.40	4.80	3.90	4.40	3.40
1892	3.30	4.50	3.00	3.60	3.00
1893	3.40	4.80	3.40	4.00	3.00
1894	3.50	4.00	3.00	3.40	3.00
1895	3.40	3.50	3.00	3.20	2.60
1896	3.40	3.50	3.00	3.20	2.60
1897	2.80	2.80	2.40	2.60	2.00
1898	2.40	3.20	2.50	3.20	2.40
1899 ^b	3.54	3.77	3.61	4.12	3.68
1900	4.32	4.46	4.67	4.51	4.24

Labrador Fish (Prices)

1888	\$ 3.40	
1889	3.40	
1890	2.60	
1891	2.80	
1892		
1893	2.80	
1894	2.80	
1895	2.30	
1896	2.30	to all markets
1897	2.00	
1898	2.00	

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1858-1901, Appendices.

^bPrices for 1899 and 1900 computed by dividing the total value of fish exports by number of quintals.

TABLE 47

Shipping in the Newfoundland-Spanish
Fish Trade: 1857-1879^a

Year	Quintals in British Ships	Quintals in Spanish Ships
1857	67,435	199,340
1858	30,751	89,376
1859	89,015	180,537
1860	104,417	154,989
1861	127,787	134,305
1862	101,748	172,989
1863	132,563	177,177
1864	103,871	138,897
1865	43,622½	130,091½
1866	70,512	112,428
1867	72,714	98,829
1868	86,472	63,656
1869	127,548	43,080
1870	171,250	39,972
1871	149,747	69,117
1872	140,800	44,751
1873	228,216	19,494
1874	225,726	33,338
1875	111,925	27,105
1876	133,807	28,176
1877	89,498	20,490
1878	61,416	16,500
1879	138,107	19,835

NO FURTHER INFORMATION IN THE
CUSTOM RECORDS.

^a Newfoundland Journals, 1858-1880, Appendices.

TABLE 48

Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to the
Major Markets: 1803-1833^a
(Quintals)

Year	Spain Portugal & Italy	British Europe	British West Indies	British America	U.S.	Brazil	Total
1803	381,519	102,638	64,248	3,082	31,362	.....	582,849
1804	425,446	41,480	41,590	15,757	35,169	.....	559,442
1805	377,293	65,979	81,488	22,776	77,983	.....	625,519
1806	438,918	84,241	100,936	32,555	116,159	.....	772,809
1807	262,366	130,400	103,418	23,541	155,085	.....	674,810
1808	154,669	208,254	115,677	40,874	56,658	.....	576,132
1809	326,781	292,068	133,359	41,894	16,117	.....	810,219
1810	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1811	611,960	139,561	152,184	18,621	1,214	.....	923,540
1812	545,451	67,020	91,864	4,121	.....	2,600	711,056
1813	727,739	50,701	119,354	14,389	.....	.....	912,183
1814	768,010	55,791	97,249	24,712	.....	2,049	947,811
1815	952,116	46,116	159,233	24,608	588	.....	1,182,661
1816	770,693½	59,341½	176,603	37,443	2,545	.....	1,046,626
1817	681,559	79,746	150,827	20,656	2,848	.....	935,636
1818	560,632	57,258	116,716	.....	.....	.....	751,818
1819	606,609	57,737	126,995	3,762	.....	13,067	808,250
1820	626,644	81,014	139,484	19,741	.....	7,723	874,606

TABLE 48--Continued

Year	Spain Portugal & Italy	British Europe	British West Indies	British America	U.S.	Brazil	Total
1821	699,349	95,935	127,105	26,686	.....	14,817	963,822
1822	726,600	73,931 [†]	88,181	22,090	.....	13,681	924,533 [†]
1823	631,009	65,140	118,414	27,244	636	16,201	858,813
1824	723,438	65,592	126,625	28,221	104	39,703	963,693
1825	512,309	146,106	137,561	32,265	.....	64,025	892,366
1826	687,200	93,739	105,410 [†]	57,945	54	49,665	994,013 [†]
1827	533,092	118,738	146,033	44,831	.....	34,088	876,792
1828	586,155	112,606	123,611	48,201	.....	63,569	934,232
1829	474,236	156,378	158,493	54,998	.....	84,713	928,818
1830	560,620	125,449	129,525	35,875	.....	54,650	906,119
1831	425,427	89,051	119,801	61,215	.....	40,387	726,881
1832	426,673	62,359	127,687	58,595	.....	32,078	707,382
1833	515,880	89,765	136,830	73,637	3,668	47,407	867,187

^a"Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics".

