BONE AND OIL: THE VISUAL AND MATERIAL REPRESENTATION OF WHALING IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN, 1796-1867

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Text

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ABSTRACT

Within art history the visual culture of nineteenth-century whaling has been largely absent from key debates and discussions, especially around the environment, with the topic's cultural identity still largely formed around the pages of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), and still the reserve of economic and historical researchers. My thesis challenges this by focusing on the visual and material culture of whaling in the context of wider environmental debates and a more intersectional method. It offers an important intervention into the topic of whaling representation by demonstrating the significance of various whaling material objects within the context of gender, environment and animal studies.

At a time of such environmental uncertainty, when whale numbers are being threatened by rising sea levels, illegal and "legal" fishing and ocean plastics, this PhD offers the chance to consider the visual ethics of past representations of the whaling trade, and how they can aid in reflecting current representations and hopefully help in shaping future directions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

Fig. 1 "The Spermacetti Whale Brought to Greenland Dock," *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (Newspaper Print, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM.1981.811, 1792), 96.

Fig. 2 Jacob Matham, "Beached Whale," (engraving, 27.5 × 34.1cm, British Museum, London, 1846,0509.272, 1598).

Fig. 3 Joannes Saenredam, "Stranded Whale near Beverwyck," (engraving on paper, 40.8 × 59.8cm, British Museum, London, 1846,0509.271, 1601).

Fig. 4 L. Langlumé, "Walvisgeraamte als de Koninklijke Nederlandse Omnibus," (print on paper, 26.4 × 36.2cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-87.557, 1829).

Fig. 5 James Alderson, "Sperm Whale Fig. 1 and Fig. 2," (print on paper, in James Alderson, *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1827, 457).

Fig. 6 James Alderson, "Fig. 2 A Dorsal View of the Whale, Shewing the External Orifice of the Spiracle or Breathing Tube; also the Rudimentary Dorsal Fin," (print on paper, in James Alderson, *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1827, 459).

Fig. 7 After Charles Anderson, "Spermaceti Whale," (lithograph, 27 × 38 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:1981.811, 1825).

Fig. 8 R. Fenner after Richard Iveson, The "Official Portrait" of the whale. (print, unknown, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, 1825).

Fig. 9 George Stubbs, "Portrait of a Large Dog," (oil painting, 61 × 71.1cm, National Maritime Museum, London, ZBA5755, 1772).

Fig. 10 George Stubbs, "The Kongouro from New Holland," (oil painting, 60.5 × 71.5cm, National Maritime Museum, London, ZBA5754, 1772).

Fig. 11 George Stubbs, "Whistle Jacket", (oil on canvas, 292 × 246.4cm, The National Gallery, London, NG6569, 1762).

Fig. 12 "Information Board," (author's photograph, Burton Constable Hall, Hull, 2018).

Fig. 13 "Soft Toys in Gift Shop," (author's photograph, Burton Constable Hall, Hull, 2018).

Fig. 14 Hondartza Fraga, "Books also Bibles or Minced Horse-Pieces," (pencil on paper, in Hondartza Fraga, *Still Better Seaward Peep, An Artistic Perspective on Whales, Whaleports and the Marine Environment,* Hull: North Atlantic Fisheries History Association, 2013).

Fig. 15 "Mammalia," 1774, (steel engraving, 15 × 24cm, in Oliver Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature Vol. 1,* London: Blackie and Son, 1856, LV).

Fig. 15a Detail of Whale, "Mammalia," 1774 (steel engraving, 15 × 24cm, in Oliver Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature Vol. 1,* London: Blackie and Son, 1856, LV).

Fig. 15b Detail of Elephant and Rhino, "Mammalia," 1774 (steel engraving, 15 × 24cm, in Oliver Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature Vol. 1*, London: Blackie and Son, 1856, LV).

Fig. 16 Jan Davidsz Heem, "Flowers in a Glass Vase," (oil paint on wooden panel, 93.2cm × 69.6cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1487, 17th century).

Fig. 17 William Harvey, "The Dolphin, Narwhal, Porpoise, Etc.," (print in H.W. Dulken, *The Boys Handy Book of Natural History*, London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1880, 219).

Fig. 18 William Harvey, "The Whale," (print in H.W. Dulken, *The Boys Handy Book of Natural History*, London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1880, 214).

Fig. 19 Rev. J.G. Wood, "The Rorqual," (in *The Illustrated Natural History, Mammalia,* London: George Routledge and Sons, 1876, 329).

Fig. 20 William Home Lizars after James Waddel, "Dangers of Arctic Whaling," (engraved folding frontispiece, 20.7 × 22.5cm, in William Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions Vol. II*, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820).

Fig. 21 William Home Lizars after James Stewart, "A Hunting Scene with Elephant and Tiger, Plate. 3," (engraving, 15.8 × 9.8 cm, in William Jardine, *The Naturalist's Library*, Edinburgh: W. H. Lizars, 1836).

Fig. 22 W. & D. Lizars after William Scoresby, "Balena Mysticetus or Common Whale, Plate XII," (engraving, 7 × 15.3 cm, in William Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions*, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820).

Fig. 23 "A Cachalot Macrocephale. Cachalot Trumpo, Plate 10," (engraving, in Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle des Cétacés,* Paris: Chez Passan, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1804, 165).

Fig. 24 T. Dixon, "Common Whale," (cut-out and sketch copy, from Oliver Goldsmith, *The History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, London: Henry Fisher, 1824, 341. William Scoresby Archive, Whitby Museum, Box M, WHITM: SCO 716).

Fig. 25 W. & D. Lizars after William Scoresby, "Balena Mysticetus or Common Whale, Plate XII," (engraving, 7 × 15.3 cm, in William Scoresby, *An Account of the*

Arctic Regions with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery Vol. II, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820, 356).

Fig. 26 W. & D. Lizars after William Scoresby, "A Male Narwal and a Greenland Shark, Plate XV," (engraving, 7 × 15.3 cm, in William Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery Vol. II*, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820, 588).

Fig. 27 "Blue Whale Model," (author's photograph, American Museum of Natural History, New York, 2016).

Fig. 28 W. & D. Lizars after William Scoresby, "Appearance of the Cutting Apparatus When Fitted up for use. Horizontal Section of the Same, Plate XXII," (engraving, 7 × 15.3 cm, in William Scoresby, *An Account of the Arctic Regions with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery Vol. II*, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820, 310).

Fig. 29 William Scoresby, "Underside View of a Female Whale," (pen pencil on paper, William Scoresby Archive, Whitby, box M, WHITM: SCO 716, date unknown).

Fig. 30 William Scoresby, "Cut Out Whales," (card, Whitby Museum, Whitby, box M, WHITM: SCO 716).

Fig. 31 Thomas Beale, "Fig. 1. Represents the Outline of the Entire Form," (engraving, in Thomas Beale, *A Few Observations on the Natural History of The Sperm Whale*, London: John Van Voorst, 1835, 23).

Fig. 32 W. J. Linton, "Sperm Whale Diagram," (engraving, in William Jardine, *Naturalist's, Vol. XXVI, Mammalia, Whales, etc.*, Edinburgh: W. H. Lizars, 1837, 174).

Fig. 33 "Joints and Cuts of a Beef Cow for the 19th-century Housewife and Cook with Text," (in Mrs Beeton, *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book*, London: Ward Lock & Co., 1899).

Fig. 34 Thomas Beale, "Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3," (engraving, in Thomas Beale, *A Few Observations on the Natural History of The Sperm Whale*, London: John Van Voorst, 1835, 33).

Fig. 35 W. J. Linton, "Boats Attacking Whales," 1830–1839, (wood Engraving, 9.6 × 16.7cm, frontispiece in Thomas Beale, *A Few Observations on the Natural History of The Sperm Whale*, London: John Van Voorst, 1835).

CHAPTER TWO

Fig. 1 John Ward, "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella'," (oil on canvas, 48.9 × 71.8 cm, Washington National Gallery, Washington DC, 2007.114.1, circa 1840).

Fig. 2 W. H. Davis, Charles Joseph Hullmandel, "Portrait of T. W. Coke and North Devon Ox," (hand-coloured lithographic print, Museum of English Rural Life, Reading, MERL, 64/96, circa 1837).

Fig. 3 John Ward, "South Sea Whaling," (oil on canvas, 53.98 × 35.56cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum Collection, New Bedford, 2001.100.4905, circa 1825–1849).

Fig. 4 Richard Dodd Widdas, "Coach in a Snowstorm," (oil on canvas, 37 × 66 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM: 2005.6057, 1875).

Fig. 5 Richard Dodd Widdas, "Diana Gripped in the Ice," (oil on canvas, 48 × 65.5 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2007.1337, 1867).

Fig. 6 Edward Duncan, after William Huggins, "Northern Whale Fishery," (print, 42 x 62cm, 1829).

Fig. 7 James Wheldon, "Hull Whaler 'Harmony' (after William John Huggins)," (oil on canvas, 94 × 124 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2007.1441, date unknown).

Fig. 7a Details – John Ward, "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella'," (oil on canvas, 48.9 × 71.8 cm, Washington National Gallery, Washington DC, 2007.114.1, circa 1840).

Fig. 8 Unknown, "Scrimshaw with Detail of Gravestone," (sperm whale tooth, Whitby Museum, Whitby, SCO67, date unknown).

Fig. 9 Unknown, "Whaling Scene, Mother Sperm Whale Holds a Baby Whale in her Jaws," (watercolour on paper, 29.85 × 24.13cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 1938.79.3, circa 1830).

Fig. 10 "Grand Ball Given by the Whale in Honour of the Discovery of the Oil Wells in Pennsylvania," *Vanity Fair,* Apr 20, 1861.

Fig. 11 Sea Shepherd, "Australian Actor Dies in Latest Sea Shepherd Campaign," YouTube video, 01:41, posted by Sea Shepherd, Jul 28, 2015, accessed Jan 15, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGI7FifcVWcl

Fig. 12 Details – John Ward, "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella',", (oil on canvas, 48.9 × 71.8 cm, Washington National Gallery, Washington DC, 2007.114.1, circa 1840).

Fig. 13 "Whale Fluke Drawing," *Duncombe Whaling Log-Book*, May 28, 1822, (microfilm, Hull Local Studies Collection, Hull History Centre, Hull, L DMWH/3/3).

Fig. 14 Joseph Taylor, "Whale Fluke Drawing," *Logbook of the Whaler 'Swan' For a Voyage to the Davis Straits,* March–August 1817 (ink on paper, 32 × 40 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2007.1494, and "Wooden Whale Stamp," (wood, 7.5cm × 3.5cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2007.1493, 19th century).

Fig. 15 "Lost Whale Fluke Detail," *Neptune Whaling Log-Book*, May 14, 1821 (microfilm, Hull Local Studies Collection, Hull History Centre, Hull, L DMWH/3/3).

Fig. 16 Captain William Linskill, *Dordon Hull Log Book*, (ink on paper, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 0057, 1827).

Fig. 17 Unknown, "Whalebone Plaque-Scrimshaw," (whalebone, 21.6 × 4.3cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2005.2338, date unknown).

Fig. 18 Greenpeace, "Russian Greenpeace Poster,", 2007, accessed November 7, 2017, https://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/prints/greenpeace-kit-whale-9286555/

Fig. 19 Journal for the ship "Andrew Marvel Hull", (Ink on paper, unknown scale, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 1821.)

Fig. 20 "Whaling Monument," (author's photograph, Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, USA, 2016).

Fig. 21 Fluke ID Catalog, "Humpback Whales of Southeastern Alaska 100-75% White Flukes," unknown, accessed November 16 2017, http://bit.ly/2z7H4K4

Fig. 22 Details – John Ward, "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella',", (oil on canvas, 48.9 × 71.8 cm, Washington National Gallery, Washington DC, 2007.114.1, circa 1840).

Fig. 23 Details – John Ward, "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella',", (oil on canvas, 48.9 × 71.8 cm, Washington National Gallery, Washington DC, 2007.114.1, circa 1840).

Fig. 24 John Ward, "Whalers in the Arctic," (oil on canvas, 47 × 65 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2009.1124, 1834).

Fig. 25 Detail – John Ward, "South Sea Whaling," (oil on canvas, 53.98 × 35.56cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum Collection, New Bedford, 2001.100.4905, circa 1825–1849).

Fig. 26 John Cleveley the Elder, "English Whalers in the Arctic," (oil on canvas, 121.92 × 89.54 cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum Collection, New Bedford, 2001.100.4400, circa 1740–1745).

Fig. 27 Detail – John Ward, "South Sea Whaling," (oil on canvas, 53.98 × 35.56cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum Collection, New Bedford, 2001.100.4905, circa 1825–1849).

Fig. 28 Details – John Ward, "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella',", (oil on canvas, 48.9 × 71.8 cm, Washington National Gallery, Washington DC, 2007.114.1, circa 1840).

CHAPTER THREE

Fig. 1 Unknown, "Snuff Box," (horn, cedar wood, walrus bone, 1.2 × 8.7 × 6.8 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2005.2315, 1665).

Fig. 2 Unknown, "Whale Tooth Pick Holder," (bone, 10.4cm × 3.3cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2005.2427, date unknown).

Fig. 3 Unknown, "Faroese Knife," (jawbone and sperm tooth and brass, 31.1 × 4.4cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:1981.71, date unknown).

Fig. 4 Francis Allyn Olmstead, "Pulling Teeth in Incidents of a Whaling Voyage," 1841 (print in book, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1941, 182).

Fig. 5 Unknown, Tooth Extractor, (steel and sperm whale ivory, 16.5 x 8.89 cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2001.100.2844, 19th Century).

Fig. 6 Unknown, "Baleen Plate," (whale baleen, 109.2 × 43.2 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2005.2493, date unknown).

Fig. 7 William A. Gilpin, "Domestic Happiness Tooth," (sperm whale tooth, 7.62 × 17.78cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 2001.100.1406, circa 1834–1837).

Fig. 8 Unknown, "Sperm Whale Busk with Whaling Detail," (sperm whale bone, 38.8cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, date unknown).

Fig. 9 Unknown, "Whalebone Corset," (whale bone and material, 46cm high, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2005.2455, 1760–1780).

Fig. 10 Unknown, "Decorated Scrimshaw Busk," (whale jawbone, 36.5 × 6 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:1978.22, circa 19th century).

Fig. 11 Unknown, "A Staybusk (Corset Stay) Engraved with Geometrical and Floral Borders Surrounding Four Panels, the Largest with a Whaling Scene," (whalebone busk, 38.8cm, Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, Y:62/15/26, date unknown).

Fig. 12 Unknown, "Scrimshaw Busk with Detailing and Message," (whalebone busk, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, date unknown).

Fig. 13 Unknown, "Scrimshaw Busk with Detailing and Message," reverse (whalebone busk, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, date unknown).

Fig. 14 Harry Emanuel, "Earrings," (bird heads, mounted in gold with red glass eyes, V & A, London, M.11:1, 2-2003, circa 1865).

Fig. 15 Holman Hunt, "The Birthday (A Portrait of the Artist's Wife, Edith)," (oil on canvas, 102.9 × 72.7 cm, 1868) 'artnet,' accessed Jan 17, 2019, http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-holman-hunt/the-birthday-Ke49lxisR795iOpe-NIUSQ2

Fig. 16 George Frederic Watts, "A Dedication," (oil on canvas, 137.2 × 71 cm, Watts Gallery, Surrey, COMWG 157, 1898–1899).

Fig. 17 Herts, Son & Co., "Anti-Corset Advert," *Drapers Magazine*, London, Mar 14, 1891.

Fig. 18 Unknown, "Pair of Scrimshaw Engraved with Marquesas Man and woman," (scrimshaw, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:2005.2289.1, KINCM:2005.2289.2, date unknown).

Fig. 19a George O. Hiliott, "Front and Back Wahinee Tooth 1," (sperm whale tooth, 7.62 × 20.32 cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 2001.100.151, 1835–1850).

Fig. 19b George O. Hiliott, "Front and Back Wahinee Tooth 2," (sperm whale tooth, 7.62 x 20.32 cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 2001.100.1590, 1835–1850).

Fig. 20 Unknown, "Scrimshaw Tooth Detail of Whaling Scene and Woman on Reverse," (sperm whale tooth, 19.5 × 7 cm, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, KINCM:1939.4, 19th century).

Fig. 21 Unknown, "Needle Sheath," (whale ivory, 4.76 × 4.45 cm, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, 2001.100.1101, 19th century).

Fig. 22 Unknown, "Scrimshaw with Woman Design," (whale tooth, 12.5cm, Scott Polar Museum, Cambridge, Y: 62/15/65, date unknown).

CHAPTER FOUR

Fig. 1 "Model of Whale," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 2 "Model of Whaler," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 3 "Interior of Whale," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 4 "Monstro," (still from *Pinocchio*, Walt Disney Productions, 1940).

Fig. 5 "Monstro," (online photograph, Disney's Pinocchio, Storybook Land, Disneyland Florida).

Fig. 6 "Model of Twentieth Century Whaler," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 7 "Electric Saw, and Video of Whale Behind," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 8 "Whale Fluke and Cases," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 9 "Whale Photography Opportunity with WWF," (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 10 "Whaling Plates,"1765, (author's photograph, Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, 2018).

Fig. 11 Robert Wyland "Great Whales of New Bedford," (photograph, New Bedford, USA, 2005).

Fig. 12 "Whale Skeletons," (author's photograph, New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA, 2017).

Fig. 13 “Whale Model,” (author’s photograph, New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA, 2017).

Fig. 14 “From Pursuit to Preservation Exhibition Space,” (author’s photograph, New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA, 2017).

Fig. 15 “Lagoda Ship,” (author’s photograph, New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA, 2017).

Fig. 16 “Around Lagoda Ship Area,” (author’s photograph, New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA, 2017).

Fig. 17 “Scrimshaw Gallery,” (author’s photograph, New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA, 2018).

Fig. 18 “Exterior, Hull Maritime Museum,” (author’s photograph, Hull, UK, 2018).

Fig. 19 “Interior, Whaling Gallery,” (author’s photograph, Hull Maritime Museum, UK, 2018).

Fig. 20 “Whale Skeleton,” (author’s photograph, Hull Maritime Museum, UK, 2018).

Fig. 21 “Inuit Display,” (author’s photograph, Whaling Gallery, Hull Maritime Museum, UK, 2018).

Fig. 22 “Natural History Room,” (author’s photograph, Hull Maritime Museum, UK, 2018).

Fig. 23 University of Hull and the Hull School of Art and Design, “Bowhead,” (audio-visual installation, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, 2017).

Fig. 24 Hull 2017, UK City of Culture, "Bowhead" (online advertisements, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, 2017).

Fig. 25 "Stills from Interactive Game 1," (author's photograph, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, 2017).