TABLE 49

Imports of Dried Cod into Genoa,
Leghorn, and Naples: 1897^a
(Quintals)

	Genoa	Leghorn	Naples
France	60,000	100,000	34,000
Norway	30,000	.....	} 38,000
Iceland	60,000	.....
Newfoundland	.....	56,398	27,000
Labrador	50,000	.....	.....
Gaspé	.....	.....	6,000
Other	.....	108,417	.....
Total	200,000	264,815	105,000

^a Report of the Trade Commissioners, pp. 13, 14
and 16.

TABLE 50

Newfoundland's Exports of Dried Cod to Nova
Scotia and Canada (Quintals): 1868-1900^a

Year	Nova Scotia	Canada
1858	41,468	2,500
1859	42,341	902
1860	35,499	2,120
1861	38,253	550
1862	36,263	80
1863	28,454	.....
1864	15,953	50
1865	3,566	1,416
1866	1,658	697
1867	6,063	4,787
1868	12,553	5,619
1869	15,528	3,862
1870	38,014	3,866
1871	40,579	1,914
1872	28,495	3,126
1873	32,670	3,186
1874	37,083	4,774
1875	6,333	1,441
1876	4,335	.....
1877	3,770	.....
1878	7,928	.....
1879	24,125	260
1880 ^b	45,136	546
1881	.....	23,640
1882	.....	21,704
1883	.....	36,055
1884	.....	24,012
1885	.....	10,885
1886	.....	12,275
1887	.....	18,163
1888	.....	24,318
1889	.....	23,909
1890	.....	44,949

TABLE 50--Continued

Year	Nova Scotia	Canada
1891	102,443
1892	26,982
1893	71,173
1894	126,219
1895	109,292
1896	102,492
1897	59,480
1898	64,526
1899	46,039
1900	44,286

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1859-1901, Appendices.

^bAfter 1880 exports to Nova Scotia are included in the statistics on exports to Canada.

TABLE 51

Newfoundland Vessels on the North Shore
and Labrador: 1812-1833^a

Year	Ports of Origin					Employment of Vessels	
	St. John's	Conception Bay	Fogo- Twillingate	Trinity Bay	Others	Total Ships	
1812	29	77	..	5	..	111	North Shore
1813	26	83	..	5	2	116	" "
1814	45	81	1	2	..	129	" "
1815	36	70	..	..	..	106	" "
1816	17	86	..	1	..	104	" "
1817	24	85	..	1	..	110	" "
1818	34	118	..	1	..	153	" "
1819	51	162	..	..	1	214	" "
1820	67	188	..	4	4	263	" "
1821	67	188	..	4	2	261	" "
1822	64	106	..	4	..	174	" "
1823	70	167	..	..	..	237	" "
1824	68	183	..	..	..	251	" "
1825	67	135	2	..	..	204	" "
1826	71	167	..	1	..	239	" "
1827	65	184	30	..	23	302	N. Shore & Labrador
1828	68	178	30	16	8	300	Labrador

TABLE 51--Continued

Year	Ports of Origin				Employment of Vessels	
	St. John's	Conception Bay	Fogo- Twillingate	Trinity Bay	Others	Total Ships
1829	77	131	..	16	19	243
1830	85	155	..	21	25	286
1831	88	121	..	28	..	274
1832	89	121	34	28	2	274
1833	52	171	..	..	..	223
						Coasting & Labrador
						"
						"
						Labrador

^aAll the above statistics have been taken from the Annual Census Returns in the Colonial Office Records, Vols. LIV - LXXXVII (C.O. 194:54 - C.O. 194:87).