Fig. 26 "Stills from Interactive Game 2," (author's photograph, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Fig. 1 "Extinction Rebellion Die-In, Natural History Museum," (photograph, *The Guardian*, Apr 22, 2019), accessed Apr 24, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/apr/22/people-arrested-at-london-climate-protests#img-1

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I want to acknowledge my family and friends, who don't need to be named as they already know who they are and how much it meant to have ears to bend about whales throughout this process. I cannot promise that you won't hear about whales going forward…Lastly my dog, who now no longer with us, was a wonderful warm and loveable character throughout the thesis.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

INTRODUCTION

"View of Scheveningen Sands" (Fig. 1), 1641, by Dutch marine painter Hendrick van Anthonissen was donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1969. Van Anthonissen's work takes as its subject the Flemish coastal town of Scheveningen, a popular site for Dutch painters.[1] The scene depicts a mellow littoral landscape, where the slowly lapping waves of the North Sea break lightly against the shoreline. A series of masts and sails, visible on the far horizon, and a number of wooden boats on the sands, indicate the rich maritime culture of both the local residents and the wider Dutch nation, which, at the time of the painting's creation, was experiencing a golden age.[2] To the left of the composition, the local church tower rises from between the dunes, ascending into the vast expanse of cloud that hangs over the coastal scene, imbuing the scene with religious overtones.[3] The sands are populated by an array of humans and animals including a horse and a dog. The people are a mix of classes, genders and ages, and seemingly pause to talk to one another, or gaze at the landscape that stretches before them. A man leads a small child down the

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[1] See for example Willem van de Velde, "The Shore at Scheveningen," (oil on canvas, The National Gallery, London, about 1660), Edward William Cooke, "Dutch Pincks at Scheveningen, Holland," (oil on canvas, Guildhall Art Gallery, London, 1860), Vincent van Gogh, "View of the Sea at Scheveningen," (oil on paper on canvas, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, 1882).

[2] The Dutch golden age saw growth in fields such as painting, science, trade, art and the military, and expanded from the provinces to the core of the nation. For a greater study of the Dutch Golden Age, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987). Also, for studies relating to the topic of world systems see Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (London: Duke University Press, 2004). Wallerstein's work is key to understanding the development of World Systems, of which this painting is an important example of. He explores how the Dutch were the first nation in the 17th century to gain a clear dominance through maritime and ship-building industries that subsequently led to trade. Britain took over this position after learning from, and building on, the Dutch techniques.

[3] A point of further interest is that the church depicted within the scene has on display the skeleton of a whale stranded at Scheveningen on Jan 21, 1616. The whale's presence within the church offers an interesting way of viewing the whale body, devoid of its outer skin, and in a religious setting. This plays on the belief of whale strandings being previously seen as an act of god. For more on this, see Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. There is also the obvious link here to Jonah and the Whale from the bible, 1:Jonah, 1, 1-17 (*Good News Bible*).

beach, whilst a one-legged individual pauses in front of an aristocratic couple seemingly asking for something, and distant figures cluster on the dunes on this crisp winter's day. What was, however, a routine conservation effort of the painting in 2014 altered the composition, and the removal of a covering layer of resin exposed a large beached sperm whale in the shallows of the scene (Fig. 2).[4]

The effect of the now incongruent whale body, which previously lay concealed for over 250 years, gives a new narrative focus to the work; one which turns it from human- to more animal-centric and for which an altered title now reads "View of Scheveningen Sands, with a Stranded Sperm Whale." The groups of human figures now gather to observe the whale, pointing at its vast bulk, joining together to discuss its appearance on the sands. Whether it is drawn from life is undetermined, but the rendition is comparatively crude, the whale lying in a seemingly placid state with a hint of a smile, in contrast with the flaccid and deflated reality of such situations. The conservator who uncovered the whale believes that its body was covered up during the eighteenth century, at a time when 'the presence of a dead animal was considered offensive or perhaps without the whale the picture was more marketable.' [5] This seems unlikely, since the eighteenth century represented a period that was rife with animal and specifically whaling imagery, much of which included dead animals and hunting scenes.[6] For example, Jean-Baptise Oudry's oil

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[4] Shan Kuang, "Whale Tale: A Dutch Seascape and its Lost Leviathan," *Fitzwilliam Museum*, June 4, 2014, accessed March 29, 2016, https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/whale-tale-a-dutch-seascape-and-its-lost-leviathan. For more information about the process of conservation see the following video: "Whale Tale: A Dutch Seascape and its Lost Leviathan," *University of Cambridge,* June 4, 2014, accessed Jan 29, 2019, http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/whale-tale-a-dutch-seascape-and-its-lost-leviathan. It is also worth noting the boost to visitor figures (both virtual and in person) that the discovery of the whale in the painting had on the museum "Whale Tale Helps Cambridge Reach 10 Million Views," *Fitzwilliam Museum*, Aug 6, 2015, accessed Jan 29, 2019, https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/news/whale-tale-helps-cambridge-reach-10-million-views.

[5] Kuang, "Whale Tale: A Dutch Seascape and its Lost Leviathan."

[6] Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750–1850* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 2007). For more information about this topic, see Christopher Plumb, "Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Britain," (PhD thesis, The University of Manchester, 2010), who explores the growing

painting "Hare and Leg of Lamb" 1742 (Fig. 3), shows a fresh leg of lamb, hanging alongside a dead hare, with a drop of blood falling from its nose, indicating its current expired state.[7]

After the whale's reappearance, the canvas was subsequently re-hung in the Dutch Golden Age gallery of the Fitzwilliam, placing the work within a fine art context that promotes a rhetoric of human capitalist success. The whale's re-appearance on the canvas creates a scene that now portrays a dying or possibly already dead whale, displaced from its typical geography into a new spatial realm. Animals in this space of human dominion are either domesticated (as represented by the dogs and horses) or rendered as consumable objects (as suggested by the fishing boats). The picture also points to both the anxieties and fascinations that have persisted in relation to whales, and to the destabilising effect certain animals can have and still have on human society.[8]

Despite drawing attention to the uncovering of the whale, its revelation should not be read as a spectacular insertion of whales into art-historical circles. In fact, the whale's reappearance, and the subsequent press attention resulted in increased visitors to the museum. An indication of the novelty that animal bodies still possess.[9] Whale strandings regularly occur in the UK, during 2014, the year 'the Fitzwilliam whale' was revealed, 594 cetaceans were reported to the UK Cetacean

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interest in seeing and displaying exotic animals during the period, and offers good context to the topic.

[7] For more information on dead animals in eighteenth-century art, see the chapter by Louise Lippincott and Andreas Bluhm, "From Meat to Metaphor," in *Fierce Friends: Artists and Animals, 1750–1900*, ed. Louise Lippincott and Andreas Bluhm (London: Merrell Publishers Limited, 2005), 38. In this chapter, they discuss how it was standard décor in the eighteenth century to display images of dead meat in dining rooms, as meat was a prestigious luxury in 1742.

[8] The term 'illogic' is used by Erica Fudge to highlight the often ambiguous relationship between animals and humans, characterised sometimes by affection but others by exploitation. Erica Fudge, *Animal* (London: Reaktion, 2002), 8.

[9] Margarita Russell, *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C. Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting* (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1983).

Strandings Investigation Programme (CSIP), comprising at least 17 species.[10] These, like the whale in the painting, often draw large crowds, with, the 2016 stranding of a sperm whale in Norfolk, drawing 'hundreds' of people a day, with security guards required to stop people from scavenging the carcass.[11] Meanwhile, in 2018, when a beluga whale was seen swimming down the Thames, the first point of action was not to hunt and kill the animal, unlike the fate of the Tay Whale in 1883, after it swam into the Firth of Tay.[12] The beluga had a different trajectory and gained large-scale media attention, including a live feed of its journey in the river, with people concerned for its welfare. It was even given the name Benny. Further, the town of Gravesend, near where 'Benny' was spotted, saw a financial boost, with visitors flooding to the area in an attempt to catch a glimpse of the now famous whale.[13] The incident highlighted the powerful resonance whales still have for people today.

Van Anthonissen's painting, it should be noted, was not exceptional in depicting a whale. As Julie Urbanik notes, 'economic systems support and shape human use of animals,' and the economic growth of the commercial whaling industry from the sixteenth century onwards framed whales as both subject and object for human use, with whales subsequently acquiring a more prominent focus in

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[10] R. Deaville, *CSIP Annual Report for the Period 1st January – 31st December 2014* (UK Cetacean Strandings Investigation Programme, 2014).
[11] "Hunstanton whale: Guards protect stranded carcass," *BBC News Norfolk,* BBC, Sep 25, 2016, accessed Aug 25, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-norfolk-35395107
[12] For more information on the Tay whale, see Jim Crumley, *The Winter Whale* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2008), or you can go and see the articulated bones of the Tay whale in The McManus, Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum, "Tay Whale Skeleton," *Collections Online,* The McManus, date unknown, accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://www.mcmanus.co.uk/content/collections/database/tay-whale-skeleton-0.
[13] "Beluga Whale Spotted in the Thames off Gravesend," *BBC News Kent,* BBC, Sep 25, 2018, accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-45642590. This article brings together some of the varied reactions that were received on news of the beluga in the Thames, "Can you Beluga it? Your Reaction to Whale in Thames," *BBC News UK,* BBC, Sep 25, 2018, accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-45643824. For more info on Benny the beluga, see Matthew Weaver, "Savour the Whale: Struggling Gravesend Enjoys a Beluga Boom," *The Guardian,* Nov 23, 2018, accessed Feb 1, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/nov/23/savour-the-whale-struggling-gravesend-enjoys-a-beluga-boom.

visual and material culture.[14] The images and objects produced during the long nineteenth century varied widely in form, media, creator and intended audience. Some examples include popular prints, depicting whaling and the natural history of the whale, a vast array of paintings including a famous 1845-6 quartet by J.M.W. Turner, and an accompanying series of watercolour sketches.[15] A further, less well known, but arguably no less interesting, series of paintings was created by the 'Hull School' of artists, who operated from the once thriving whaling port. They typically focused on depicting the annual Arctic whale hunts that left from the city of Hull (the subject of chapter two).[16] Further examples of the visual and material culture of whales and whaling, include ceramics that feature famous whaling ships, the sculpted form of scrimshaw (the subject of chapter three), vast panoramas depicting whaling voyages that travelled around Europe for the purpose of entertainment, and

[14] Julie Urbanik, *Placing Animals: An Introduction to the Geography of Human-Animal Relations* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012). This financial link to whaling is visually literal in some examples, with famous whaling prints used as the source of imagery on bank notes in certain areas of America between the 1830s and1860s. For example, a note printed from the Mechanics Bank of New Bedford featured a copper engraving after "Pêche de la Baleine" by Ambroise Louis Garneray. Stuart Frank, *Classic Whaling Prints and their Original Sources* (New Bedford: New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2015), 58.

[15] For information relating to whaling prints, see Elizabeth Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection* (Salem: Peabody Essex Museum, 1987). This outlines the extensive whaling print collection of the Peabody and Essex Museum, Massachusetts. It separates the images by nation and also subject matter, including natural history and satire. The four whaling paintings by J.W.M. Turner include "Whalers," (Tate, London, 1845), "Whalers (Boiling Blubber) Entangled in Flaw Ice, Endeavouring to Extricate Themselves," (Tate, London, 1846), "Hurrah! for the Whaler Erebus! Another Fish!," (Tate, London, 1846), "Whalers," (Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1845). The sketches are spread across a couple of sketchbooks, the most relevant being, *Ambleteuse and Wimereux Sketchbook,* produced in May 1845 and *Whalers* sketchbook created c. 1834. For more information related to Turner's whaling paintings and sketchbooks, see Robert K. Wallace, *Melville & Turner: Spheres of Love and Fright* (London: University of Georgia Press, 1992), Jason Edwards, ed., *Turner and the Whale* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); and the online position papers from the 2017 conference *Turner and the Whale* that accompanied the exhibition of the same name at Hull Maritime Museum, which was co-curated by myself and Jason Edwards, "Turner and the Whale: Position Papers," *Turner and the Whale* (History of Art, University of York, 2017), accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssays.jsp.

[16] For a more in-depth understanding of the Hull School artists and their works, see Arthur Credland, *Marine Painting in Hull: Through Three Centuries* (Hull: Hutton Press Ltd, 1993); Arthur Credland, *John Ward of Hull: Marine Painter 1798–1849,* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1981); Hazel Buchan-Cameron, *The Public Catalogue Foundation, Oil Paintings in Public Ownership East Riding and Yorkshire* (Frome: Butler Tanner and Dennis Ltd, 2010); and Martha Cattell, "The Hull School of Whale Painting," in Edwards eds, *Turner and the Whale,* 24-54.

log-books of the whaling captains, which often included sketches of whaling or, more commonly, the inked mark of whale stamps to signify the successful capture of a whale.[17]

Such examples have, however, often been overshadowed by what is widely regarded as perhaps the best-known cultural manifestation of whales and whaling, *Moby Dick or The Whale* by Herman Melville (1851).[18] Although the novel's importance should not be under-valued (and will prove an important reference point for me in this thesis), there is need for greater consideration of the visual and material culture of whales and whaling produced during the nineteenth and later centuries, which, like *Moby Dick,* often created a difficult line between objectifying and sympathising with animal subjects. Considering and comparing these typically complex representations of whales in the various visual and material manifestations of whaling will give credence to their role in structuring human attitudes, and builds

[17] Scrimshaw was predominately created by British and American whalers, although Azorean and French examples do exist and also by communities living in the Arctic Regions. For more information on scrimshaw, see E. Norman Flayderman *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen* (New Milford: N. Flayderman and Co. Inc., 1972) and Stuart M. Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum* (Boston: David R. Godine, 2012). For more information relating to whaling panoramas, see Russel Potter, *Arctic Spectacles The Frozen North in Visual Culture, 1818–1875 (*Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007) and Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). Sketches appearing in whaling logbooks are not common, but are covered in Kenneth R. Martin, *Whalemen's Paintings and Drawings. The Art of the American Whaleman* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1892) and Michael P. Dyer, *O'er the Wide and Tractless Sea: Original Art of the Yankee Whale Hunt* (New Bedford: New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2017). Ceramics were typically created by the Liverpool School and feature whaling ships. The Hull Maritime Museum has a series of ceramic jugs and rolling pins, which relate to the ship *True Love*.

[18] At the time of its publication, 1851, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* was not widely popular, and it was not until the centenary of the book that it was largely reassessed. For more see Wyn Kelley, *Herman Melville: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), Michael J.A. Davey, *Routledge Literary Sourcebook on Herman Melville's Moby Dick* (London: Routledge, 2003). It should also be noted that within the book itself, there are three chapters (55–57) that are dedicated to the topic of visual representation of whales and whaling: "Of the Monstrous Pictures of Whales", "Of the Less Erroneous Pictures of Whales, and the True Pictures of Whaling Scenes", "Of Whales in Paint; in Teeth; in Wood; in Sheet-Iron; in Stone; in Mountains; in Stars" in Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick, or, The Whale* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851; New York: Penguin Books, 1992) 326-340. Citations refer to the Penguin Books edition. For work on this specifically, see Stuart M. Frank, *Herman Melville's Picture Gallery Sources and Types of the 'Pictorial' Chapters of Moby Dick* (Fairhaven: Edward J. Lefkowicz, Inc., 1986).

on the growing work of scholars in animal studies, such as Erica Fudge who argues that 'humans rely on animals for their meaning.'[19] This was especially true in the nineteenth century, an era of mass industrialisation, social change, and changing attitudes towards animals and the environment, perhaps most famously exemplified by the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859.[20] Current scholarship in the growing field of animal and environmental studies has spurred a re- evaluation of the past, that acknowledges the role and representation of animals and the environment. To date, however, or at least until recently, whaling has barely been visible, especially in art historical scholarship. It is worth speculating briefly about this absence, as it is somewhat of a surprise, considering that during the long nineteenth century, whaling was a major global industry, and at its peak the British killed thousands of animals each year. Perhaps this is due in part to the industry often being purely the focus of maritime and economic historians, while the visual culture associated with whaling, scrimshaw and marine paintings, for example, was considered to be outside the traditional 'fine arts,' the often favoured haunt of an art historian.[21]

My thesis will address this absence bringing together, in the process, an art historical and environmental perspective. The vast time period in which whaling was carried out, and the massive quantity of visual and material culture however renders the need to be selective in terms of time, and, for this thesis. My focus is on the long nineteenth century. In particular, I focus on two dates that are connected to the

[19] Erica Fudge, *Animal*.
[20] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (London: John Murray, 1859). When published, this was revolutionary, and through the theory of evolution it shrunk the distance between human and animal as separate entities, challenging traditional belief systems around existence.
[21] Even within the field of marine painting, however, whaling is often ignored or given little attention. See an example of this in Denys Brook-Hart, *British 19th-Century Marine Painting,* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1978).

whaling trade in Hull, a location where I have spent a lot of time throughout the duration of this PhD, which was a collaborative research project with the Hull Maritime Museum, whose archives acted as my major source base. I start with 1766, the year Samuel Standidge, a Hull-based merchant and mariner, began a speculative investment that ultimately re-invented the Hull whaling trade. I end just over a hundred years later in the year 1867, with the wrecking of the whaleship *Diana*, which was, then and now, seen as representing the ending of the trade for Hull, although the ship did venture out on a number of later unsuccessful whaling and sealing trips.[22] These dates also correspond to both the high and low points of the economic and cultural manifestation of whaling in Britain, and to a period of significant British political and cultural change, notably the growth of industrialisation, when mechanisation altered interactions between humans and nature. It was also a period of exploration and discovery of both land masses and the natural world, notably the Arctic where the majority of British whaling occurred.

The focus on *British* whaling for the thesis is a conscious one, as there have, so far, been few studies on the topic, in particular its visual and material culture, whereas American whaling has received more scholarly attention.[23] There is still scope to focus on other locations also, especially the South Pacific, Australasia, the Antarctic and the Arctic. Notably for the latter, the recent work of Annie Pootoogook, shown at the Liverpool Biennial 2018, particularly "Composition:

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[22] I focus on the nineteenth-century British Arctic trade, but this was a time of British and North American domination in both trade and visual culture, although, in both cases, the nations were very much indebted to earlier Dutch economic and aesthetic models. For more information on Dutch whaling and its legacy, see Joost C.A. Schokkenbroek, *Trying-Out: An Anatomy of Dutch Whaling and Sealing in the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Aksant Academic Publishers, 2014) or see Cornelis Gijsbertsz Zorgdrager, *Beschreibung des Grönländischen Wallfischfangs und Fischerey…* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1728). This is thought to be one of the earliest books on the subject of Dutch whaling and features a series of illustrations of the trade.

[23] My focus on British whaling is not rigid, however, due to the inability to attribute a nationality to certain works, especially scrimshaw. My research at times take a broader approach and other examples are used for context or contrast.

Women Gathering Whale Meat, 2003–2004," (Fig. 4) poses further interesting questions about gender, identities and animal/human relationships in relation to whales and whaling from a more indigenous perspective.[24]

Throughout this thesis, I draw comparisons to consider the altered representation that whaling has today. Doing so emphasises the changing role that humans have vis-à-vis certain species, and how visual and material culture offers a key to unpacking this. I also think across periods, because despite current considerations of the whale as 'a charismatic megafauna' inspiring 'a special interest or […] devotion', whales still face enormous threats, including acidity of the oceans, ongoing whaling, and ocean plastic.[25] In spite of the shift 'From Pursuit to Preservation,'[26] there is still a level of what Val Plumwood calls 'ecological irrationality,' coupled with 'ignorance, interest and illusion', and as a result whales and the wider ecosystems they support and that support them are often overlooked or misinterpreted.[27] Considering, past and present representations together will allow for an interesting point of comparison in visual and material representations, and highlight the relevance of both backward and forward thinking.

Before moving on, it is worth noting some examples to demonstrate the current growth and prominence of whales as emotional and cultural species, and the reason why focusing on them now is highly pertinent. This can firstly be demonstrated by a number of recent monographs (noticeably all by men) on the

[24] "Annie Pootoogook," *Artists,* Liverpool Biennial, 2018, accessed Feb 15, 2019, https://www.biennial.com/2018/exhibition/artists/annie-pootoogook.
[25] Philip Hammond, Sonja Heinrich, Sascha Hooker and Peter Tyack, *Whales, Their Past, Present and Future* (London: Natural History Museum, 2017), 5.
[26] This is the title of an exhibition space in the New Bedford Whaling Museum.
[27] Val Plumwood, *Environmental Culture: The Ecological Crisis of Reason* (London: Routledge, 2001).

culture and history of whales. These often focus on human narrative and include Joe Roman's *Whale* (2005), Philip Hoare's *Leviathan or the Whale* (2009), Farley Mowat's *Whale for the Killing* (2012) and Nick Pyenson's *Spying on Whales: The Past, Present and Future of the World's Largest Animals* (2018). These have all been highly popular, and Hoare's book won the 2009 BBC Samuel Johnson Prize for non-fiction. Taken together, they have placed whales largely within the cultural and literary imagination. Yet, Hoare's book in particular is lacking any references, meaning that his points are often not fully supported, and fact becomes blended with fiction, resulting in a rather egocentric view of whales.

The growing popularity of whales is also reflected in the recent and highly acclaimed BBC series *Blue Planet II* (2017), in which one particular section showed a mother pilot whale grieving for the loss of her baby. David Attenborough narrates over the footage how 'a mother pilot whale […] is reluctant to let [her calf] go and has been carrying it around for many days', and how, due to the increase in industrial pollutants and plastics, 'it's possible her calf may have been killed by her own contaminated milk.'[28] This particular 'heart wrenching scene' meant viewers 'couldn't hold back the tears,' and it was subsequently voted 'Virgin TV's must-see moment (voted for by the public)' at the 2018 Virgin TV British Academy Television Awards in 2018.[29]

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[28] BBC, "Mother Pilot Whale Grieves Over her Dead Calf, The Blue Planet II, Episode 4 Preview, BBC One," YouTube video, 2:20, posted by "BBC," Nov 19, 2017, accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0a8HGJid-Jo.

[29] The quotes are taken from Thomas Ling, "Dead Baby Whale Leaves Blue Planet Viewers in Tears," *Radio Times,* Nov 20, 2017, accessed Jan 29, 2019, https://www.radiotimes.com/news/tv/2017-11-20/dead-baby-blue-whale-leaves-blue-planet-viewers-in-tears/. "Virgin TV British Academy Television Awards Winners in 2018," *Bafta,* 2018, accessed Jan 19, 2019, http://www.bafta.org/television/awards/tv-2018#virgin-tvs-must-see-moment-voted-for-by-the-public----blue-planet-ii. It is also interesting to note that the audience watching *Blue Planet II,* which was in fact made up of a large number of young people, Lord Tony Hall, "Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee," *Parliamentlive.tv,* Nov 7, 2017, accessed Jan 19, 2019, https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/79251ce5-949b-4d60-8f41-b7fe04ed40d9, 11:01:38–11:02:06.

The fact that it was a public vote emphasises the emotional immediacy that such footage had, and the connection people feel towards whales. The programme itself and such scenes described have subsequently led to a boom in anti-plastic legislation, which has become known as the 'Attenborough' or the 'Blue Planet' effect.[30] Whales have again become a symbol for environmentalism, demonstrated also by an artwork of the 'Captain Boomer Collective.' They have created a life-size, hyperreal sculpture of a sperm whale, which they beach on shores and rivers around the world. They comment how:

> The beaching of a whale has always been a magical event. Villages trembled and were exhilarated when it happened. This is what we reconstruct. At the same time the beached whale is a gigantic metaphor for the disruption of our ecological system. People feel their bond with nature is disturbed. The game between fiction and reality reinforces this feeling of disturbance.[31]

They adopt an educational element throughout the display of the sperm whale and, because the actors dress as scientists, 'they show their findings (teeth, spermaceti, oil, organs, parasites…) and hand out extra information about sperm whales.'[32] Such

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[30] See Mark Galloway, "The Blue Planet Effect," *International Broadcasting Trust*, June 18, 2018, accessed Jan 19, 2019, http://www.ibt.org.uk/2018/06/15/the-blue-planet-effect/ or "The Attenborough Effect – How Blue Planet II Inspired Poole Hospital Research Team to Ban Plastic," *Daily Echo*, April 12, 2018, accessed Jan 19, 2019, https://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/16154078.the-attenborough-effect-how-blue-planet-ii-inspired-poole-hospital-research-team-to-ban-plastic/.

[31] "The Why of the Whale," *Captain Boomer Collective,* 2015, accessed Jan 19, 2019, http://www.captainboomercollective.org/projects/whale/the-why-of-the-whale/.

[32] "Scenario," *Captain Boomer Collective,* 2015, accessed Jan 19, 2019, http://www.captainboomercollective.org/projects/whale/scenario/.

examples demonstrate how whales have been repeatedly adopted into the rhetoric of environmentalism, especially via cultural manifestations, a clear shift, as I demonstrate, from the visual and material culture associated with them in the nineteenth century, which was largely focused on the rhetoric of successful whaling.

Before going any further, it is also important to clarify a number of terms. Firstly, I will often use 'whale' as a general term to describe the group of species known by either that term or 'cetaceans.' In total there are 89 species of whale alive today: 75 species in nine families of toothed whales and 14 species in four families of baleen whales.[33] When relevant, I will refer to a specific species. Secondly, I use the term 'Anthropocene' frequently when considering the current state of the environment, as it is considered to be the current geological age. Yet, there is much discussion about whether this is the correct terminology, with 'Petrocene,' 'Capitolocene,' 'Plantationocene' and 'Chthulucene' being offered as alternatives.[34] My main focus is not to decode such terms, which would require a whole separate study, I draw on the definition of the 'Anthropocene' from the edited volume *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet*, in which Anna Tsing, Heather Swanson, Elaine Gan and Nils Bubandt define it as not representing a 'homogeneous human race':[35] an acknowledgement which does not attribute equal blame of our current environmental state on all nationalities and peoples, as there is certainly not equity in impact.

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[33] Hammond, Heinrich, Hooker and Tyack, *Whales, Their Past, Present and Future,* 6.
[34] Donna Haraway, "Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin," *Environmental Humanities* 6 (2015): 159–165. Jason W. Moore, "Anthropocene Or Capitalocene? On the Origins of Our Crisis," May 13, 2013, accessed Jan 16, 2019, https://jasonwmoore.wordpress.com/2013/05/13/anthropocene-or-capitalocene/.
[35] Anna Tsing, Heather Swanson, Elaine Gan and Nils Bubandt, ed., *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), G2.

A Brief History of Whaling

It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the history of whaling at length. There are multiple works where such information can be readily and reliably found.[36] A brief introduction is, however, necessary to establish its importance in nineteenth-century economic, societal and cultural networks. The earliest commercial whaling is typically attributed to the Basques in the twelfth century, who would catch whales via a bay-based system, with the processing done on shore.[37] Other nations soon got involved, predominately the Dutch as we have seen, who employed Basque whalers to help them. This may be seen in Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen's painting "Dutch Bay Whaling in the Arctic," circa 1620, found in the New Bedford Whaling Museum collection (Fig. 5). The painting shows, three whaling ships located centrally within the composition. The seas around the vessels include other whaling boats, which are engaged in killing whales. Some lay floating already dead, whereas others, such as the one to the bottom left of the composition, have their tails raised as a show of resistance to their attackers. Away from the action on the sea, the shore is populated with people processing whales, with some boiling down whale blubber in large try pots, whilst others roll full barrels of oils towards awaiting boats.[38] Such details perfectly manifest the various processes of early commercial bay whaling.

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[36] A full whaling bibliography could stretch over a series of pages. The first attempt at a bibliography was in 1939 by James Travis Jenkins, *Bibliography of Whaling* (Gloucester: Ten Pound Island Book Company, 1939) but it is vastly outdated and considers whaling as an 'important, valuable and romantic' industry. A few titles that are more relevant include: Eric Jay Dolin, *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America* (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2008); George Francis Dow, *Whale Ships and Whaling: A Pictorial History* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1985); Gordon Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade* (London: A. & C. Black Limited, 1978); Malcolm Archibald, *Whale Hunters: Dundee and Arctic Whalers* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2004); Tony Barrow, *The Whaling Trade of North-East England, 1750–1850* (Sunderland: University of Sunderland Press, 2001).

[37] Credland, *The Hull Whaling Trade: An Arctic Enterprise*, 5.

[38] This painting is believed to be the only contemporary depiction of the whaling methods of French and Spanish Basques, and is found within the collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum, USA. Various Authors, *Treasures of the Whaling Museum: Touchstones to the Region's Past* (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2015), 123.

The bay style of whaling was abandoned soon after 1670 when the whalers increasingly sought their prey offshore in the sea west of Spitsbergen and along the east coast of Greenland. The Dutch pioneered the Davis Strait Fishery in the eighteenth century, but these new grounds were not extensively explored by the British until the early nineteenth century when Dutch involvement in whaling slowed, and American involvement in the trade began to develop with key ports established in New Bedford and Nantucket Island.

Although there were key similarities between whale hunting in different nations, each had unique attributes and focused on different geographical locations and whale species. The British trade operated from a series of ports, the most prominent being London, which focused on South Sea whaling, with sperm whales being the object of pursuit. From Hull, whalers travelled to the Arctic and the main bounty North Atlantic right or bowhead whales.[39] From 1815–1825, Hull had the largest fleet in Britain, employing around 2,000 men and boasting over 60 whaling vessels.[40] A typical Arctic whaling voyage would (if all went to plan) leave Hull in May and return in October, or earlier if they had a full load, but this was a rare occurrence. A crew would be made up of approximately 30 men, of which six to seven would operate each whaleboat during a chase. The men's roles on board were strictly hierarchical, and every ship had to have on board a surgeon, who was often

[39] The different species of whale has been a changing field of research, especially because the whalers would often describe the same species using different names or different species using the wrong name. For information relating to the different species and the language used by the whalemen to describe them, see Micheal P. Dyer, "Why Black Whales Are Called 'Right Whales'," *New Bedford Whaling Museum,* Sep 13, 2016, accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://whalingmuseumblog.org/2016/09/13/why-black-whales-are-called-right-whales/.

[40] Two good sources of information on the Hull Maritime Museum whaling collections are: "Hull and the Whaling Industry," *Hull Museums Collections,* unknown, accessed Jan 10, 2019, http://museumcollections.hullcc.gov.uk/collections/storydetail.php?irn=201&master=223, and Martha Cattell and Jason Edwards, "The Hull Maritime Museum Collection of Whaling Paintings" and "Scrimshaw and Other Objects," *Turner and the Whale* (History of Art Research Portal, University of York, 2017), accessed Jan 10, 2019, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhale.jsp.

one of the few literate members of the crew. Such surgeons' journals have proven to be a rich source of information about life on board a whaleship.[41]

As the seas around Greenland were depleted of whaling stock, crews were forced further into more dangerous parts of the Arctic, around the Davis Strait, and they often had to winter over there. Completion of a whaling voyage saw ships returning to their home ports, where crowds would gather to greet them. Successful voyages would often be celebrated by the commissioning of a ship portrait or a whaling seascape by one of many local artists. Although the major victims in the trade were the whales themselves, their numbers being decimated to near-extinction, the occupation was both highly speculative and considered dangerous. Many ships were lost, becoming stuck and crushed in ice fields in the Arctic, or were attacked by whales reacting physically against the hunt, although this was more common in the South Sea fishery, as sperm whales were known to have a more aggressive temperament.[42] Further, the detritus from whaling would be left on the shore or in the waters of whaling locations, and local native populations would often suffer from interactions with whalers, due to the introduction of substances, such as alcohol, and weapons. This meant that their skills would often become obsolete and addiction to substances would occur.

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[41] Logbooks and journals written by the whaling captain or surgeon offer a good insight into whaling voyages and the technicalities that played out on board. For a wider overview on Arctic whaling in the nineteenth century, a good place to start is William Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), and Arthur Conan Doyle, *Dangerous Work: Diary of an Arctic Adventure* (1880; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[42] There are plenty of statistics on whalers being trapped in ice but, in total, it is considered that nearly 800 ships were lost at sea between 1818 and 1869. For information on when the whale strikes back, see Owen Chase and Thomas Nickerson, ed., *The Loss of the Ship Essex, Sunk by a Whale*, 1820 (London: Penguin, 2000), which describes the fate of the whaleship *Essex*. Here, a number of members of the whaling crew resorted to cannibalism to avoid death, after their ship was rammed by a large sperm whale.

In terms of general animal welfare and environmental concerns, during the mid-nineteenth century people in Britain were fast becoming less involved or integrated with nature, as industrial farming techniques removed closeness to livestock. Further, as Philip Armstrong states, 'natural history and social science were rewriting authoritative perceptions about relationships between human societies and the natural world […;] this entailed a transition from Christian to evolutionary notions of the "chain of being," which simultaneously broke down received divisions between the human and the animal and installed new ones.'[43] Such changes highlight the altering relationship with nature during this period. I am not arguing that there was a highly idealistic relationship before this point, as suggested by John Berger in "Why Look at Animals?," but that there is an acknowledged shift in the way nature was being interacted with, which obviously plays a part in the context of whaling during the period.[44]

Whaling in England began to decline in the 1830s due to a combined series of factors, including a number of bad Arctic winters, the withdrawal of a government bounty and a growing prominence of Scottish whalers, who adopted more successfully auxiliary steam power in their whaling ships.[45] By the 1850s, there were only a handful of vessels operating out of Hull, and it was the disaster of the *Diana* in 1867 which finally marked the eventual ending of the Hull industry.[46] Whaling in general did, however, continue; noted inventions brought it into the industrial age,

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[43] Philip Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2007), 100.
[44] John Berger, *Why Look at Animals?* (London: Penguin, 2009).
[45] Jennifer C. Rowey, *The Hull Whale Fishery* (North Ferriby: Lockington Publishing Company, 1982).
[46] Various narratives have been written about such tragedies, including the ill-fated *Diana* voyage in 1869, Charles Edward Smith, *From the Deep of the Sea: Being the Diary of the Late Charles Edward Smith* (London: A. & C. Black Limited, 2015). The disaster, 13 men died, including the captain of the ship, and when the *Diana* was finally broken free and returned to Hull, it was dashed on the rocks on Donna Nook. This is often taken as a metaphorical end to the Hull whaling industry in general.

with 1863 signalling the first use of a mounted explosive harpoon gun on a steam ship by Norwegian whaler Svend Foyn. This was later trumped in 1926 by the creation of the first factory ship with a stern slipway, up which whales could be hauled.

Tastes, however, have changed, and greater regulation of the industry was called for in the twentieth century, which saw the establishment of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) in 1946. This was brought about to implement the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, the purpose being 'to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry.' Initial attempts, however, were highly ineffective, a point Nick Pyenson discusses, referring to the IWC as 'more like an international hunting club.'[47] It was not until 1986 that the IWC finally put a moratorium on commercial whaling; however, a number of countries refuse to end their whaling operations, including Japan, Norway and Iceland, all of which continue to whale under an alleged scientific alibi.[48] Indeed within the last few months of writing, Japan decided to withdraw from the IWC, stating that it is to 'restart commercial whaling in July [2019],' a declaration that has caused widespread condemnation. As a result, anti-whaling activists marched on the Japanese embassy in London on January 2019, and the charity "Whale and Dolphin Conservation" shared an altered image of the famous Japanese woodblock print, "The Great Wave off Kanagawa" (c. 1829–1833) by Katsushika Hokusai to include red-stained water and a harpooned whale falling into the ocean (Fig. 6).[49] Nevertheless, it is not just

[47] Pyenson, *Spying on Whales: The Past, Present and Future of the World's Largest Animals,* 136.
[48] Robert Rocha Jr, Phillip Clapham and Yulia Ivashchenko, "Emptying the Oceans: A Summary of Industrial Whaling Catches in the 20th Century," *Marine Fisheries Review* 76, no. 4, (2015): 37–48.
[49] "Japan Whale Hunting: Commercial Whaling to Restart in July," *BBC News Asia,* BBC, Dec 28, 2018, accessed Jan 19, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-46682976.

whaling that threatens cetacean species. Whales face new threats including entanglement in fishing gear, which causes particular havoc on species such as the vaquita, of which there are thought to be only 30 left in existence. Chemical and sound pollution, indirect interactions and climate change are also all having a negative impact on whale populations worldwide.[50]

For too long the history of whaling has been narrated via an often anthropocentric and masculinist rhetoric. Studies were written predominantly by male social, economic, maritime and local historians, and their focus was primarily on the value of the whale as economic or material capital, at the expense of how whales are represented and their subsequent role in cultural and societal identity building.[51] Although there is certainly a role for economic history in establishing the scale of the industry and the kills that it accommodated, a consideration of more

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[50] For more information on this, see "Changing Oceans" in Hammond, Heinrich, Hooker and Tyack, *Whales, Their Past, Present and Future*.

[51] There are a number of sources that can be referenced here, some of which have already been mentioned. Further books include Edward Keble Chatterton, *Whalers and Whaling: The Story of the Whaling Ships up to the Present Day* (London: T.F. Unwin Ltd, 1925); Peter Adamson, *The Great Whale to Snare: The Whaling Trade of Hull* (Hull: Colin Richardson Printers Limited, 1974); Ivan Terence Sanderson, *Follow the Whale* (New York: Bramhall House, 1956) and Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman and Karin Gleiter, *Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–190*6 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). For more information about whaling and women (note also how most of the titles refer to the women in terms of wife, somewhat taking away from their autonomy), see Joan Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820–1920* (New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2001); George W. Long, "Why Whalers' Wives Stayed Home," *Yankee* 28, no. 9 (1964): 84, 89, 123–127; Lisa Norling, "'How Frought with Sorrow and Heartpangs': Mariners' Wives and the Ideology of Domesticity in New England, 1790–1880," *New England Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (1992): 422–446; Lisa A. Norling, "The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Wife: Maritime Marriage in Nineteenth-Century New Bedford," (BA dissertation. Ithaca University, 1985); Lisa A. Norling, "The Sentimentalization of American Seafaring: The Case of the New England Whalefishery, 1790–1870," in Colin Howell and Richard Twomey, ed., *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour* (New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991); Margaret S. Creighton, *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). These titles focus on women and whaling but do not, however, address in great detail the visual and material culture of whaling, using instead letters as their main source. An exhibition I recently co-curated also challenges this focus on men and whaling, "Here be Whales" which is spread across two venues, at the Hull Maritime Museum and Left Bank Leeds, with nine artists, all women, and reflects on and challenges the representations of whales in contemporary art and culture. More will be mentioned of this exhibition later.

visual and material objects is needed to highlight human/animal and environmental relations. Basil Lubbock's *Arctic Whalers* (1968) is one such example of an economic approach to British whaling.[52] In the preface, he comments how '[t]he day of the Arctic Whaleman, known amongst seamen as the Greenlander, and considered the toughest specimen of all the men who followed the sea for a living, has long since passed, but his memory deserves to be preserved, and I feel sure that the reader of this book will find his [sic] admiration roused for as gallant a seafarer as ever trod the planks of a stout ship.' This continues in the introduction, where Lubbock describes 'that amazing life of whale-hunting in the Arctic,' and comments on how '[t]he Arctic whaler found himself intoxicated by the glamour' of the industry and was comparable to a 'sportsman in a hunt.'[53] It is the ending, however, which is most troubling in its anthropocentricism and masculinism, as Lubbock writes that 'though there is still much hardship to be faced in the whaling trade, the thrill of the fight is no longer enhanced by the leviathan's threat to the life and limb of his attacker. Science has taken the romance out of the fishing and made it into an abominable slaughter, which the old-timer must view not only with amazement but with a very considerable amount of contempt.'[54] It is worth pausing here to examine the language used, as words such as 'roused,' 'intoxicated' and 'thrill' add a hedonistic association to whaling, and further suggests a hierarchy of killing in which traditional methods were more justified by their masculinity in their enactment than the factory method.[55]

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[52] Basil Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers 1876–1944* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1955), vi.
[53] Ibid., 1.
[54] Ibid., 2.
[55] Lubbock's book provides useful statistical information and technicalities about whaling. It is the approach towards the animal (whales) and the environment that I here question, and not the factual or statistical information.