TABLE 52

Total Value of Newfoundland Imports
and Exports: 1835-1901^a

Year	Imports	Exports
	£	£
1835	671,37½	765,977
1836	632,576	850,334
1837	769,295	906,705
1838	639,268	829,605
1839	710,557	901,385
1840	784,045	983,961
1841	800,423	952,525
1842	.....	.....
1843	741,965	960,461
1844	770,016	882,905
1845	801,330	939,436
1846	802,247	759,103
1847	843,409	806,565
1848	769,628	837,581
1849	770,190	876,567
1850	867,316	975,770
1851	943,197	959,751
1852	795,758	965,772
1853	912,095	1,170,503
1854	964,527	1,019,572
1855	1,152,804	1,142,212
1856	1,271,604	1,338,797
1857	1,413,432	1,651,171
1858	1,172,862	1,318,836
1859	1,323,288	1,357,113
1860	1,254,128	1,271,712
1861	1,152,857	1,092,551
1862	1,007,082	1,171,723
1863	1,077,272	1,233,353
1864	1,067,062	1,111,330
	\$	\$
1865	5,299,603	5,493,005
1866	5,784,849	5,694,305
1867	5,551,008	5,068,603
1868	4,304,423	4,263,660
1869	5,294,152	6,096,700
1870	6,655,849	6,230,276

TABLE 52--Continued

Year	Imports	Exports
	\$	\$
1871	6,039,227	6,292,283
1872	6,716,060	5,707,002
1873	6,766,603	7,700,799
1874	7,354,689	7,336,039
1875	7,058,372	6,432,003
1876	7,205,907	6,562,090
1877	7,363,634	6,841,582
1878	6,868,723	5,630,891
1879	7,261,002	5,918,924
1880	6,966,243 ✓	5,635,797 ✓
1881	6,863,708	7,818,880
1882	8,350,222 ✓	7,801,222 ✓
1883	9,131,464 ✓	7,058,738 ✓
1884	8,075,792 ✓	6,567,135 ✓
1885	6,698,500 ✓	4,726,608 ✓
1886	6,020,035 ✓	4,862,951 ✓
1887	5,397,408 ✓	5,176,730 ✓
1888	7,420,400 ✓	6,582,013 ✓
1889	6,607,065 ✓	6,122,985 ✓
1890	6,368,855 ✓	6,099,686 ✓
1891	6,869,458	7,437,158
1892	5,012,877	5,651,111
1893	7,572,596 ✓	5,651,111 ✓ 6,190,912
1894	7,164,738 ✓	5,811,169 ✓
1895	6,001,733	6,219,991
1896	5,986,861	6,638,187
1897	5,938,334	4,925,789
1898	5,188,863	5,226,933
1899	6,311,244	6,936,315
1900	7,497,147	8,627,576
1901	7,476,503	8,359,978

^aBlue Books, 1835-1850; and Newfoundland Journals, 1851-1902, Appendices.

TABLE 53

Newfoundland Government Expenditures for
the Relief of Distress: 1855-1901^a

Year	Money for Local Roads and Bridges	Percentage of Total Government Expenditures
<i>£</i>		
1855	3,108/ 5/ 6	3.2
1856	7,587/16/ 8	9.9
1857	10,000/ 0/ 0	10.2
1858	18,166/15/ 2	15.8
1859	17,217/14/ 6	15.0
1860	13,329/ 3/ 7	14.7
1861	2,935/12/ 6	2.8
1862	5,001/ 9/ 7	5.0
1863	3,516/17/ 9	3.7
1864	11,427/18/11	11.4
<i>\$</i>		
1865	46,591.53	7.9
1866	83,132.38	15.6
1867	125,382.90	22.5
1868	153,095.05	25.9
1869	86,575.39	16.1
1870	86,924.49	14.7
1871	95,604.90	15.6
1872	104,907.71	14.8
1873	129,023.23	14.9
1874	95,897.37	11.5
1875	102,833.56	11.9
1876	105,629.00	12.5
1877	89,759.03	10.5
1878	103,724.21	11.2
1879	103,298.31	11.4
1880	117,461.18	12.0
1881	107,611.77	11.6
1882	107,354.18	9.4
1883	114,549.22	10.8
1884	142,060.82	8.5
1885	114,960.87	9.5

TABLE 53--Continued

Year	Money for Local Roads and Bridges	Percentage of Total Government Expenditures
	\$	
1886	252,460.66	16.9
1887	217,147.36	13.9
1888	116,879.90	7.4
1889	148,963.86	7.8
1890	124,510.46	6.2
1891	122,383.69	6.7
1892	127,862.55	7.7
1893	118,395.00	5.6
1894	125,535.50	5.6
1895	.....	...
1896	8,940.67 ^b	.7
1897	129,864.92	7.0
1898	152,433.21	6.5
1899	91,159.90	5.1
1900	107,564.95	5.4
1901	180,449.24	8.9