Related issues are found in studies that address the visual culture of whaling more directly. In these representations, whales are often denied agency. It is worth considering how, in order for whaling to occur, a relationship must be established between two elements, human *and* whale; yet, there is scholarly marginalisation of the whale within the framework of the represented hunt, a relationship that is, however, essential in primary texts and representations. Take for example the caption related to Robert Willoughby's "The Cooper Fleet" (1803) (Fig. 7) in Arthur Credland's *Marine Painting in Hull: Through Three Centuries* (1993). Credland suggests that it

> depicts the whaling fleet of Samuel Cooper, a Hull merchant; from left to right each shown in two views: *Thomas,* stern view and profile; *Brothers*, ditto; *Samuel*, ditto; *North Briton*, ditto.[56]

Here, the description gives preference to the whaling fleet rather than the animal and environmental elements within the painting. Although one of the primary functions of such works was to show the detailing and technicality of the fleet and ships, the amount of natural life is also plentiful and includes various whales being pursued and a polar bear on the right-hand side of the composition, licking its paw as it is about to be shot by a whaler. Although this may appear to be a small caption, it is representative. The foregrounding of the human and male narrative celebrates an industry-focused hierarchy prevalent in scholarship. I am not entirely discounting such works, which detail the genealogy of the whaling industry and they are key in cataloguing the visual and material culture that came about as a result of trade. The

[56] Arthur G. Credland, *Marine Painting in Hull: Through Three Centuries*, 165.

contribution that Credland has made to whaling and visual culture studies should not be underestimated, especially for the Hull-based artists, since he created thorough studies that have provided important contextual and biographical information for my own work. It is the heroic, anthropocentric rhetoric with which I have issue.

Even in more recent examples, where the whale or its environment playing more of a central role in interpretation, it was side-lined in preference for the human. For example, the 2016 exhibition *Turner's Whaling Pictures* at the Metropolitan Museum in New York promised 'a unique opportunity to consider the paintings as an ensemble and to contemplate their legacy, including their possible impact on Herman Melville's epic novel *Moby Dick*, published months before Turner's death in 1851.' This demonstrates how the exhibition had a human (and specifically male) focus, rather than the multi-species/environment. It should be noted, however, that it was curated by a woman.[57]

Source Material

There is a wide range of source material related to whaling, which, due to the transnational scope of the trade, is housed in various institutions around the world. As I have noted, the main resource on which I draw for this thesis are the collections held at the Hull Maritime Museum. Once the centre of the British whaling trade, Hull now plays host to what is ostensibly the largest repository of whaling items and scrimshaw in Europe, much of it linked closely to the town's involvement in the trade. The archive and objects held at the Museum offer a rich and comparatively

[57] There was some recognition of the act of whaling and use of animals within the exhibition through the presence of whale oil lamps and harpoons, yet the main aim and focus of the exhibition was Turner and Melville. Alison Hokanson, "Turner's Whaling Pictures," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art,* May 9, 2016, accessed Aug 27, 2016, http://www.metmuseum.org/press/exhibitions/2016/turners-whaling-pictures.

little-studied source for research, up till now only really being the focus of local and maritime historians, rather than art historians.[58]

I have also visited and used the resources of other museums and archives in the UK including the Scottish Fisheries Museum in Anstruther, the MacManus Museum in Dundee, the National Maritime Museum in London, and the Whitby Museum. Further afield, I have visited and used source material from the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Mystic Seaport, the Nantucket Historical Society in Nantucket, and the Providence Library and archive, all in the USA. Lastly, I worked with the resources of the Maritime Museum in Amsterdam. Consulting the documents and talking to museum staff and curators, led me eventually to dedicate a chapter to a number of institutions as case studies in themselves. It should be noted that all these museums and archives I visited are in the global North, although many other nations practised whaling in the global South. A study of these areas would require different expertise and a separate focus, and hopefully future funding will (and should) allow such studies to take place.

Literature Review

As each chapter focuses on a different materiality, they have their own separate literature review embedded within them. The overarching scope of the thesis, however, is the narrative of environmentalism, with each chapter concerned with how the different materialities manifest uneven multi-species and environmental dialogues. For me, adopting the literature that focuses on this field is highly

[58] Arthur Credland, the former keeper of the museum, has written extensively on various aspects of the collection, and I owe a great debt to the detailed groundwork and research that he has done on the topic. Some objects from the collections, notably the scrimshaw, have featured in contemporary art exhibitions in recent years: Nottingham Contemporary's, *Aquatopia* (2003) and Ferens Art Gallery and Invisible Dust's, *Offshore: Artists Explore the Sea,* (2017).

pertinent, as I write in an age of human dominance, in which nature is often the assumed binary opposite. Decoding what visual and material strategies have been used to maintain or destabilise, in my case, whaling, is an important starting point to consider the ethics of display and perhaps future methods of representation.

Initially, I focused exclusively on the field of animal studies; yet, I found this approach increasingly limiting since little concern was often given to wider environmental consequences or concerns, which are fundamentally entangled. This is especially true in relation to whales, which as Nick Pyenson comments in relation to the effects of industrial whaling '[t]he scale of this loss of biomass in the oceans has no historical precedent.' This suggests the clear interlinking of damage.[59] For this reason, the book that has most informed my thinking has been Val Plumwood's *Environmental Culture: The Ecological Crisis of Reason* (2001).[60] Plumwood writes that

> Ultimately our survival depends on our preparedness to undertake in many areas and at many levels a project of profound cultural remaking and renewal that addresses these failures of ecological rationality. This task is urgent.'[61]

Plumwood also points to the need to 'develop environmental culture involv[ing] a systematic resolution of the nature/culture and reason/nature dualisms that split mind from body, reason from emotion, across their many domains of cultural influence.[62] She suggests the need to abandon binary dualism in order to assess nature/culture,

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[59] Pyenson, *Spying on Whales: The Past, Present and Future of the World's Largest Animals,* 136.
[60] Plumwood, *Environmental Culture: The Ecological Crisis of Reason*.
[61] Ibid., 238.
[62] Ibid., 4.

something that I fully acknowledge within this thesis. This book takes a more theoretical approach and looks at societal practice. Therefore, there is scope for visual culture to be adapted into such thinking, and contribute towards Plumwood's notion of a greater 'ecological rationality.'[63]

Another book on which I have relied heavily is the *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet* (2017) edited by Anna Tsing, Heather Swanson, Elaine Gan and Nils Bubandt. In this, the editors outline how 'our era of human destruction has trained our eyes only on the immediate promises of power and profits. This refusal of the past, and even the present, will condemn us to continue fouling our own nests.'[64] The book is split into two themes: ghosts and monsters. In regard to monsters they note that '[m]onsters are useful figures with which to think the Anthropocene, this time of massive human transformations of multispecies life and their uneven effects. Monsters are the wonders of symbiosis and the threats of ecological disruption.'[65] Whales, I should add, have often been referred to as 'monsters,' and their large scale and dominating visual presence allows for them to be a key species to think of and with. Bringing together these different narratives, especially through the structure of the book, requires one to flip over physically in order to read the different sections and often refer back to one or the other, and highlights the physical and textual entanglement of such issues. The articles inside the book are also cross-disciplinary and range vastly in subject matter, but still all connect. The introduction to the section regarding ghosts, states: 'to survive, we need to relearn multiple forms of

[63] Another book by Plumwood that is worth mentioning is Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1993). In this, she lays the foundations for feminist ecology, bringing feminist and post-colonial theories together in order to think about environmental issues and philosophy.
[64] Tsing, Swanson, Gan, Bubandt, *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet,* G2.
[65] Ibid., M2.

curiosity. Curiosity is an attunement to multispecies entanglement.'[66] This focus on multi-species and multi-disciplinarity points to the need for such studies to persist and, therefore, the approach I take, which combines different disciplines and materiality is useful; something Donna Haraway highlights succinctly, stating how '[c]ritters are at stake in each other in every mixing and turning of the terran compost pile. We are compost, not posthuman; we inhabit the humusities, not the humanities.'[67]

As well as this, my work is indebted to the studies by Harriet Ritvo and Diana Donald, and the edited volume by Deborah Denenholz, *Victorian Animal Dreams* (2007).[68] These works have been key, as their contributions have displaced the prior and more typically human-dominated narrative of Victorian history, offering a framework from which to address the role of whales within my period of focus. This has been achieved through drawing on more theoretical ideas in relation to past animal representations, and in the case of Donald's *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750–1850* (2007), it is her focus on the art historical representation of animals and the ethics around that, especially in relation to hunting imagery, has been valuable. I build on such scholarship by returning whaling to centre stage, with a more object-oriented focus. In these studies, it is notable that there is only a brief mention of whales in Ritvo's *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (this is just a sentence), whereas there is a chapter in *Victorian Animal Dreams*, Anca Vlasopolos's "Pacific Harvests: Whales and Albatrosses in

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[66] Ibid., G11.
[67] Donna Haraway "Symbiogenesis, Sympoiesis, and Art Science Activisms for Staying with the Trouble," in Tsing, Swanson, Gan, Bubandt, *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet,* M45.
[68] Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750–1850*; Deborah Denenholz and Martin A. Danahay, *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Nineteenth-Century Markets," but the later does not focus on the art historical and environmental impact of whaling, suggesting therefore a clear scope to focus on the visual within such dialogues.

Lastly, there are a number of books within the broad field of animal studies that I also build on, but through a new art historical approach. These include Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert's *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* (2000), in which a series of contributors considers ideas of 'animal geographies' and the often-fraught relationship when humans encroach on animal space or visa-versa. A particular chapter of interest is James R. Ryan's "'Hunting with the Camera:' Photography, Wildlife and Colonialism in Africa," in which the author explores the medium of photography as an invasive form of representation. Steve Baker's *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity, and Representation* (2001) also offers an interesting dialogue, especially around the idea of co-creating artwork with animal subjects, and the ethics around using animal bodies. In Nigel Rothfels's *Representing Animals* (2002), similar themes to Baker's are raised, especially about ideas of how representing animals is often a reflection of human emotions or anxieties, which is something I think about greatly within the whaling representations I focus on. Erica Fudge's *Animal* (2002) has also proved of interest. Although a short book, it ponders the multi-faceted ways human lives are interplayed by or with animals, and how we rely on and manipulate them in many aspects of life. Lastly, two further books that have proved very formative to my thesis and thought process (especially the latter), include Josephine Donovan and Carol J. Adams's *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics: A Reader* (2007) and Donna J. Haraway's *When Species Meet* (2007), the first for its feminist focus and narrative, and the second for Haraway's dialogue around how 'a great deal is at

stake' in the coming together of companion species.[69] Further, as we have seen, some of the seminal texts on animals and their past representation, although contextually useful, take a rather gendered approach, demonstrated namely by their titles. These include Keith Thomas's *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (1984) and Kenneth Clark's study *Animals and Men* (1977).[70] Drawing on a few titles in more detail brings me to Steve Baker's, *The Postmodern Animal* (2000). This text has offered the perfect background for considering the representation of animals in art or their use within a contemporary framework, and the often complex ethical questions that arise from this, in terms of using live animals or animal material as artworks. Baker's work has informed in discussions of some of the contemporary works concerning whales and whaling that I use as counterpoints the nineteenth-century examples.[71] So far, like the studies by Ritvo and Donald previously mentioned, these texts do not address issues of whales and whaling, with only brief mentions on the topic or species.[72] There are a few exceptions to this rule worth mentioning, including Philip Armstrong's *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity* (2007), which considers the representation of animals in novels including *Moby-Dick*. He states how '*Moby-Dick,* and the mid-century whaling culture it represents, represent a period in which industrialisation was energetically at work, producing along with urbanisation,

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[69] Carol J. Adams, *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics: A Reader,* Donna J. Haraway, *When Species Meet,* (Minnesota: University Of Minnesota Press, 2007), 17.
[70] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd, 1984); Kenneth Clark, *Animals and Men* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).
[71] Nigel Rothfels, *Representing Animals* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Josephine Donovan and Adams, *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics: A Reader*; Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity, and Representation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert, *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* (London: Routledge, 2000); Fudge, *Animal*; Haraway, *When Species Meet*.
[72] Ritvo mentions whales in relation to nineteenth-century natural history publications, Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age,* 18, and Donald discusses briefly whales in relation to their categorised identity, Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750–1850,* 30, 37–38.

alteration in the economic status of women, redefinition of labour structures and environmental degradation, a radically new relationship between humans and other animals.'[73] This statement highlights the alignment that whaling had with various aspects of life in the nineteenth century and, therefore, its importance for study.

In addition, the cultural whaling references of the nineteenth century are largely, so far, offered by the texts that focus on Turner's whaling paintings and Melville's writings. These include most prominently Robert Wallace's *Melville and Turner: Spheres of Love and Fright* (1992). This touches on the two most famous examples of representations of whales, and the influence that the two creators may have had on each other's work, a parallel that we have seen replicated at the previously mentioned Met exhibition in 2017.[74] I have, however, sought to challenge Wallace's rather narrow focus through work I have done alongside the thesis, including co-curating *Turner and the Whale* (2017) at the Hull Maritime Museum, something I will elaborate on later.

Methodology and Thesis Structure

My methodology is built from the source material I have gathered, and is object-orientated, as well as theoretical and historical. I focus each chapter on a particular medium to allow for an in-depth study. A cross-pollination across the chapters

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[73] Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity*, 100.

[74] Wallace, *Melville & Turner, Spheres of Love and Fright*. Modern examples include: Paul Cloke and Harvey Perkins, "Cetacean Performance and Tourism in Kaikoura, New Zealand," *Environ Plan D* 23, no. 6 (2005): 903–924, and Katja Neves "Cashing in on Cetourism: A Critical Ecological Engagement with Dominant E-NGO Discourses on Whaling, Cetacean Conservation, and Whale Watching," *Antipode* 42, no. 3 (2010): 719–741. It is also worth mentioning here that a number of contemporary artists have drawn on the whaling trade as inspiration for their work, including Fiona Tan's exhibition *Depot* (2015) at the Baltic Art Gallery, Newcastle, which drew on the whaling heritage of the city. Also, Sarah Garzoni's sculpture "Breaching," (2010), which is a life-sized, traditional nineteenth-century corset made of wax, string, plaster and around a thousand shark teeth. Fiona Tan, *Depot* (Newcastle: Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art, 2015). "Sarah Garzoni," *Artsouterrain,* 2018, accessed Jan 13, 2019, http://www.artsouterrain.com/en/sarah-garzoni/.

encourages comparison between objects, especially from a critical and environmental standpoint.

The first chapter, "A 'Fish' Out of Water: Representing Whales in Nineteenth-Century Prints" focuses on three topics: strandings, natural history representations and whaling journals. The chapter considers how the narrative of whale representations emerged somewhere between science and spectacle, with little or no concern for the ecological devastation the whaling industry was ultimately causing. and the representation of whales often acting as an index for their economic value. This chapter sets the groundwork for future chapters.

The second, "A View to a Kill: Representing Animal Death in Hull's Whaling Marine Paintings" explores the representation and "reality" of animal death in the nineteenth-century whaling trade. For this, I use one painting as a main case study: John Ward's "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella'" (c. 1840). I use this to consider the mediated "reality" of the scene and the consequent role such representations had in flattering patrons and legitimising the continuation of whaling. This chapter also gives prominence to the Hull School of painters, who have previously not been seriously considered in terms of their whaling paintings or within an art historical, critical framework, with only a few previously mentioned studies by Credland focusing on the Hull pieces. The chapter then contributes to the field of marine paintings studies that has recently grown, with Eleanor Hughes's edited publication and exhibition *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting* (2016). I am, however, extending Hughes's cannon further to pierhead painters or local artists, such as those belonging to the Hull School.[75]

[75] "Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting" held at the Yale Centre for British Art, Sep 15 – Dec 4, 2016. Although whaling ceramics get a mention by Richard Johns in the accompanying catalogue, they have no presence in the exhibition itself. Richard Johns, "After Van de Velde," in *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting*, ed. Eleanor Hughes (New

The third chapter is entitled "Scrimshaw Afterlives." It takes the term 'Afterlives' from Samuel J. Alberti's *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie* (2013), which explores the new narrative of objects made of animal material after the animal's death. I develop this phrase by using scrimshaw principally from the collections of the Hull Maritime Museum, which has largely been understudied, since prominence has previously been given to the larger American collections in the New Bedford Whaling Museum and Mystic Seaport. I focus on the post-narratives of scrimshaw objects in order to emphasise the shifting value that can be placed on them as 'object-relics' and souvenirs, thinking in particular how they helped sustain and maintain relationships in a metaphorical state both on- and off-shore.[76]

The last chapter, "Museum Representations," brings all these aspects together, and was developed after spending time in museums during the research process. This made me realise that the museums in themselves offer interesting case studies and are a topic to be developed, especially given the growing number of published works on museums, ethics, the environment and animals.[77] In this chapter, I use three case studies: The Amsterdam Maritime Museum in The Netherlands, the

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Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 16-38. I am very grateful, however, to the number of marine painting titles that do exist and that feature, however briefly, the Hull School of artists and other artists around the UK, who have focused on whaling within the marine studies context. E.H.H. Archibald, *Dictionary of Sea Painters* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, 2000); James Ayres, *Art, Artisans and Apprentices: Apprentice Painters & Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014).

[76] For examples of this, see Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum*; Stuart M. Frank, *Dictionary of Scrimshaw Artists* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1991); Stuart M. Frank, *More Scrimshaw Artists: A Sequel and Supplement to the Dictionary of Scrimshaw Artists, with the Shipboard Journal of Charles H. Durgin on a Whaling Voyage to Hudson's Bay in the Ship Monticello of New London, 1864–1865* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1998); Denys Brook-Hart, *British 19th-Century Marine Painting* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1978).

[77] See Liv Emma Thorsen, Karen Ann Rader and Adam Dodd, *Animals on Display: The Creaturely in Museums, Zoos, and Natural History* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Samuel J.M.M. Alberti ed., *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2011); Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005).

New Bedford Whaling Museum in the US, and the Hull Maritime Museum in the UK. I chose these three institutions, as I wanted to represent museums from the three countries most etched into the history of western whaling during the nineteenth century. The chapter will fill the current oversight of representations of whaling within discussions of museology and museum ethics.

I am not offering a complete comprehensive study of whaling representations, but hope that my work will act as a catalyst for further studies relating to the topic and begin to compensate for its absence in nineteenth-century art historical and environmental discourses.

CHAPTER ONE: A 'FISH' OUT OF WATER: REPRESENTING WHALES IN LONG NINETEENTH–CENTURY BRITISH PRINTS

> A structure that both invents and distances its object and thereby inscribes again and again the gap between signifier and signified, that is the place of generation for the symbolic[78]
>
> Susan Stewart, 1993.

In 1762, a print of a whale appeared on page 96 of *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (Fig. 1). The image was reproduced after a letter was sent to the magazine from a reader: 'I went yesterday to see that surprising creature the whale, that now lies ashore facing the Greenland-dock, by Deptford […]. I was informed that this is one of the spermaceti kind, and not of the sort they usually catch in the Greenland seas.' The reader goes on to state that 'as the form of this creature is so very different from what I imagined of the whale, I must, for once, make it my request to you to procure […] a print, giving us a true account of its dimensions […] with other particulars that may entertain the curious.' This resulted in the magazine featuring a print 'to oblige [the] correspondent.'[79]

The print of *The London Magazine* featured the image of a sperm whale laid out on some ice on the foreground.[80] It appears to grin in a comical manner, with its

[78] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), ix.
[79] "Dimensions of the Whale at Greenland-Doc," correspondence, *The London Magazine or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* 31, Feb 6, 1762, 95–96.
[80] This offers an interesting comparison to how one would find fish displayed in a fishmonger's today, laid out on ice ready for purchase/consumption.

large phallus on display, and its skin a palette of monochrome etched lines.[81] The reader had requested the whale's dimensions and these are visible below its body, making it comprehensible by human standards of measure. Curiously, however, despite the rationality implied through the introduction of measurement, the background that frames the sperm whale does not show its native landscape. Instead, it is located within an Arctic bowhead fishery, a space in which sperm whales would not have been found.[82] The so-called 'true account' that the *London Magazine* produced, then, is far from fact. Instead, intentionally or not, the image is a misleading fiction.

Taking this idea of fiction as a starting point, this chapter considers the growth of printed whaling representations during the mid-nineteenth century, following their early modern and eighteenth-century development, and demonstrates how the narrative of whale representations emerged somewhere between science and spectacle, with little or no concern for the ecological devastation the whaling industry was ultimately causing; a fact increasingly mentioned, however, in the accounts of the whalers themselves. I structure the chapter into three sections. I begin with stranding imagery, before moving onto natural history publications, and ending with whaling narratives. I chose these three subjects, as they were the

[81] This example is similar to another earlier print, suggesting that the *London Magazine* may have taken the image of a whale from a previous illustration: the "Blunt Head Cachalot" engraving, eighteenth century, Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothorp Collection,* 208.
[82] It is interesting to consider why this mistake in landscape was made, as *The London Magazine* would have been aware of the South Sea as a visual space through the recent voyages of Captain James Cook, the first of which was in 1768–1771, the second in 1772–1775 and the last in 1776–1779. With an artist on board each of the voyages there was plenty of visual depictions of the South Pacific to use as source material. Cook also visited the Arctic on his third voyage, in search for a Northwest Passage, meaning that there would have also existed imagery and descriptions of these frozen landscapes, which would have emphasised the clear distinction between the spaces. For more information on this topic, see Samuel Scott, ed., *To the Ends of the Earth, Painting the Polar Landscape* (Massachusetts: Peabody Essex Museum, 2008); also, Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (London: Yale University Press, 1992).

dominant form of print culture relating to whaling during the period, which for this chapter covers 1766–1867. I recognise that prints of whale hunting scenes were also a prolific subject. But I do not address them here, as they are covered in more detail in the second chapter, which focuses on paintings of whaling hunts. The three themes I focus on here benefitted from the growth of printing technology and they have never been considered in parallel, meaning that this chapter will encourage new dialogues to develop in the process. The argument presented will demonstrate that whales were viewed during this era, as an index of their economic value. The chapter sets the context and groundwork for the forthcoming chapters. For my second chapter on Hull whaling paintings, prints often acted as a source material for compositions. In relation to my third chapter on scrimshaw, again prints and magazines would often be taken on-board whaling ships and used directly as inspiration for the various carved images on the bone surface of scrimshaw.[83] Further, the methods of creating prints and scrimshaw hold a distinct similarity through the etching of a surface and the subsequent staining with colours/ink to enliven an image. I will return to this in my third chapter.

The methodology I adopt here interrogates the visibility brought about by heightened print publication. I link this to the idea of taxonomy, a system of animal categorisation meant to bring greater clarity to the animal world, although a system that was hierarchical and anthropocentric in its structuring, much like the representations I draw attention to. John Mack comments on how 'we cannot be sure

[83] For more information on printing techniques, see William Mills Ivins, *How Prints Look: Photographs with Commentary* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987) and Peter Parshall, *The Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005). For more info on 18th century marine paintings, see David Joel, *Charles Brooking 1725-1759 and the 18th Century British Marine Painters*, (New York: ACC Art Books, 1999), and Eleanor Hughes, *Spreading Canvas, Eighteenth Century British Marine Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

we see everything, the more it approaches [the] dimension of invisibility.'[84] My imagery suggests the opposite: the more something is visible the less confident we can be about knowing it completely. I develop on the work of Mary Louis Pratt in *Imperial Eyes*: *Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), who writes in relation to taxonomy that 'with the founding of the global classificatory project, the observing and cataloguing of nature itself became narratable'. It gave 'European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world.'[85] Michel Foucault also discussed visibility in relation to taxonomy, stating that it 'reduces the whole area of the visible to a system of variables all of whose values can be designated, if not by a quantity, at least a perfectly clear and always finite description. It is therefore possible to establish the system of identities and the order of differences existing between natural entities.'[86] Through taxonomy, Foucault argues, the visible animal is reduced to a variable part of a wider system of identities.

Considering the reductive nature of visibility resonates with Kathleen Kete's assertion of 'the centrality of animals in the ways in which humans shore up their fragile status and in understanding the self.'[87] This idea is clearly applicable in relation to my body of evidence, since, within print culture, the whale is often rendered opposite to its real state, an ambiguity that is pertinent in exploring the anxiety often present in human representations (and treatment) of animals.[88] Charlotte Sleigh adopts a more morbid reading of printed animal publications,

[84] John Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (London: The British Museum Press, 2007).
[85] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
[86] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970; London: Routledge, 2001), 148. Citations refer to the Routledge edition.
[87] Kathleen Kete, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).
[88] For more on this see John Berger, *Why Look at Animals?*

calling them 'paper zoos', and argues that in spite of prints being 'often very beautiful,' they are 'a catalogue of death.'[89] Expanding on this statement, she outlines how 'alphabetical filing, scientific taxonomy, or even drawing, all remove the animal convincedly from the materiality of real encounter. These actions kill off the animal's agency, its noise, its smell: its insistently animal nature. The creature is transmogrified into specimen, into picture, into representation of a taxon. It lives on eternally as memory or as data.'[90] Such a reading can be taken further by considering the printmaking process, which is often described in quite violent terms, such as cutting and biting, further enhancing a morbid tonality, building on Sleigh's assertion.[91]

Benjamin Morgan's article "After the Arctic Sublime" (2016) has also contributed to the methodology of this chapter. Morgan offers a critically-engaged reading of Scoresby Jr's *Account of the Arctic Regions* (1820).[92] In his introduction, Morgan states his desire to 'propose that features like Scoresby's table, consisting of scientific data, constitute a particularly important site of inquiry within our present critical context and geo-historical moment.'[93] He quotes Catherine Gallagher to emphasise 'the rise of fictionality' that voyage narratives such as Scoresby Jr's would often create, something that can easily apply to whaling narratives.[94] He further cites Pratt's argument that travel narratives, especially those of natural

[89] Charlotte Sleigh, *The Paper Zoo: 500 Years of Animals in Art* (London: British Library, 2016), 37.
[90] Ibid., 36.
[91] This violence related to the production of materiality will be revisited later when discussing scrimshaw. The idea of violence is heightened, as the surface being carved is that of actual dead whales, specifically their bones.
[92] Benjamin Morgan, "After the Arctic Sublime," *New Literary History* 47, no. 1 (2016): 1–26. Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions: With a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery, Volume 2*.
[93] Morgan, "After the Arctic Sublime," 1.
[94] Catherine Gallagher, "The Rise of Fictionality," in *The Novel, Vol. 1 History, Geography and Culture,* ed. Franco Moretti (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 336–362.

historians, 'created a new kind of Euro-centred planetary consciousness,' embedded with 'imperial identities.'[95] Morgan goes on to highlight the value of using Scoresby Jr's work within such narratives, stating that 'one does not have to look far to see that if Scoresby Jr's volume spoke of the natural environment of the Arctic, it did so in a culturally encoded language of national ambitions and aesthetic tropes.'[96] Both Pratt and Morgan, then, emphasise the value of considering such resources as whaling narratives and natural history publications, and the deeper meaning they can possess. I build on Morgan's work thinking about the 'fictionality' that can often be entangled with the supposed reality of representation, either written or illustrated, the latter of the two being my concern here.

Indeed, except for Sleigh's *Paper Zoo* (2016), the historians quoted do not discuss or explore in great detail the artwork of their respective publications of focus, with the images either ignored or regarded as scientific evidence, rather than being considered within the wider context of the text or as ideological in their own right. In his introduction to *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture* (2006), Jonathan Smith picks up on this issue, stating how literary and cultural scholars, as well as sociologists and scientists, have treated visual representations in scientific journals very differently.[97] Smith then goes on to approach Darwin's work via what W.J.T. Mitchell calls 'imagetexts'[98] and his claim that 'the interaction of pictures and texts is constitutive of representation as such: all media are mixed media.'[99]

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[95] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. For more information on the link between colonialism and animals, see Philip Armstrong, "The Postcolonial Animal," *Society and Animals* X, no. IV (2002): 413–419.
[96] Morgan, "After the Arctic Sublime," 7.
[97] Jonathan Smith, *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.
[98] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 47–151.
[99] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 5.

According to Mitchell, then, when pictures and text interact in unison, the result is an 'imagetext.' When gaps between pictures and text emerge, however, we have, alternatively, (again quoting Mitchell) an 'image/text.'[100] This chapter argues that whaling prints represent a key example of Mitchell's image/texts, a fictionality that does not always translate to 'imagetext,' something clearly demonstrated by the image of the sperm whale from the *Illustrated London News*, where the text does not correspond to the represented image.

After outlining my methodology, I describe briefly the rationale for my focus on the materiality of print. Print has a long history, initially invented in 1440 by German Johannes Gutenberg, before William Caxton brought the technology to Britain in the 1470s. Printing was slow and cumbersome to begin with, and it was not until the nineteenth century that major developments began to make the process more feasible, with the price of printing also dropping significantly.[101] The majority of prints were still monochrome, but colour became more widely introduced in the 1830s.[102] The production of print was becoming increasingly more efficient and, as an example, in 1814 *The Times* was printing 1,000 sheets per hour, which was five times faster than earlier machines. This increased production capability led, in turn, to more books, journals and magazines being circulated. The lowered price also allowed a much wider social audience to enjoy print culture partly due to the

[100] Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology,* 47–151.
[101] Kate Flint, "The Victorian Novel and its Readers," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Deirdre David (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[102] Craig G. Staff, *Monochrome: Darkness and Light in Contemporary Art* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015). For more information on monochrome, see also the recent exhibition for The National Gallery, "Monochrome Painting in Black and White," Oct 30, 2017 – Feb 18, 2018, accessed June 6, 2018, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/monochrome-painting-in-black-and-white and Lelia Packer and Jennifer Sliwka, *Monochrome: Painting in Black and White* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2017). It is also interesting to consider how early uses of monochrome were largely reserved for devotional images, so as not to create anything that was superfluous.

increase in literacy rates brought about by the great reform acts of 1832 and 1867, combined with the development of a national railway system which meant that daily press could be delivered around the country.[103] Such technological advances in both transport and production aided in vastly changing the readership and range of publications on offer.

The growing desire for knowledge was enormous, and the development of institutions such as Literary and Philosophical Societies, and Mechanics Institutes helped facilitate this. Other spaces for print circulation also grew in popularity, in particular circulating libraries, which in the nineteenth century increased their subscription numbers from a wider range of class and gender groups.[104] Natural history was at the heart of these developments, with the circulating library of Hull's Mechanics Institute, for example, including W. Swainson's *Instincts and Habitats of Animals* (1840), Sir William Jardine's *Zoology and Botany* (1840), J.C.J. Loudon's 9-volume *Natural History* (1829–1840), and Mary Roberts's *The Seaside Companion or Marine Natural History* (1825), to name just a few titles.[105] My period of focus for this chapter is 1766–1867, saw great growth in the material of print, in both book and single-page format, just as whaling was also increasing. Whale imagery, thus, proliferated at an unprecedented rate, perpetuating a lack of full

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[103] Richard D. Altick comments on the rising schooling rates for working class populations, stating how literacy rates rose from 54.8 per cent in 1852 to 97.2 percent in 1900, Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998). For more information on the Great Reform acts, see: Edward Pearce, *Reform! The Fight for the 1832 Reform Act* (London: Pimlico, 2004) and Chris van den Bossche, *Reform Acts: Chartism, Social Agency, and the Victorian Novel, 1832–1867* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). For one of the most authoritative texts on Victorian railways, see Jack Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

[104] For more information on circulating libraries, see Lee Erickson, "The Economy of Novel Reading: Jane Austen and the Circulating Library," S*tudies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 30, no. 4 (1990), pp. 573–590. This article also gives a good overview of how circulating libraries were being presented in literary publications of the period.

[105] Hull Mechanics Institute, Library Catalogue, 1839, L.374.2, Hull History Centre, Hull. For more information on the history of the Mechanics Institute, see the introduction of Martina Droth, Jason Edwards and Michael Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention, 1837–1901* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

understanding and respect for animal subjects, and environmental concerns associated with their killing.

Whaling prints, meanwhile, have existed for over 400 years, beginning with the opening of the European Spitsbergen fishery in 1611 and ending with the beginning of modern mechanised whaling in the 1880s. Ingalls writes that the 'main purpose' of American whaling prints was to 'inform and to elucidate this unusual and distant industry, accessible to very few.' She also documents how prints could range from 'a natural history print, where the whale was the sole focus,' or be 'purely incidental, as on seventeenth-century maps.' In either case, prints helped to 'make this curiosity imaginable.'[106] She posits that 'whale and whaling prints are more important for their historical and sociological value and human interest than for their artistic merit.' In this regard, then, whaling prints were published in order to make the 'invisible' (off-shore) visible and, in turn consumable, either through the knowledge imparted by the image or through the physical possession of the print or book in which it was featured. The mechanisation of the whaling industry in 1880, however, meant that the initial 'romanticism' associated with whaling prints was increasingly lost and this, alongside the greater automation of technology with film and photography, meant that whaling prints steadily declined from the late nineteenth century onwards. Stuart M. Frank also emphasises the value of American whaling prints, characterising them as 'the most striking and memorable images of the whaling industry and its resonant impact upon mainstream culture.' [107] I believe that the same importance can be said to belong to British whaling prints.

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[106] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothorp Collection,* xix.
[107] "Classic Whaling Prints," *Past Exhibitions,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2009, accessed June 4, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/past/classic-whaling-prints.

Strandings

Returning to the whale depicted in the *London Illustrated News* article, it is not just its "out of placeness" in the Arctic landscape that is worthy of comment, but it has also been dislocated from its natural aquatic habitats, through its stranding, which was also one of the first forms of representing whales in print. As I have already discussed, strandings have a long history, frequently drawing crowds of spectators to gaze at the "spectacle" of the animal and its out-of-placeness. Simon Schama is one of the few to have written about the genre of strandings, commenting on how 'the beached whale was peculiar among the rich array of portents and omens in that it carried in its imposing bulk both associations of riches and reminders of their penitential obliteration.'[108] Schama characterises their appearance as emblematising a central 'cultural contradiction,'[109] somewhere between fear and fascination. After their appearance, stranded whales were often immortalised on paper, making the ephemeral appearance more tangible and durable through its recording. An engraving by Jacob Matham created after an original drawing by artist Hendrik Goltzius (1598) is often cited as one of the first print representations. Ingalls comments on how it 'was to be copied for two hundred years in European stranded whale and natural history prints'[110] (Fig. 2). In the image, the body of a whale fills the prints middle-ground, whilst crowds gather on the beach to sell their wares or observe the whale's body. A number of men stand on top of the whale attempting to

[108] It should be noted that the majority of representations of whale strandings that Schama talks about are related to Dutch seventeenth-century whaling. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, 140.
[109] Ibid. Although he is referring to the seventeenth century here, but it offers relevant context for nineteenth-century representations.
[110] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothorp Collection,* 190. This image was also frequently replicated in later prints, for example in the 1798 print "Balaena, The Mysticetus, or Common Whale" by J. Chapman Sculp, which uses Matham's image directly.

cut it open, ready for dissection, whilst a vista of sand dunes stretches into the distance. Along the bottom of the image, the inscription reads:

> the huge whale, having been tossed on the blue sea, May the gods prevent its threat, looks upon the shore of Katwijk, The terror of the Atlantic, the whale of the deep, Driven by the wind and its own motion to the shore, Settled on dry land, stuck on the sand. We offer it to be recorded, remembered, and spoken about by the people.[111]

The text indicates that the image of the event is a commemoration of what transpired and an attempt to preserve the 'legend.' The text also references the elements of air and water, as well as ideas of height and depth.

Dutch engravers originated this style of print, with another oft-quoted example being Joannes Saenredam's "Stranded Whale near Beverwyck" (1601) (Fig. 3). In this print, as in the previous example, a large whale fills the pictorial space. Here, the fin is more realistically depicted but it also includes a gathered crowd, the men standing atop its form and the coastline in the background, suggesting a clear compositional relationship. What differs between these two images is a series of portentous iconography situated above the central image of the stranding, including an earthquake, a solar and lunar eclipse, and Father Time with sand running out. As Schama notes, these emphasise the superstition that was associated with such a 'phenomenon,' and the fascination and speculation that surrounded their unusual appearance.[112]

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[111] A Dutch verse by Karel van Mander beneath the Latin verse praises God and marvels at the stranding as a demonstration of God's wondrous work.
[112] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothorp Collection,* 192. It should be noted that such strandings were not always as spectacular as depicted, with the whale fully formed. Schama quotes

One of the most notable nineteenth-century strandings, and for which there is much documentation, is the so-called Burton Constable Whale, stranded on the Tunstall Coast in 1825. The whale came under the ownership of Clifford Constable of Burton Constable, after his relation Sir John Constable purchased, in the sixteenth century, the Signatory of Holderness. This meant that the family held extensive powers over the shoreline between Earle's Dyke, south of Bridlington and the junction of the river Hull, and would get ownership of 'Fishes Royal' that would strand on the shore.[113] The stranding brought large crowds from the local area, and on March 7, 1825 the *Hull Rockingham* detailed how 'an enormous animal of the whale tribe was thrown on the Holderness coast […] and now lies, partly cut up, an object of intense curiosity to the surrounding country.'[114] The *Hull Advertiser,* meanwhile, divulges more about the scale of the crowd, reporting on Friday May 6, 1825, how '[a] great deal of visitors, from all quarters, have repaired to the spot; it was calculated that not less than a thousand spectators were present in the course of Sunday.'[115] Seven days later, the *Rockingham* sadly reports of the whale's death and that 'the dissection of this stupendous animal was far from complete and far from satisfactory to the scientific gentlemen who took so much interest in investigating its

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one example of how 'as it lay, the Bowels burst out, which so infected the Air thereabouts that many of those who went to see it were cast into Diseases by the stench of it and some died', Hugo Grotius, *De Rebus Belgicus* (1658), quoted in Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, 130.