Year	Poor Relief Payments	Percentage of Total Government Expenditures
	£	
1855	14,644/ 0/ 3	14.9
1856	11,651/ 5/ 1	15.3
1857	11,730/ 0/ 0	12.0
1858	7,607/15/ 7	6.6
1859	9,864/ 2/ 4	8.6
1860	10,592/ 5/ 6	11.7
1861	19,576/ 9/ 1	18.3
1862	26,757/ 2/ 8	26.9
1863	27,376/14/ 4	28.9
1864	15,589/19/ 9	15.6

TABLE 53--Continued

Year	Poor Relief Payments	Percentage of Total Government Expenditures
	\$	
1865	105,683.75	18.0
1866	60,556.54	11.3
1867	64,560.60	11.6
1868	79,797.63	13.5
1869	71,520.00	13.3
1870	69,736.62	11.8
1871	70,290.00	11.4
1872	72,674.00	10.2
1873	79,200.00	9.1
1874	81,903.13	9.8
1875	88,126.60	10.2
1876	90,169.11	10.7
1877	90,416.00	10.6
1878	98,360.00	10.6
1879	96,000.00	10.3
1880	102,164.48	10.4
1881	106,000.00	11.5
1882	108,638.00	9.5
1883	116,268.47	11.0
1884	119,051.73	7.1
1885	132,861.98	10.9
1886	143,300.00	9.6
1887	154,000.00	9.9
1888	153,630.72	9.8
1889	159,260.75	8.4
1890	199,757.22	10.0
1891	217,867.70	11.9
1892	205,666.27	12.3
1893	218,393.48	10.4
1894	246,645.47	11.0
1895	.....	....

TABLE 53--Continued

Year	Poor Relief Payments	Percentage of Total Government Expenditures
	\$	
1896	146,474.13	10.8
1897	178,441.20	9.6
1898	198,855.84	8.4
1899	200,511.89	11.2
1900	189,702.47	9.6
1901	207,307.63	10.2

^aNewfoundland Journals, 1856-1902, Appendices. After 1895 June 30 became the end of the fiscal year instead of December 30 as previously.

^bThis figure and the two that follow (1896 - 1898) contain the full expenditure for all public works.

TABLE 54

Total Newfoundland Government Revenue
and Expenditure: 1835-1901

Year	Revenue	Expenditure
	£	£
1835	36,202/ 5/6½	31,632/ 9/9¾
1836	46,187/13/4½	36,019/18/ 6
1837	.....	.....
1838	.....	.....
1839	47,839/ 0/ ¾	42,822/ 3/ 7
1840	49,455/10/6¾	39,347/ 2/ 4
1841	56,686/12/ 2	40,787/17/ 8
1842	.....	.....
1843	69,814/16/ 6	59,830/13/ 2
1844	64,846/ 9/ 6	66,379/ 5/ 6
1845	60,303/ 8/ 9	62,703/18/ 7
1846	76,760/17/10	74,051/ 1/ 0
1847	69,049/14/11	74,873/16/ 7
1848	59,300/17/11	62,711/18/ 7
1849	69,405/ 5/ 1	66,262/ 2/ 1
1850	82,652/ 0/ 8	71,807/ 1/ 5
1851	.....	.....
1852	.....	.....
1853	.....	.....
1854	.....	.....
1855	126,448/12/ 4	98,445/ 5
1856	118,831/15/ 8	76,275/13/ 4
1857	149,324/ 9/11	98,084/19/11
1858	141,128/ 4/ 3	115,005/ 1/ 8
1859	133,732/15/ 1	114,599/ 1/ 3
1860	133,608/ 1/ 7	90,728/17/ 2
1861	90,043/10/ 7	106,772/ ¼/ 2
1862	116,929/17/ 1	99,366/ 8/11
1863	113,034/ 1/ 11	94,731/12/ 3
1864	125,158/19	100,195/ ¼/ 2

TABLE 54--Continued

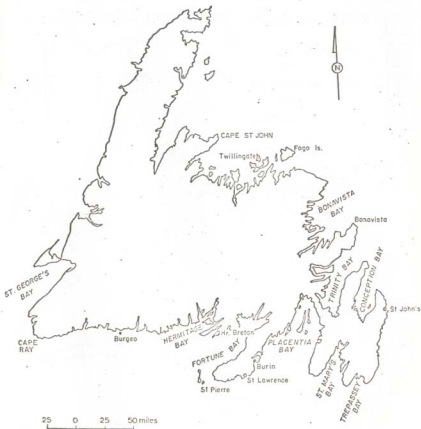
Year	Revenue	Expenditure
	\$	\$
1865	602,120.92	587,839.37
1866	721,390.19	534,268.36
1867	630,625.79	557,053.82
1868	860,834.62	591,802.03
1869	849,581.76	537,991.90
1870	879,790.54	592,343.97
1871	788,679.35	614,260.72
1872	851,242.85	711,376.81
1873	839,592.98	866,601.94
1874	891,042.24	834,988.81
1875	986,424.63	861,646.92
1876	983,530.51	844,444.40
1877	905,142.63	853,210.19
1878	1,019,033.89	925,075.57
1879	1,256,950.30	929,487.05
1880	985,111.43	982,232.49
1881	1,099,369.39	925,327.74
1882	1,274,734.31	1,140,736.32
1883	1,362,882.00	1,057,672.44
1884	1,796,913.93	1,677,259.98
1885	1,009,222.40	-1,214,846.70 ✓
1886	1,759,978.98 ✓	1,489,830.62 ✓
1887	2,040,600.23 ✓	1,559,684.47 ✓
1888	1,730,029.74 ✓	1,574,829.51 ✓
1889	2,102,993.03 ✓	1,898,550.42 ✓
1890	1,831,336.36 ✓	-1,993,288.12
1891	1,973,275.34 ✓	1,831,432.43
1892	1,883,790.55	1,668,120.64
1893	1,853,844.50 ✓	-2,110,012.13
1894	1,641,035.12 ✓	-2,236,308.34
1895	.....	.....
1896	1,564,466.00	1,360,455.31
1897	1,610,788.00	1,866,810.59
1898	1,541,418.00	2,362,496.25
1899	1,753,735.00	1,789,824.06
1900	2,242,047.00	1,983,445.16
1901	2,060,501.00	2,024,952.15

APPENDIX II

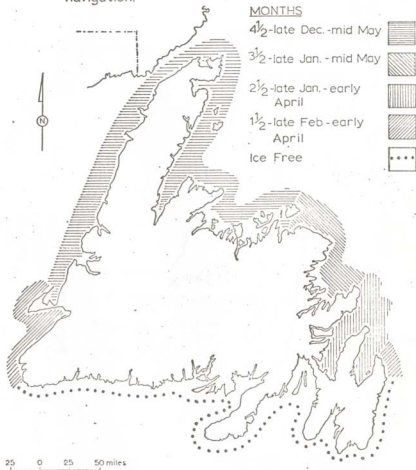
MAPS

Map	Page
1. Newfoundland	312
2. Average duration of ice conditions restricting navigation	313
3. Conception Bay and St. John's	314
4. Foreign Fishing Areas	315
5. North Atlantic Fishing Banks	316
6. Labrador Coast	317
7. Major European Dried Cod Markets	318
8. Newfoundland Exports 1865	319

MAP 1: Newfoundland

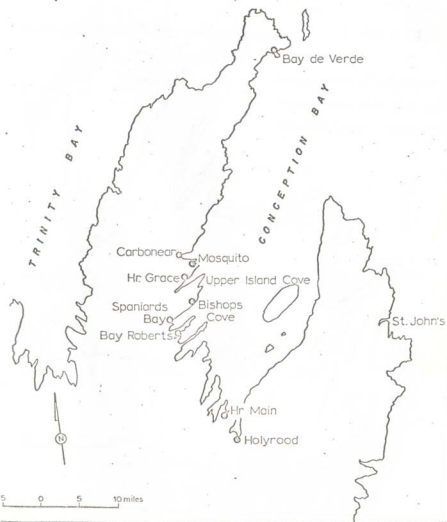


MAP 2: Average duration of ice conditions restricting navigation.¹

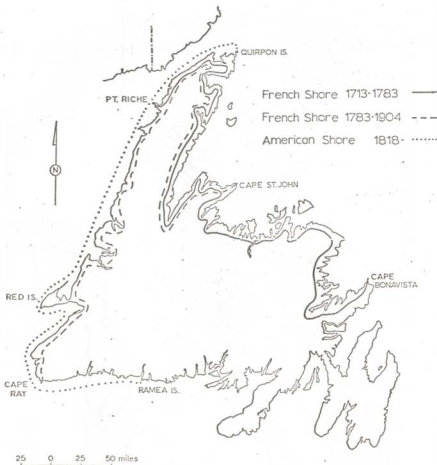


¹Information taken from C.N. Forward, The Shipping Trade of Newfoundland (Ph.D Thesis, Clark University, 1958), p. 21.