[113] "Information Boards," *The Stables*, Burton Constable Hall, visited May 2018. A series of whales had been washed up previously but always sold on. This included a sperm whale in January 1749, a blue whale in September 1750, a grampus in July 1778, and an unidentified species of whale in November 1782. This idea of ownership over coastlines and whales is relevant to this day, as under UK law, whales and sturgeons are royal fish and when taken or stranded become the personal property of the monarch of the United Kingdom, in a law which dates back to a statute from 1324. Further, this ownership of coastline for personal profit differs to more contemporary initiatives, where the focus is much more on preservation and conservation, such as the Marine Protected Areas (MPAs), which are 'set up primarily for the conservation of our marine biodiversity and to protect species and habitats of international or national importance', UKMPA Centre, "About Marine Protected Areas," 2007, accessed 8 June 2018, http://www.ukmpas.org/about.html.

[114] *Hull Rockingham*, May 7, 1825, 3, Hull History Centre, Hull.

[115] *Hull Advertiser*, May 6, 1825, in Arthur Credland, *Burton Constable Hall: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Hull: Hutton Press Ltd, 1998), 72.

structure. This arose partly from the fact that it had been three or four days on the beach before the event was generally known in Hull.'[116] This statement shows that the scientific desire to have the whale examined was not fully realised due to its death, something that would have certainly annoyed scientists. The *Rockingham* went on to state that 'such an opportunity of examining anatomically one of these monsters of the deep [was] entirely new to the whole medical profession in this neighbourhood.'[117] An observer, Sarah Stickney, offers one of the few direct accounts of the stranding from the perspective of a woman, stating in her 1825 journal:

> You will doubtless have heard of the monster washed up on this shore – the bustle of it occasioned in the neighbourhood was marvellous. Hilston was quite gay more gay than sweet, for many of the scientific gentlemen, who made no scruple to bury their hands and arms in blubber, went immediately to wash them and dine at Hilston. Hannah Foster had this to endure for a whole week, the whale becoming every day more putrid – it was a loathsome thing at best. I never could tolerate the sight of an inanimate mass of flesh in any shape.[118]

[116] *Hull Rockingham*, May 14, 1825, Hull History Centre, Hull.
[117] Ibid. It is interesting to consider that it is the doctors who are interested in the whale, rather than the veterinarians, a profession which was first proposed as an idea in the UK in 1785, and was still developing greatly in the nineteenth century. There was nothing really that was similar to marine biology as we know it today.
[118] Sarah Stickney (1799–1872) in her journal for 1825, quoted on "Information Boards," *The Stables,* Burton Constable Hall, visited May 2018.

Stickney alludes to the frantic nature of 'scientific gentlemen,' who appear to be competing with each other to get information about the whale. Yet, she herself is more displeased about its appearance, calling it a 'monster' and a 'loathsome thing at best' and ending by comparing it to a piece of meat.[119] Such a description clearly emphasises that not everyone was pleased about the appearance of the whale, or saw it as an opportunity to exploit or monetise its body, and, in the case of Stickney, were even repulsed by its 'inanimate' form and also the behaviour of the men who were interacting with its body.[120] Another woman who writes about seeing a whale is Charlotte Brontë, who, in a letter to her friend, Ellen Nussey, on January 10, 1849, commented:

> A south wind so directly in our teeth, that it was impossible to sail. Walked about Dover and to the Parade upon the beach about half a quarter of a mile to the west of the town, where a whale no less than eighty-seven feet long had, about three weeks before, been towed ashore by two fishing-boats. It had at first been seen by the Deal boats lying upon the Goodwin Sands, and was taken for a vessel; it was then floated nearer this way, and was dead and much wasted before they brought it in here. When I saw it, the enormous backbone, with a quantity of shapeless flesh and skin about it, was lying within water mark, and looked exactly like a large irregular shelf of rock. The jawbones, both upper and under, had been pretty

[119] Comparisons to stranded whales or marine mammals as monsters are still present today, for example 'a mysterious decomposing 'sea monster'' that washed up in Maine in July 15, 2018, turned out to be a basking shark. Kimberly Hickok, "Blob-Like Sea Monster Washes up on Maine Beach," *Live Science*, July 20, 2018, accessed Mar 11, 2019 https://www.livescience.com/63119-sea-monster-is-basking-shark.html.
[120] Ibid.

> well cleared of flesh, and were lying on different parts of the beach, likewise the tail with all the flesh still upon it, cut off from the fish at the lowest vertebra of the backbone. The length of the under jawbone of this stupendous animal I measured 6¼ yds, and the length between the fork of the tail, 18 ft. The length of the upper jawbone must have been much greater, but it lay inconveniently for measuring. I much regret having missed seeing this enormous creature while it was entire, for from the mangled remains of its body no idea could be formed of its shape. The farmers in the neighbourhood have been ever since employed in carrying away cartloads of its flesh to manure their ground. A Greenland captain, who happened to be here at the time, said that he had hardly ever seen a longer whale, but that it was a young one and much wasted.[121]

Brontë's words indicate the intrigue that was associated with seeing a whale, or at least the 'mangled remains of its body,' and the 'regret' at having missed seeing its full form. Again, like Stickney, it gives a woman's view of seeing a stranding, something that was usually voiced by the scientific and male perspective, but interestingly Brontë's encounter is described in very fleshy terms and with less repulsion than Stickney.

As the *Rockingham* reports, after the death of the whale in Holderness, the intention of Sir Clifford Constable was to have it displayed, its skeleton to be 'deposited in the Hall at Burton Constable, where it will be the greatest curiosity of

[121] Charlotte Brontë, "Letter from Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey," Jan 10, 1849, in *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: With a Selection of Letters by Family and Friends, vol. 2: 1848–1851*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 782.

the kind in Europe.' This ultimately happened 11 years after its initial appearance when it was eventually articulated in 1836 and displayed in the parkland, where it was given a wrought iron framework, at the cost of £30–10s0d. The choice of the language here, 'the greatest curiosity,' is also telling, with the word 'curiosity' linking back to the tradition of the cabinets of curiosity, which were a major source of fascination and intrigue throughout Europe.[122]

The skeleton even caught the attention of Herman Melville in *Moby Dick,* who states:

> at a place in Yorkshire, England, Burton Constable by name, a certain Sir Clifford Constable has in his possession the skeleton of a Sperm Whale[...]. Sir Clifford's whale has been articulated throughout; so that like a great chest of drawers, you can open and shut him, in all his long cavities – spread out his ribs like a gigantic fan – and swing all day upon his lower jaw. Locks are to be put upon some of his trap doors and shutters; and a footman will show round future visitors with a bunch of keys at his side. Sir Clifford thinks of charging twopence for a peep at the whispering gallery in the spinal column; threepence to hear the echo in the hollow of his cerebellum; and sixpence for the unrivalled view from his forehead.[123]

[122] "Information Boards," *The Stables*, Burton Constable Hall, visited May 2018.
[123] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick,* 424.

This description monetises the structure with the mention of 'twopence,' 'threepence,' and 'sixpence,' and objectifies the whale's body by comparing it to random pieces of large furniture including a 'great chest of drawers' and 'a gigantic fan,' therefore satirising the skeleton and Sir Clifford's use of it. Although Melville provides no illustration, his description is connected to the satirical nineteenth-century print, "The Royal Omnibus of the Netherlands" that depicts H. Kessel's touring of the Ostend stranded whale, November 1829 (Fig. 4). Here, the image shows the whale in the form of a bus, with wheels attached to its skeleton. The observers are shown in the form of aquatic creatures, such as frogs and swordfish, who are all clothed in human attire, their appearance offering a source of ridicule to the crowds of humans who would have in reality flocked to see the skeleton of the whale and those who would have profited from its body.[124]

As well as the 'crowds' of people gathered on the beach to see the Burton Constable whale, there was an interest in the whale from more scientific circles, in particular the Hull physician, James Alderson, who conducted the official dissection of its body, and whose findings appeared in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* (1827), after a lecture that he presented to the society two years previously.[125] These *Transactions* start with the rather open statement:

> so little is known with respect to the natural history and anatomy of whales, that any opportunity of contributing a few facts to the information already ascertained, is extremely desirable. It is this which

[124] Ibid.
[125] Anderson later went on to become president of the Royal College of Physicians and was knighted in 1869. In 1874, he was appointed Physician Extraordinary to Queen Victoria. James Alderson, "An Account of a Whale of the Spermaceti Tribe, Cast on Shore on the Yorkshire Coast, on the 25th April, 1825," *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge Philosophical Society, 1827).

> has induced me to communicate what I have seen […]. On looking over the several works that have been published relating to these animals, there are evidently so many contradictions, that it is very difficult to fix on any specific point on which to rest, those distinctions on which the pleasure derived from knowledge depends.[126]

This brings up the idea of bearing witness and gives an indicator of the unusual inconsistency of the previous representations, clearly in an attempt to establish the accuracy of his own work. A series of images accompany Alderson's text and show both an internal and external view of the whale (Fig. 5). The first images depict the whale stranded on the shore, from a front and back angle. The whale appears quite bulbous in form with lumps across its back and its lower jaw open revealing its teeth. The textual description is scientific, with Alderson commenting on the second view "Fig. 2 A dorsal view of the Whale, shewing [sic] the external orifice of the spiracle or breathing tube; also the rudimentary dorsal fin"[127] (Fig. 6). The internal images offer a more detailed view, focusing on the anatomy of the animal, with the view of its skull.

The whale also came to the attention of former whaler, turned author, Thomas Beale, whose publication I will revisit later in this chapter. He used it as a reference point in his *Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (1835):

> Having discovered, through the kindness of Mr. Pearsall, of Hull, that the skeleton of an adult male sperm whale had been preserved at the

[126] Ibid., 253.
[127] Ibid., 264.

> seat of Sir Clifford Constable, Bart., at Burton-Constable in Yorkshire, about nine miles north of Hull, I embraced an opportunity which offered itself to visit it, for the purpose of gaining permission of Sir Clifford to inspect this enormous and magnificent specimen of osseous framework which adorns his domain.[128]

Beale, clearly overjoyed at the prospect of viewing the specimen, states further his excitement: '[it] interests me exceedingly, principally on account of its being the only specimen of the kind in Europe or in the world.' Such words indicate the novelty of the event and the range of responses from those who saw these stranded whales.[129]

Alongwith Alderson's imagery in the *Transactions*, a number of images of the Burton Constable Whale were printed (Fig. 7). In each print, the whale is shown with a small male figure standing on its back with a stick. Like a mountaineer atop a peak or a discoverer on a "new" shore, the ability of humans to stand on its body creates a sense of ownership of the whale linking back to the earlier Dutch prints, given that, in two of the examples, the measurements of the whale are placed underneath and human figures are standing on top of them. The physical prints themselves are likely to have been sold as cheap and ephemeral souvenirs, reminders of the event, reducing the gigantic to the miniature and disposable (Fig. 8). The "Official Portrait" of the whale was engraved by R. Fenner after a drawing by Richard Iveson, in 1825, and the original copper plate was recently discovered in the stables at Burton Constable Hall. Credland speculates that this example was paid for

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[128] Thomas Beale, *Natural History of the Sperm Whale,* 75.
[129] Beale was also a really important source for Turner and his whaling paintings, even naming some of his paintings after lines from Beale's *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale,* for more on this see, Wallace, *Melville & Turner, Spheres of Love and Fright*.

by Sir Clifford Constable, further emphasising his ownership of the animal and connecting it to official portraits of prized farm animals, where they similarly often stood in isolation. In addition, thanks to the mystery surrounding whales, the print is connected to early drawings or paintings of new and 'exotic' animals during the nineteenth century, such as George Stubbs' "Portrait of a Large Dog" (depicting a dingo), 1772 (Fig. 9), and "The Kongouro from New Holland," 1772 (Fig. 10).[130] In both these cases, Stubbs was not drawing from the live subject. In the case of the kangaroo, he painted from the inflated skin of an animal that had been brought back by naturalist Joseph Banks in 1770, just as Iverson was working with a mis-shaped dead specimen, distorted and out of its natural context.[131] Both reveal a desire to record an encounter despite not having full knowledge or understanding of the animal in question. In Iverson's print, the whale is stranded not only on the beach, but within the pictorial frame, the background is removed with the exception of the lone human. The isolation of both animal and man in this representation is different than earlier Dutch imagery, where whales and people are pictured within a more animated, albeit mediated, scene. A comparison with George Stubbs' "Whistle Jacket" (1762) also seems appropriate here (Fig. 11). In Stubbs's painting, a large rearing horse is alone and isolated on a green background, but on the rather grander scale of 2.92 m × 2.46 m. Compared to the whale print, the increased scale of the work, attention to detail and the horse's pose communicate grandeur in the case of

[130] Credland, *Burton Constable Hall: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* 76.
[131] Joseph Banks also commissioned the kangaroo painting and the dingo painting. There is a lot produced on George Stubbs, especially his focus on animal subjects. For an interesting reading on his monkey subject, see Richard Johns, "1799: Unfinished Monkey Business," in *The Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*, ed. Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner and Jessica Feather (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018). For a more general overview of the artist, see Basil Taylor, *Stubbs* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975); Malcolm Warner, *Stubbs and the Horse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); and Judy Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings 1655–1867: A Catalogue* (Tate Publishing: London, 1978).

the Arabian horse. This contrasts with the whale, which despite being sat against an equally plain background has been reduced in scale. Slumped on an unremarkable sandy beach, it exudes a sense of vulnerability rather than triumph and transcendence. In both cases, however, the representations indicate a domestication of the animal form.

Viewing the Burton Constable whale today (now named 'Constable Moby'), offers a related experience to that of a nineteenth-century observer, as described by the likes of Beale and Stickney. Visitors are directed to the whale by a signpost and a sign with a monochrome print of a sperm whale, with the words, 'Burton Constable Presents The Whale The Giant of the Deep Come and See the Monster Here Today' (Fig. 12). The print and language used here clearly place the whale within its nineteenth-century heritage. It is now located in a barn, within the grounds of the hall, its skeleton no longer articulated but spread out onto a gravel surface, with its previous nineteenth-century iron armature arranged along the back of the barn. The whale's skeleton resembles that of a dinosaur skeleton, suggesting a more fossilised ancient appearance. A similar display, for example, can be seen in the Yorkshire Museum, where an ichthyosaur is shown on a gravel surface for visitors to look down upon. The comparison does not end here, as the ichthyosaur is described in large lettering as a 'sea dragon,' a largely fantastical comparison, much like the labelling of the Burton Constable Whale as a 'monster' in the initial signage.[132]

[132] This reference to a monster can be found on the website of "Burton Constable Whale, Burton Constable Hall, Hull, East Yorkshire," *Stables and Parkland,* Burton Constable Hall, 2018, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.burtonconstable.com/stables-and-parkland/burton-constable-whale. Jason Edwards makes reference to the whale skeleton and pre-history in his article "Turner's Dark Veganism," *History of Art Research Portal,* January 2018, accessed June 19, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=305. He comments as to how '[w]hales were, perhaps, surprisingly central to the history of geology in the period, their skeletal scale crucial in enabling early palaeontologists to imagine the appearance of prehistoric megafauna.' He directs the reader to Martin S. Rudwick, *Deep Time: Early Pictorial Representations of the Prehistoric World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Around the sides of the barn in which the skeleton is displayed, information boards narrate the history of the whale, and a soundtrack with quotes about the Burton Constable whale and various ocean sounds contextualise the whale. This combination of sounds and visuals aims to give a multimedia interactive experience, but the bones laid flat on the floor enact a macabre, melancholy view of an endangered species. Ending one's visit, much like the nineteenth-century visitor, who could probably purchase a souvenir print, in the contemporary gift shop, visitors can find cuddly soft whales and whale keyrings (Fig. 13). This creates an ephemeral souvenir of an encounter that, like the nineteenth-century prints, possesses a physical similarity to the whale but does not enact the full reality of the animal specimen encountered. The museological analysis here anticipates the last chapter which focuses on whaling representations in contemporary museum contexts.