MAP 3: Conception Bay and St. John's

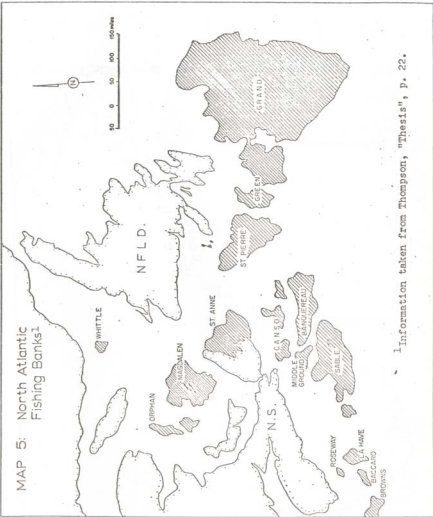


MAP 4: FOREIGN FISHING AREAS¹



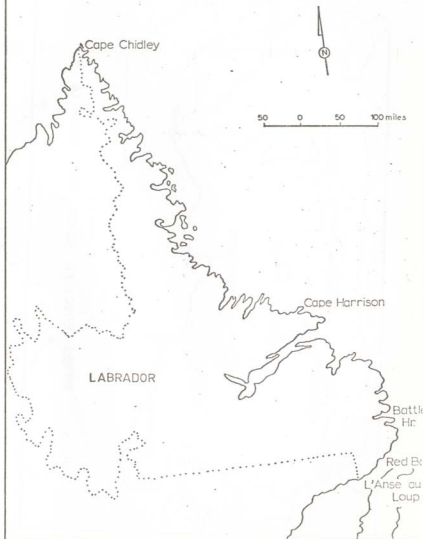
¹Information taken from Thompson, "Thesis", p. 58.

MAP 5: North Atlantic
Fishing Banks¹

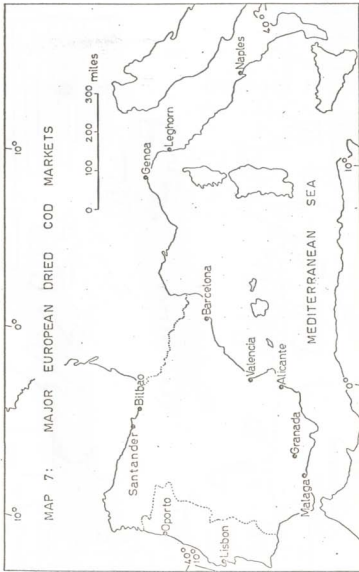


¹ Information taken from Thompson, "Thesis", p. 22.

MAP 6: Labrador Coast



MAP 7: MAJOR EUROPEAN DRIED COD MARKETS



Exports for

UNITED KINGDOM

PORTUGAL

BRAZIL

SPAIN

UNITED STATES

BRITISH WEST INDIES

FOREIGN WEST INDIES

CANADA

ITALY

HAMBURG

NOVA SCOTIA

OTHERS

NEWFOUNDLAND

Key:

- Dried Cod
- Salt Dried
- Oil
- Others
- \$1000

NEWFOUNDLAND

EXPORTS¹

1865

MLP 8

1 Source: Table 37, Appendix I.

APPENDIX III

BOUNTIES PAID TO SUPPORT THE FRENCH FISHERY: 1851¹

Per man, for those outfitted for the fishery on the Newfoundland coast, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the Grand Bank,	50 francs
Per man for the fishery in the Iceland seas, without drying fish	50 "
Per man, on the Grand Bank, without drying	30 "
Per man, on the Dogger Bank, without drying	15 "