Natural History

In this section, I move from the physical strandings of whales to natural history, a term defined as 'the scientific study of animals or plants, especially as concerned with observation rather than experiment, and presented in popular form.'[133] The reference to 'popular observation' here is interesting, as it indicates the widespread visibility brought about by natural history publications and their variability in terms of accuracy. Natural history was structured through categorisation, and a desire for collecting and owning knowledge and objects. One of the earliest, and often-quoted, attempts to record and rank the natural kingdom is linked to Swedish physician/botanist Carl Linnaeus's 11-volume folio *Systema Naturae* (1735), which

[133] *Merriam-Webster,* s.v. "Natural History," 2019, accessed Apr 26, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/natural%20history.

by his death in 1778 had made it to twelve editions.[134] Linnaeus split nature into three kingdoms: animal, plant and mineral. He introduced a hierarchic system to the animal and plant kingdoms, and divided the animal world into four grades – class, order, genus and species – and humans were classed as animals, albeit more superior animals, for the first time. A later edition made this more explicit when humans were defined as Homo Sapiens, a term which means wise man and above other beings.[135] In his process, Linnaeus simplified taxonomic work through his introduction of an artificial system of classification, that is, a system according to which each species was distinguished by a single key feature, rather than through a complete analysis of the organism.[136] This taxonomic natural history and its continuing popularity was viewed as a safe, moderate alternative to the new biological sciences developing together with political unrest on the continent.[137] Pratt comments on how the system was perceived by Linnaeus' critics as 'making order out of chaos.'[138] Yet, the system Linnaeus devised is highly anthropocentric and imposes human-oriented structure on the animal world. As Pratt writes, it created a narrative of 'anti-conquest,' in which the 'naturalist naturalizes the bourgeois European's own global presence and authority,' effectively 'de-wilding' nature and new human knowledge at the same time.[139] Linnaeus regarded whales as giant fish. In 1758, however, in the tenth edition, he changed his mind and included the whale as the order 'cete' and placed it

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[134] Carl Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, 1st ed. (1735). The number of editions emphasises the popularity that his book had during his lifetime.
[135] Theodore Savory, *Animal Taxonomy* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1970), 11.
[136] Christine Alt, *Virginia Woolf and the Study of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 16.
[137] Ibid., 20.
[138] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 24.
[139] There were, however, to be many attempts at re-thinking and revising such categorisation. This is something
Jorge Luis Borges satirises in his "El idioma analítico de John Wilkins (The Analytical Language of John Wilkins)," in Jorge Luis Borges, *Other Inquisitions 1937–1952*, trans. Ruth L.C. Simms (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972).

within the genus of mammals. He subsequently identified 12 species of 'cete' in his final edition. He is believed to have made this change after reading the work of his friend, and 'father of ichthyology,' Peter Artedi.[140] Melville comments on this, stating that Linnaeus declared that 'I hereby separate the whales from the fish […] on account of their warm bilocular heart, their lungs, their movable eyelids, their hollow ears, penum intrantem feminam mammis lactantem.'[141]

Following Linnaeus's initial uncertainty, the whale's place within taxonomic structures remained confused. For example, George Shaw's early nineteenth-century formulation was that 'however approximated to fishes by external form, and residence in the waters, [whales] are in reality to be considered as aquatic mammalia.'[142] Thomas Bewick, however, did not include whales at all in his *General History of Quadrapeds,* suggesting he saw them as fish.[143] This confusion was also added to by whalers, who would often refer to whales as 'fish' in their logbooks, and there was even the case of whalers in New York going to court in 1826 to question whether the whale was a fish. If it was considered a mammal they would avoid the payment of duty that was attached to fish-oil, but not to whale oil.[144] Ritvo articulates how:

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[140] Branka Arsic, K.L. Evans, ed., *Melville Philosophies* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 125. Linnaeus's tenth edition is also often considered the starting point for zoological nomenclature.
[141] Melville, *Moby Dick*. The Latin used here is apparently not fully accurate, and refers to the penis entering the woman and the breasts giving milk.
[142] George Shaw, quoted in *Monthly Magazine or British Register of Literature, Sciences, and the Belles-Lettres, Volume 1* (London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1826).
[143] Thomas Bewick, *A General History of Quadrupeds* (London: Ward Lock Reprints, 1970).
[144] *Monthly Magazine or British Register of Literature, Sciences, and the Belles-Lettres, Volume 1*, (London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1826). For more information on this court case, see D. Graham Burnett, *Trying Leviathan:*
The Nineteenth-Century New York Court Case That Put the Whale on Trial and Challenged the Order of Nature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

> Creatures of the deep seemed still more ambiguous than creatures of the air. Even among themselves, naturalists who discussed marine mammals were preoccupied with problems of classification. Cetaceans (whales and dolphins), pinnipeds (seals and walruses), and manatees were difficult to observe and to collect; in addition, their striking adaptations to aquatic life tended to overshadow the anatomical features that they shared with mainstream quadrupeds.[145]

As a result of this confusion and ambiguity, a certain level of fantasy became associated with their representation, as we have seen, since their visibility could not always be a solid and realistic illustration of their life. In *Moby Dick*, a rather unusual dialogue is enacted, in which the taxonomic structuring of cetaceans is famously constructed through the language of book sizes. Melville divides whales into three 'books,' called the Folio Whale (largest), Octavo Whale (middle), and the Duodecimo Whale (smaller), represented respectively by the sperm whale, the orca (which he calls the grampus) and the porpoise. Each such book is then divided into 'chapters' representing a separate genus. This categorising of cetaceans into books can be connected to Gallagher's 'rise of fictionality' quoted earlier, and suggests that the whales were themselves narratives, which people could interpret/read in very different ways. A further point of comparison can be made to the fact that large pieces of blubber are referred to as bible pieces by whalers.[146] This is something that was recently conceptualised in a drawing by artist Hondartza

[145] Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and other Figments of the Classifying Imagination,* 46.
[146] Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820–1920*, 65.

Fraga, "Books", also "Bibles" or "minced horse-pieces" (2013) (Fig. 14). In the image, a blubber piece is shown in the form of a book, flopped open to reveal either text or alternatively muscle sinew. Lara Eggleton comments on this work, that Fraga 'discovered that in the context of whaling the word "book" was used to describe a piece of blubber adhered to a rind (which made its layers easier to flay and divide between whalers' trypots), which promoted her to combine these signifiers within a single object.'[147] This object transforms the body of the whale into a literary format, while constructing the whale as an ownable and consumable, tactile and catalogued object.

During the 1820s and 1830s, natural history was largely studied at universities, but by mid-century, the practice was spreading through the middle and lower classes, and books on the subject, previously luxury items, became more numerous and accessible. The various new publications did have, however, as Christine Alt comments, a 'lighter character […] written in haste, rambling, and larded with moralising and sentimentality,' and they were often deliberately vague out of concern for the 'gentle susceptibilities of their intended audience.' As we have seen in Melville's use of Latin.[148] Natural history's growth during the nineteenth century, in addition to print, was seen in the frequent lectures on the topic, many of which were held by local town institutions, such as the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society. Established on November 6, 1822, its objective was 'to promote literature, science and the arts by public lectures, the reading of original essays and papers, by literary and philosophical conversation, by requesting the correspondence of scientific persons, by collecting books and philosophical

[147] Lara Eggleton, "Hondartza Fraga: Exploring the Archive, Fixing the Sea," in *A Still Better Seaward Peep, An Artistic Perspective on Whales, Whaleports and the Marine Environment*, ed. Hondartza Fraga (Hull: North Atlantic Fisheries History Association, 2013).
[148] Alt, *Virginia Woolf and the Study of Nature*, 28.

apparatus and by forming a museum of specimens of natural history and of the arts.' The society sponsored regular lectures, many on the topic of natural history including Mr. Thomas's "The Probable Existence of Certain Animals Usually Considered to be Fabulous" (April 20, 1827), Mr. Heseltine's "Arctic Zoology" (December 18, 1829), Mr. Snowden's "The Tides" (March 4, 1831) and Mr. Henry Cooper's "The Distinction of Species in Natural History" (February 7, 1834). These titles emphasise the diversity in this form of natural history, ranging from rational topics of 'distinction of species' to the more irrational discussions of 'fabulous' animals.

Another way of consuming natural history aside from lectures was via live animals in caged environments, like zoos, which typically displayed animals in relation to their 'scientific' classification, rather than in the context of their natural environments.[149] Helen Cowie has done substantial research on the exhibition of nineteenth-century animals and comments that:

> keeping exotic animals in captivity was a compelling symbol of human power in general and, depending upon where the animals came from and where they were kept, a symbol of British power […]. The confined and captured animals in Victorian zoos and menageries shed glory on their appropriators and conquerors. The displays in which

[149] The rise in interest can be accounted for by the number of zoos that were opening during the period. This was initiated with the conversion of the menagerie at Versailles into the Paris Natural History Museum, which opened in 1793, and the founding of the London Zoo in 1828 for 'scientific' purposes, all of which reflected and helped create a growth in public interest in the understanding and ordering of the natural world.

they were exhibited allowed visitors to bask to the utmost in the reflection of that glory.[150]

Here, Cowie draws on the role of animals to demonstrate human power, rather than focusing on the animals themselves. In relation to aquatic animals, aquariums had yet to be introduced in Britain, but there were many texts on rock pooling and the seashore, by the likes of authors such as Phillip Henry Gosse and Mary Roberts.[151] Gosse, in fact, had predicted in his *Naturalist's Rambles on the Devonshire Coast* (1853) that the marine aquarium would soon be found in many Victorian parlours.[152]

The imagery that is adopted specifically within natural history books varies according to the publication, artist or writer. Texts were usually gendered, with men writing most of them, although many, often aristocratic, women also had a keen interested in the subject, but were forced to adopt it as a hobby and on a local scale.[153]

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[150] Helen Cowie, *Exhibiting Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Empathy, Education, Entertainment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2010), 50.
[151] Women authors include Margaret Gatty (1809–1873), who wrote *British Seaweeds* (1862), and Mary Roberts (1788–1864), who wrote *The Seaside Companion or Marine Natural History* (1825). Phillip Henry Gosse was a naturalist who invented the institutional aquarium, something he describes in his book *Aquarium* (1854). For a more general overview, see P.G. Moore, "Popularizing Marine Natural History in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Archives of Natural History,* 41, no. 1 (2014): 45–62. For a new reading of Edmund Gosse and his relationship to sculpture, see Jason Edwards "Generations of Modernism, or, A Queer Variety of Natural History: Edmund Gosse and Sculptural Modernity," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 14, no. 2 (2015), accessed July 5, 2018, http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/edwards-on-edmund-gosse-and-sculptural-modernity.
[152] Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1.
[153] For more information on natural history and women, see "Women in Natural History," *Biodiversity Heritage Library*, 2018, accessed June 17, 2018, https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/collection/NHwomen. This also lists books to reference. Women were not (until around the mid-century) allowed to be full members of philosophical societies. For example, the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, set up in 1822, did not allow women to be full members until 1850. Until this point, as subscribers, women had access to the Museum Gardens and the Yorkshire Museum for a small fee. This information was helpfully gained by a small display in the Yorkshire Museum, York, curated by M.A. student Rachel Campbell, "New Display at the Yorkshire Museum Reveals the Hidden Women of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society," Yorkshire

The first natural history book I draw on for its use of whale imagery is Oliver Goldsmith's eight-volume *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature Vol. 1*, first published in 1774, but in the form here of a nineteenth-century reprint. The reason for this choice is that it was a key publication during this period, with many editions published, in either abridged or illustrated form. Goldsmith was also a well-known author during the period, being the writer of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766).[154] *History of the Earth and Animated Nature* aimed to bring together a history of the earth, with a description of its geographical features and many of its species.[155] At the start, Goldsmith states how '[t]he Deity, when he made the earth, was willing to give his favoured creature many opponents, that might at once exercise his virtues, and call forth his latent abilities.'[156] Indicating the importance of theology within the work, a view and theme that persisted in multiple editions even after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Goldsmith's book is divided into individual entries for animals, and also features single-page illustrated frontispieces, including one for MAMMALIA (Fig. 15).

In this image an abundance of animals are grouped together on a singular page. The aquatic animals are depicted at the bottom, and include a manatee, narwhal, dolphin, orca, bowhead and sperm whale, whereas animals such as a rhino and elephant are placed at the top. To a contemporary audience, this structure is firstly implicit of the idea that animals on land evolved from mammals of the sea,

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Museum, visited May 2018, https://www.yorkshiremuseum.org.uk/news-media/latest-news/new-display-at-the-yorkshire-museum-reveals-the-hidden-women-of-the-yorkshire-philosophical-society/.

[154] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield* (London: R. Collins, 1766; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[155] Oliver Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature with Numerous Notes and Illustrations, Vol. I* (London: Blackie & Son, 1856). Many later editions were created throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, often abridged and with added colour illustrations.

[156] Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature with Numerous Notes and Illustrations, Vol. I,* 148.

but it also creates a hierarchal form of representation that can subsequently be imparted onto the physical mammal world.[157] The style of depiction of the various animals further solidifies this hierarchy, as all of the cetaceans are shown in an unrealistic manner. For example, the sperm whale's form is so elongated and distorted that it becomes almost comical, especially with its enlarged eye, furthered by the spout of water emitting from the right whale and narwhal, something that would not be possible on land (Fig. 15a). These depictions differ significantly from the elephant, who has been etched with great detail, accuracy, and attention given to shading and details (Fig. 15b). Such a lack of precision in relation to the cetaceans exposes the lack of knowledge evidently present in regard to them at this period of time.[158] The compositional organisation of this abundance of natural forms is strikingly similar to traditional Dutch still lives. Here, there is often a large group of natural elements, which would not be located together in reality. For example, Jan Davidsz Heem's "Flowers in a Glass Vase" (seventeenth century) (Fig. 16), shows a variety of flowers in full bloom, with wildlife, including butterflies and snails, visible at the bottom of the painting. All of this it framed by a plain black background, which focuses attention on the still life. A definition of this genre is given by Margit Rowell:

> The still life is a system of objects, and it is in the world 'system' that its secret lies. A system is 'a set or arrangement of things so related or connected as to form a unity or organic whole.' The system inherent to still life painting can be defined as both visual

[157] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection,* 220. For more information on the idea of abundance, see Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists* (New York: Rizzoli/Universal, 2009).
[158] Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature with Numerous Notes and Illustrations, Vol. I.*

> and signifying. It is based essentially on a choice of objects and a manner of organizing them in a spatial field. That organization is both ideological and formal, relating, on the one hand, to a personal and/or collective world view, and, on the other, to technical innovations. The still life is a fictional system corresponding to a structure of desire within which it has its own singular codes of meaning and codes of representation.[159]

It is on 'the fictional system,' that is of note, as it ties in with earlier assertions of natural history and the frequent fictionalisation of the genre, especially Goldsmith's frontispiece which draws together disparate objects to make a statement about the different elements as a whole.

This visual abundance of animals and cetaceans in particular is not an uncommon practice within natural history representations. A similar example can be found in H.W. Dulken's *The Boy's Handy Book of Natural History* (c. nineteenth century). My rationale for choosing Dulken's book is that publications of gendered histories were prevalent during the nineteenth century and boys' books would often be entangled with narratives of imperialism. This can be demonstrated in 1855, when the *Boy's Own Magazine* was first published by Samuel O. Beeton, who had a vision for his magazine as a moulder of empire builders. An image taken from Dulken's book (Fig. 17) illustrates "The Dolphin, Narwhal, Porpoise, Etc." The animals are again shown out of their natural aquatic habitat, stranded and piled on top of each

[159] Margit Rowell, *Objects of Desire: The Modern Still Life* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1997), 13.

other on some ice, with icebergs visible in the background. This arrangement creates a lack of individuality for each of the animals, through both this mass style of arrangement and the lack of naming of each species, opting instead for 'Etc.' This composition again links to this idea of the collective whole and the compositional style of the Dutch still life genre with the multiplicity of forms, collectively indicating a single idea of abundance of knowledge and capital.[160]

Dulken includes another example of fictionality within his text, when he states how:

> because the whale lives in water, our readers have perhaps settled in their minds that it must be a fish […]. When we consider the size of the great whales, nothing shows more clearly the power of man over the lower creation than his ability to subdue them. The whale is six hundred times the size of a man, and yet it is successfully attached, and made to minister to his comfort and necessities. Thousands of men and hundreds of ships are engaged in the pursuit of this monster of the deep.[161]

The description of the whale here is conceived in a dramatic manner through the chase, and conceptualised through its vast scale compared to man. The image (Fig. 18) that accompanies this text shows a whale being attacked by two whaling boats, but the representation diverges from reality, as there are eight men displayed on the boat, which is unlikely given that British boats usually had five to six whalers on-board. This image is also undermined by its accompanying text, which states that the

[160] H.W. Dulken, *The Boys Handy Book of Natural History* (London: Ward, Lock & Tyler, 1896).
[161] Ibid., 213.

boat has 'six hands on board.'[162] This dis-conjunction between the composition of the image and the text contributes to Mitchell's idea of image/text, suggesting the clear unreality and confusion even within one publication.

Another key compositional form used in natural history publications can be found in Rev. J.G. Wood's *The Illustrated Natural History* (1876). In 1854, Wood gave up his curacy to devote himself to writing on natural history. His earlier publication, *Common Objects of the Country,* had sold around 100,000 copies in a week. The reason for selecting Wood to focus on here is the role of natural theology during this period, a belief that 'the complexity and appearance of design in the natural world provided evidence of the existence and nature of a Divine Creator,' meaning that it was a way to study nature whilst recognising God's creative power.[163] One of the key texts was William Paley's *Natural Theology,* first published in 1802, but frequently re-published during the nineteenth century, and compulsory reading for undergraduates at Cambridge and Durham Universities.[164]

In his section on whales, Wood illustrates his text with both the internal and external features of a whale (Fig. 19).[165] On the first page dedicated to whales, a series of men stand on the shore. As in the Dutch stranded whale prints, they examine a large beached rorqual whale, in an unidentified icy environment, whilst, on the opposing page, its skeleton is rendered, interjecting the text, which flows above and below it. Both these illustrations make whales visible. The first image does so through its beaching on shore, and the second through depicting its internal body. When the pages are closed, the interior and exterior are pressed together,

[162] Ibid., 214.
[163] Alt, *Virginia Woolf and the Study of Nature*, 20.
[164] Ibid.
[165] J.G. Wood, *The Illustrated Natural History* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1876).

joining the inside and outside of the whale. The text that accompanies these images starts by raising concern for whale population numbers, commenting in relation to 'The Greenland Whale Northern Whale or Right Whale,' how 'as it is indifferently termed, is an inhabitant of the Northern Seas, where it is still found in great abundance, although the constant persecutions to which it has been subjected have considerably thinned its numbers.'[166] By employing the term 'persecutions,' Wood appears to acknowledge the violence that the whales are being subjected to. Yet, in contrast to this statement, he goes on to discuss how 'the whale is an animal of very great value to civilized and savage men. The oil which is procured in great quantities from its blubber and other portions of its structure is almost invaluable to us, while the bones and baleen find their use in every civilized land.'[167] The focus on the 'invaluable' resource that whales offered and their value in 'civilised' places makes this statement sit awkwardly against the earlier concern for their persecution. Finally, a further note should be made here about the colonialist separation between 'savage' and 'civilised' men.

Natural history books, such as the ones described, despite opening up knowledge of cetaceans, also condense nature into the consumable and the contained. Susan Stewart comments on how the 'miniature and the gigantic may be described through metaphors of containment, the miniature as contained, the gigantic as container.'[168] In these examples whales have been miniaturised in a literal but also metaphorical sense, which allows for their containment.

Whaling Narratives

[166] Wood, *The Illustrated Natural History,* 573.
[167] Ibid., 324.
[168] Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives Of The Miniature, The Gigantic, The Souvenir, The Collection*, 71.

Alongside natural history publications, a second book genre that depicted whales during this period was the whaling narrative. Their popularity coincided with the that of travel writing, which grew exponentially with the expanding British Empire.[169] These narratives offered a retelling of whaling voyages, most often by the captain of the vessel or the surgeon. There are a number of notable authors of whaling narratives including Scoresby and Beale as well as Charles Scammon, George Manby, William Barron, F.D. Bennet, J. Ross Browne and Francis Allyn Olmstead.[170] I focus here on two whaling narratives: Scoresby Jr's *Account of the Arctic Regions*, both of which we have already briefly encountered, and Beale's, *The Natural History Of The Sperm Whale*. These books narrate the two different types of whaling during the period, and both are still consulted for information about whaling today. Scoresby Jr's book has been described by Elizabeth Ingalls as 'the most complete and authoritative account to date and is still a standard reference and highly respected today.'[171] As for Beale, the rationale is that his text is often used as a point of reference and inspiration for other texts, rather than regarded as a useful publication in its own right.[172]

Scoresby Jr is known for having had a diverse career, including 'whaling captain, scientist, and […] a minister of religion.'[173] His life at sea began at age ten in

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[169] Take note how all the narratives are written by men, similar to the natural history publications. It is most likely that men were the main gender that went whaling, with women only under limited circumstances being allowed to board ships as wives.
[170] The New Bedford Whaling Museum have compiled a useful list of illustrated whaling narratives, "Illustrated Whaling Narratives: A Selective Bibliography," *New Bedford Whaling Museum,* date unknown, accessed Apr 29, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/library/bibliographies/specialized-bibliographies/illustrated-whaling-narratives.
[171] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection,* 46. Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions: With a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery*, vol. 2.
[172] Wallace, *Melville and Turner: Spheres of Love and Fright*.
[173] C. Ian Jackson, *The Arctic Whaling Journals of William Scoresby the Younger 1789–1857* (London: The Hakluyt Society), xxi. There is only a handful of sources written directly about Scoresby Jr: Robert Edmund Scoresby-Jackson, *Life of Scoresby* (London: Nelson and Sons, 1861);

1779 when he accompanied his father on a whaling voyage aboard the *Dundee*.[174] Over the next few years, he spent time on-board various ships, both at home and in Copenhagen, whilst at the same time pursuing chemistry and philosophy classes in 1807 and 1808 at Edinburgh University. It was in 1811, when the *Resolution* from Whitby, that Scoresby Jr got his first command. From this point onwards, he went on to captain a vast number of whaling voyages, firstly from Whitby, then from Liverpool. His combination of practical experience and university education created an interest in science and whaling. Throughout his whaling voyages, he kept detailed records, notes and illustrations, eventually publishing his book *Arctic Regions* in 1820.[175]

Arctic Regions is made up of two volumes. The first is a history of the search for the Northwest Passage, a description of the Svalbard archipelago (located about halfway between Norway and the North Pole), descriptions of sea and ice, atmospheric observations, of wildlife and tables of data. The second volume focuses on a history of the 'whale fisheries', discusses the classification of whales, and offers a catalogue of the uses of whale bones and oil. It also includes anecdotes about fishing, descriptions of legal regulations, and mathematical models of climate and magnetism.[176] The majority of the illustrations are located at the back of the second volume, in "Explanation of the Plates," however there is an interesting frontispiece at the start of the first volume, which is worthy of mention. It is a print, after an original drawing by James Waddel entitled "Dangers of the Whale Fishery" (Fig.