BOUNTIES ON EXPORTED FISH per Metric Quintal

Dry codfish, of French catch, exported directly from the coast of Newfoundland, St. Pierre or Miquelon; or warehoused in France and exported to the French colonies or to transatlantic ports having a French consul,	20 "
Dry codfish, not warehoused, exported from French ports,	16 "
Dry codfish carried directly from fishing regions to ports of France, Portugal, and Spain, or to other foreign ports in the Mediterranean,	16 "
Dry codfish carried directly to ports of France, and thence to Sardinia and Algeria,	12 "

¹Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 375.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES: UNPUBLISHED

Business, Family, and Personal Papers

- Baine Johnston Letter Book, 1893-1898. Located in the Archives of the Maritime History Group, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Baine Johnston Papers, 1808 / 1910. Located in the Archives of the Maritime History Group, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Benjamin Smith Papers, 1833 / 1887. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Chamber of Commerce, Annual Reports, 1849-1884. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Chamber of Commerce Minute Books, 5 vols. 1834-1875. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Collingwood Collection, A selection of Newman, Hunt, and Company Brochures and Letters. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Earle Collection of One Hundred and Twenty Documents. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Grievous and Bremner Fish Collection Books, 20 vols. 1855 / 1890. Located in the Archives of the Maritime History Group, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Harvey and Company Papers, 1885. Located in the Archives of the Maritime History Group, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Job Family Papers, 1761 / 1952. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

- John and Charles Steer Letter Book, 1890-1898. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- John and William Boyd Letter Book, 1875-1878. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- John Munn and Company Miscellaneous Papers. In the possession of Martin R. (Mac) Lee, Placentia.
- Sir John T. Duckworth Papers, 1810-1812. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Maurice Job Taylor Collection, 1824 / 1911. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Newman, Hunt, and Company Limited, Records, 1850-1899. Letter Books, 50 vols. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Punton and Munn Letter Book, 1855-1857. In the possession of Martin R. (Mac) Lee, Placentia.
- Punton and Munn, Old Letters. In the possession of Martin R. (Mac) Lee, Placentia.
- Tilly Family Papers, 1812 / 1821. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- William Cox and Company Letter Books, 2 vols., 1858-1859, and 1865-1867. Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- William Waterman and Company Produce Books, Fogo, 8 vols., 1864 / 1883. 1 vol. (1878-1883) is located in the Archives of the Maritime History Group, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland. The other volumes are located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- William White Collection of Trinity Bay Manuscripts. (Various Slade Documents.) Located in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Government Documents

- Great Britain. Colonial Office Records, Series 194, Vol. 43-241. 199 vols. ✓

Newfoundland. Book of Coasting and Fishing Ships cleared from Harbour Grace: 1866-1918. In the possession of Martin R. (Mac) Lee, Placentia.

Newfoundland. Police Letter Books, Harbour Grace, 3 vols., 1843-1860. In the possession of Martin R. (Mac) Lee, Placentia.

Other Primary Sources: Unpublished

Statistics gathered from the Trade Reports of the British Consuls by J.K. Hiller, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Statistics on the imports of dried cod into Bilbao gathered from the Newfoundland Gazette (St. John's), 1829, by Dr. K. Matthews, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

A petition from Captain W.H. Whiteley to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Ottawa, August 15, 1876. In the possession of Dr. W.H. Whiteley, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

PRIMARY SOURCES: PUBLISHED

Newspapers

Evening Herald (St. John's), 1890.

Evening Telegram (St. John's), 1893, 1895, and 1897.

Newfoundland Mercantile Journal (St. John's), 1817.

Newfoundland Gazette (St. John's), 1829.

Public Ledger (St. John's), 1831 and 1843.

Times and General Commercial Gazette (St. John's), 1895.

Western Star (Corner Brook), 1949.

Government Publications

- Canada. Canadian Sessional Papers of the Parliament of Canada, 1880. Vol. XLI.
- Canada. Censuses of Canada: 1665-1871. Vol. IV.
- Great Britain. Sessional Papers. House of Commons, 1817. Vol. VI.
- Newfoundland. Blue Books of Newfoundland, 1835-1857. 23 vols.
- Newfoundland. Census Returns of Newfoundland, 1836, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, 1891, 1901, and 1936.
- Newfoundland. The Crown vs. The Directors and Manager of the Commercial Bank of Newfoundland, 1895.
- Newfoundland. The Crown vs. The Directors of the Union Bank of Newfoundland, 1895.
- Newfoundland. Journals of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, 1851-1902. 52 vols.
- Newfoundland. Newfoundland Law Reports, Vol II, 1829-1845.
Edited by Sir Brian Dunfield, 1916.
- Newfoundland. Report of Judge Bennett together with Evidence respecting Bait Protection Service, 1890.
- Newfoundland. Report of the Trade Commissioners on the Mediterranean Markets, Etc., 1898.
- Nova Scotia. Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1841, 1845, and 1852.
- Nova Scotia. Various Statements connected with the Trade and Commerce of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1864. 2 Vols.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Adams, William Forbes. Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.

American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge, 1883.

Boxer, C.R. The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415-1825. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.

Burns, E. Bradford. (ed.) A Documentary History of Brazil. 2d ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

Calogeras, Joao Pandia. A History of Brazil. Translated and edited by Percy Alvin Martin. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

Chafe, Levi. History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery from the Earliest Available Records down to and Including the Voyage of 1921. 3d ed. St. John's: Trade Printers and Publishing Limited, 1924.

Chapell, Edward. Voyage of H.M.S. Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coasts of Labrador. London: J. Mawman, 1818.

Cushing, Caleb. The Treaty of Washington. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873.

Cutting, Charles L. Fish Saving: A History of Fish Processing from Ancient to Modern Times. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956.

Egerton, F.C.C. Salazar, Rebuilder of Portugal. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1943.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., 1911.

Fay, C.R. Life and Labour in Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956.

- Grant, Ruth Fulton. The Canadian Atlantic Fishery. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1934.
- Haring, Clarence Henry. Empire in Brazil. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Innis, Harold Adams. The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954.
- James, Herman G. Brazil After a Century of Independence. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925.
- Job, Robert Brown. John Job's Family. 2d ed. St. John's: Evening Telegram Printing Company, 1954.
- Kuznets, Simon., Moore, Wilbert E., and Spengler, Joseph J. (eds.) Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan. Durban, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1955.
- Lewis, W. Arthur. Development Planning: The Essentials of Economic Policy. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- McFarland, Raymond. A History of the New England Fisheries. New York: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1911.
- _____. The Masts of Gloucester: Recollections of a Fisherman. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1934.
- Masters, Donald C. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1936.
- Pedley, Charles. The History of Newfoundland. London: Longman, 1863.
- Poppino, Rollie E. Brazil: The Land and People. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Prowse, D.W. History of Newfoundland. London: MacMillan and Company, 1895.
- Schurz, William Lytle. Brazil: The Infinite Country. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1961.
- Smith, Nicholas. Fifty-Two Years at the Labrador Fishery. London: Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., 1936.

- Smith, T. Lynn. Brazil: People and Institutions. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963.
- Talbot, Thomas. Newfoundland: A Letter Addressed to a friend in Ireland in relation to the condition and circumstances of the Island of Newfoundland, with an especial view to emigration. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1882.
- Thompson, Frederic F. The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Vicens Vives, Jaime. An Economic History of Spain. Translated by Frances M. Lopez - Morillas. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.

Articles

- Hermansson, Halldor. "Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland", Islandica, XVIII, 1928. Reprint. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966.
- Hiller, J.K. "The Political Repercussions of the Harbour Grace Affray." (Lecture delivered to the Historical Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, at St. John's, January 27, 1971.)
- Ryan, Shannon. "Collection of C.O. 194 Statistics." Compiled by the writer under the direction of Dr. K. Matthews, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969.

Theses

- Cramm, Frank. "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway: 1875-1898." Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961.
- Davis, David. "The Bond-Blaine Negotiations: 1890-1891." Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970.
- Feltham, John. "The Development of the F.P.U. in Newfoundland: 1908-1923." Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959.

- Harris, Leslie. "The First Nine Years of Representative Government in Newfoundland." Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959.
- Matthews, Keith. "A History of the West of England-Newfoundland Fishery." D. Phil. Thesis, Department of History, University of Oxford, 1968.
- Mattox, William S. Jr. "The Fishing Industry of Iceland." Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Geography, McGill University, 1960.
- Neary, Peter F. "The French Shore Question: 1865-1878." Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961.
- Parsons, A.W. "An Economic Study of the Newfoundland Fisheries." Bachelor of Science Thesis, Department of Economics, Mount Allison University, 1935.
- Thompson, Frederic F. "A Background to the Newfoundland Clauses of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904." Thesis, (no other information), 1953.