Tom Stamp and Cordelia Stamp, *William Scoresby: Arctic Scientist* (Whitby: Caedmon Press, 1976); and, Charles A. Federer, *Yorkshire Bibliography: William Scoresby, The Younger, 1789–1857* (Bradford: John S. Toothill, 1887).

[174] Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers 1876–1944*, 45.

[175] It should be noted that this is not the only publication of Scoresby Jr, as he published prolifically throughout his lifetime.

[176] Morgan, "After the Arctic Sublime," 7.

20). The scene shows an incident described by Scoresby Jr in which a whale, struck with two harpoons, dove and resurfaced beneath a whaleboat, sending it flying in the air. All of the on-board crew were saved except one who could not free himself from the overturned craft.[177] Scoresby Jr chose to begin the volume with the image to emphasise the heroism of the whalers. As such, it echoes similar imagery that would have been found in travel logs or newsprints at the time, such as *A Hunting Scene with Elephant and Tiger* from "The Naturalist's Library" by William Jardine (1836) (Fig. 21). This shows a tiger trying to assent the rump of the elephant with an aggressive look in its eyes. The elephant carrying people has, in contrast, fear in its eyes, whereas the humans (take note of the most prominent one: a white top-hatted figure) point a gun at the tiger, a feat of mastery over nature, and something similarly replicated in Scoresby Jr's frontispiece image.[178] Here, a bowhead or Greenland whale can be seen by its large bulk, a boat has been flipped into the air, oars and string are flung skywards, and a small figure of a man can be seen with a hand raised in this upturned boat. This element of jeopardy is, however, contrasted with the stoic representation of the other whaling boats, one of which already has the whale harpooned, ultimately signalling, as in the case of the tiger, which species is really in control.

Moving to the "Explanation of the Plates," it is firstly the structure of having the images at the end, rather than interlarding the text, that is of interest, since it creates for the reader a sort of hunting, in which they have to leave their current

[177] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection*, 46.
[178] Scoresby Jr's images, as Ingalls has detailed, were often reproduced. For example, in the *Penny Magazine,* it was paired with another image and reproduced as a wood engraving. It was even replicated in America, when a Hartford lithography firm named D.W. Kellogg copied the image to produce two of North America's earliest whaling prints, Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection,* 55.

location within the narrative to flick to the end and detect the correct accompanying image, making the format then mirror the subject of the narrative. The first plate containing the image of a whale is described as being a "Balaena Mysticetus, or Common Whale 58 Feet Long"[179] (Fig. 22). It is the largest of the cetaceans depicted, and has its mouth slightly open showing the prized whalebone. Below this, there are two smaller images of whales, one the "Common Whale, 17 Feet Long" and one "Narwhale, Length Exclusive of the Tusk, 14 Feet."[180] Below this, the text reads 'scale, one-tenth of inch to a foot.'[181] Scoresby Jr's images also show the animals in profile isolated on a white background, stretched out as specimens for observation. The aid of the scale means one is able to envision the true size of the animal despite its reduction and reproduction within the book. Scoresby Jr comments on how 'large as the size of the whale certainly is, it has been much overrated,' by which it is 'calculated to afford the greatest surprise and interest.'[182] Acknowledging the frequent miscalculation of whale sizes affords a certain accuracy to Scoresby Jr's own work, assuring readers that his account is fact-based. The whales depicted are clearly still alive, as they spout water from their blowholes, much like Goldsmith's natural history example previously described. They are also shown highly inflated to a degree that would greatly differ from the reality of a whale out of water, which would be deflated and flaccid. It is, however, a style of representation that has a history, as it replicates the likes of Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon's illustrations of whales in his *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière* (1804) (Fig. 23). There is a similar image that Scoresby Jr owned, a "Common Whale" taken from an engraving by T. Dixon (1824) (Fig. 24), where the whale is inflated to

[179] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions*.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection*, 233.
[182] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions,* 450.

a balloon-like state.[183] Scoresby Jr goes on to discuss the commercial importance of whales by stating how 'the valuable and interesting animal, generally called *The Whale* by way of eminence, is the object of our most important commerce to the Polar Seas.'[184] In a further statement, he describes how 'the maternal affection of the whale, in other respects, in apparently a stupid animal, is striking and interesting.'[185] This mix of quite blunt subjective opinion and scientific data like that in the weather tables, confuses the integrity of the book or at least renders it suspicious and unconvincing from a more contemporary perspective.

The next image reveals an underside view of a female whale (Fig. 25). It is an underside view that would only have been achieved through bringing a dead whale onto the ship. This view is again replicated on page 396, this time of a male narwhal and a Greenland shark (Fig. 26). Here, the underside of both animals is shown, alongside the eye of a Greenland shark. Nowadays, we may be more familiar with the underside view of a whale, as it is something that will often greet the viewer when visiting a natural history museum, where the model of a whale is suspended overhead, such as this example from the Natural History Museum in New York (Fig. 27). The whale hangs above visitors in the Hall of Ocean Life and measures 94-feet in length.[186] It is interesting to consider, however, how in these models the whales'

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[183] T. Dixon, "Common Whale" print (Caxton: London, 1824), Scoresby Archive, Whitby Museum, Whitby.
[184] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions,* 449.
[185] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions,* 471.
[186] The whale was first placed in the museum in 1933, and has undergone two renovations since. Initially, as Melanie Stiassny, the Hall of Ocean Life's curator, explains in a *New York Times* article, the original was made before humans had seen blue whales in the wild, and had been a more grayish colour with bulging eyes. This is something scientists later put down to the creators having based the model on a dead whale. These details have been altered in the 2003 renovations, where the whale was made bluer and its eyes smaller, so they no longer bulged, Stuart Miller, "Museum Goers Wonder: Why Doesn't the Whale Fall?," *The New York Times,* Apr 24, 2014, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/25/nyregion/museumgoers-wonder-why-doesnt-the-whale-fall.html.

genitalia is largely ignored or not represented, rending the animal sexless, suggesting that contemporary-to-us representations are no less ideological than their Victorian predecessors.

The last image of the whole book is an apparatus for cutting blubber, a highly industrial-looking object that allowed for the more precise cutting-up of a whales' body (Fig. 28). Scoresby Jr describes it as

> an excellent apparatus for cutting blubber […] which promises in a few years to supersede the use of the speck-trough and its cumbrous appendages. […] When it is in use, the blubber to be cut is put into the tube at the top, and falls upon the edges of the knives. The knives are then put into rapid horizontal motion, by which the blubber is readily cut into proper sized pieces, and falls into the *lull* attached to the bottom of the machine.'[187]

By ending with this illustration, the remaining impression of whales is rendered as merely an object of industrial interest. The way of cutting and categorising the animal for sale, much like the idea of taxonomy, digests the natural world into more equitable manageable chunks, a similarity that can also draw the morbid comparison to butchery.

In order to create most of these prints, Scoresby Jr would start by sketching, often whilst on whaling voyages. In his early sketches on loose pieces of paper, one can see the building-up of his whale subjects and how they are referenced in his later published images. For example, there are various sketches of the underside of a

[187] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions,* 309–310.

female whale (Fig. 29), which we later see on page 560 of *Arctic Regions*. This particular image is reproduced across various pages, in paper, in ink, with or without numbers of scale. It is also known that he would often work from memory, as a small sketch of a whale's head illustrates, which Scoresby Jr has labelled 'Whale Head Drawn from Memory.'[188] There are also examples of his sketches, which he has clearly cut up in consideration of the way they function and would be used in lectures, and which when spread out on a surface are split apart from the whole (Fig. 30). This again creates a form of physical dissection that replicates what was also going on on-board the whaling ship, but on a more miniaturised paper form and scale. As such, they channel the morbidity that Sleigh relates to the paper representations of animals as merely memorialisations of their own death.[189]

This visual dissecting of the animal is also seen in Beale's *Natural History of the Sperm Whale*. Beale was a surgeon who first started travelling at around the age of 22 aboard a whaling ship. As well as direct observation, he drew much of his research from other books and sources.[190] He starts his narrative by outlining how:

> since the earliest days of natural history down to the present time, the sperm whale has been subjected to constant misrepresentation, referable to the contracted information of those who have undertaken its description, and who have consequently been obliged to compile their

[188] Scoresby Archive, Whitby Museum, Whitby.
[189] I am thankful for my conversations with Scoresby Curator, Fiona Barnard, whose information and words have proved invaluable for my section on Scoresby Jr.
[190] Arthur Credland comments about this by stating how 'the description of the sperm whale in Beale's 1839 volume is expanded incorporating not only much of Alderson's published account but also using Hunter's seminal paper on whale anatomy published in the Philosophical Transactions in 1787. In addition, he incorporates observations on the eyes and teeth of the sperm whale derived from a paper presented to the Zoological society by F.D. Bennett in 1836', Credland, *Burton Constable Hall: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* 83.

> accounts from sources inaccurate and false, on which they ought not to have depended, and they should have left a blank in the page.[191]

The first image is featured on page 23 (Fig. 31). Here, we can see an outline of a whale's body, intersected with various lines indicating, as Beale states, 'some anatomical points.'[192] Beale and the genre of whaling narratives were not alone in using this form of imagery, as it was also similarly replicated within the field of natural history books, for example on page 174 of Sir William Jardine's *Naturalist Library, Mammalia Cetacea* (1837), taken from a sketch by James Colnett that illustrates the process of flensing (Fig. 32). [193] Here, the outline of the whale is shown with a curved line running around it, demonstrating in visual terms the correct method of flensing. Both these examples correspond to similar images of farm animals, and the schematic illustrations used to categorise them into the various edible sections through which they can be consumed. A late Victorian example can be found in *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book* (1899) (Fig. 33), with lines intersecting the different parts of the cow's body, each of which corresponds to a number along the bottom. Yvette Watt comments that 'the farm animal is a highly politicised beast.' Taken in relation to this image of the anatomical animal body, the dissecting lines resemble those of a map, creating a notion of contested space and conquest.[194]

Beale's visual style throughout the book is sparse, but there are several images of note. These include a small example on page 33 (Fig. 34) under the heading "Habits of the Sperm Whale." Fig. 1 is described as showing 'this mode of

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[191] Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale,* 1.
[192] Ibid., 23.
[193] James Colnett, *A Voyage for Whaling and Discovery Round Cape Horn into the Pacific Oceans* (London: W. Bennett, 1798).
[194] Yvette Watt, "Artists and 'Farm' Animals," in *Meat Culture,* ed. Annie Potts (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 164.

swimming with the head alternately in and out of the water, […] called by whalers "going head out"'. Fig. 2 states that 'one of the most curious and surprising actions of the sperm whale is the leaping completely out of the water, or of "breaching" as it is called by whalers'. Lastly, Fig. 3 describes that 'when proceeding at this common rate, his body lies horizontally, his "hump" projecting above the surface, with the water a little disturbed around it, and more or less according to his velocity.' With these three stages, the image creates the appearance of a zoetrope or phénakistiscope, which was a pre-film animation device that produced the illusion of motion through displaying a sequence of drawings or photographs showing progressive phases of that motion. In relation to Beale, this is translated through these three exposed sequential elements of the whale exiting from the water. Both of these devices would have been contemporary to Beale, with the phénakistiscope, for example, having been invented in 1833 by Joseph Plateau.[195]

Like Scoresby Jr, Beale also features a rather dramatic frontispiece, entitled "Boats Attacking Whales," etched by W.J. Linton (Fig. 35). Despite the three-word title, it indicates immediately the hierarchy at play within the composition. Initially looking solely at the work, it may be assumed that whales and nature are dominating, due to the dramatic waves and two boats in the left-hand corner being flung into the air. The caption, however, makes it clear that the boats/humans are in control. Looking closely at the image also reveals a series of threads, or more specifically lines, connected to the whales from the harpoons, suggesting their entrapment, setting a murderous precedence for the rest of the volume.

[195] For more information on this, see Bernard Comment, *Panorama* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).

Samuel Beckett asserted that 'art tends not to make bigger, but to shrink,' and in the case of the printed representation of whales, in all three genres covered, this is certainly true.[196] The representations in strandings, natural history and whaling narratives, all border between science and spectacle, contributing to Mitchell's concept of 'image/text,' consequently shifting the representation of whales from reality to fiction. This notion of spectacle and fictionality in relation to whale representations, links on to the next chapter on 'Hull School' whaling paintings, which considers how paintings of whaling scenes were often idealised to emphasize a prosperous trade. Similar to this chapter which has shown, how images of whales were often used to impart a certain human agenda, rather than reflect a true representation of the animal in question.

[196] Samuel Beckett, quoted by Rachel Wells, *Scale in Contemporary Sculpture, Enlargement, Miniaturisation and the Life-Size* (London: Routledge, 2013), 5.

CHAPTER TWO: A VIEW TO A KILL: REPRESENTING ANIMAL DEATH IN HULL'S WHALING MARINE PAINTINGS

> Can a whaler ever forget his former trade? Can you ever get tired of the feelings of the hunt? […] Ned was stamping his foot. His hand was trembling as if holding an imaginary harpoon.
>
> Jules Verne, 1870.[197]

> Our articles were signed by us to kill, slay and destroy any living animal or animals in the waters by day or by night, at the order of the captain.
>
> William Barron, 1895.[198]

> There's very little consideration of natural resources in terms of what the landscape looks like after the mining operations or farming operations are completed. So that a kind of blindness ensues. I guess it's what we call blind profit making.'
>
> Robert Smithson, 1973.[199]

This chapter is borne out of a desire to explore, with close visual analysis, the links between the representation and "reality" of animal death in the nineteenth-century whaling trade. I use one painting, John Ward's "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella'" (c. 1840) (Fig. 1), as the main case study, again considering the meditated "reality" of the scene and the consequent role such representations had

[197] Jules Verne, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (London: Dean, 1870), 284.
[198] William Barron, *Old Whaling Days* (Hull: William Andrews, 1895), 25.
[199] Robert Smithson, "Selected Interviews with Robert Smithson: Entropy Made Visible Interview with Alison Sky," *Essays,* 1973, accessed Aug 26, 2017, https://www.robertsmithson.com/essays/entropy.html.

in flattering patrons and legitimising the continuation of whaling. This study is necessary in order to highlight the part played by visual culture in depicting and encouraging future animal death/violence. Focusing on a single case study allows for close analysis, and foregrounds the whaling paintings of Ward, who, despite being recognised as the best-known of the posthumously named Hull School, is still largely unknown. "The Northern Whale Fishery," as it presents a subtle representation of animal death, often overlooked or misunderstood.[200] To begin with, it is important to recognize that whaling and death are synonymous; the whaleship was often described as a 'floating factory' or a 'charnel house' and the very definition of the term whaling is 'the practice or industry of hunting and killing whales for their oil, meat, or whalebone.'[201] Yet, to date, descriptions of "The Northern Whale Fishery" are not treated as such. Take the online caption for the work at the Washington DC National Art Gallery, which describes the painting as possessing a 'charming and appealing subject.'[202] This is a somewhat puzzling description when one considers that it is a vivid illustration of animal death and environmental destruction.

This lack of acknowledgement at least from our early 21st century perspective is, surprising since the link between visual representation and animal death has recently been the focus of a small, but growing scholarship. The introduction of the

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[200] Often such paintings are relegated to mere evidential sources, such as in Basil Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers 1876–1944* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1955), or the 2014 "The Rise," *Britain's Whale Hunters: The Untold Story,* BBC Four, July 17, 2017, television broadcast.
[201] *Oxford English Dictionaries*, s.v. "Whaling," 2017, accessed June 5, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/whaling. The career of a whaler is also notorious for being particularly dangerous. As Melville comments, "Death seems the only desirable sequel for a career like this; but Death is only a launching into the region of the strange untried; it is but the first salutation to the possibilities of the immense Remote, the Wild, the Watery, the Unshored…", Melville, *Moby Dick,* 455. This point is further highlighted by the character of harpooner Queequeg, who builds and subsequently sleeps in a coffin, a clear foreboding of his fate.
[202] "The Northern Whale Fishery: The 'Swan' and 'Isabella'," *National Gallery of Art*, Washington DC, 2017, accessed June 5, 2017, https://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.138852.html.

Animals Studies Group's book *Killing Animals* (2006) for example emphasises how 'the killing of animals is a structural feature of all human-animal relations. It reflects human power over animals at its most extreme and yet also at its most commonplace.'[203] Diana Donald draws on the 'structural' feature of animal death, specifically in relation to visual representations of a hunt, which in her opinion 'can never bear a direct relationship to the experience it commemorates; it embodies a concept rather than a record of the chase.' [204] Donald's notion of 'concept' is interesting, as it emphasises how mediated all whaling scenes are. Ron Broglio's work on animal surfaces offers further useful points to consider. He explores the role of cattle portraiture in the wider chain of agricultural capital, stating simply that 'cattle portraiture serves as an example of how art illustrates and helps to transform the natural world.'[205] For example "Portrait of T.W. Coke and North Devon Ox," (c. 1837) (Fig. 2) reveals a characteristically distorted animal dominating the composition. This differs from Ward's whaling painting, because the artist is not focused on an individual animal, but the images have important similarities. Both paintings present the animal surface as a commodity. In "Portrait of T.W. Coke and North Devon Ox," the large cow is centrally placed, dominating the composition and opening itself up for ocular inspection and consumption. Further, artists of both genres were more often artisans, working for commissions either from cattle owners/breeders or whaling captains, and both emphasised the most desirable features of the animal or trade. I mean for this comparison to foreground the impact of cultural mediations of animal bodies and death, which subordinate animals for human purposes. My analysis of Ward's painting contributes to a network of

[203] The Animal Studies Group, *Killing Animals* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 4–5.
[204] Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750–1850*, viii.
[205] Ron Broglio, "'Living Flesh': Animal–Human Surfaces," *Journal of Visual Culture* 7, no. 1 (2008): 103.

growing research on visual representation and animal death. I focus on three major themes to make my case: idealisation, recording, and visibility. These aspects show how Ward's work is not simply a factual record, but contributes to a form of mythmaking that conceals reality and encourages future industry, both historically and currently. I also draw on a number of additional case studies to show that Ward's painting is not an isolated example of this.

My analysis of Ward's work prioritises consideration of animal rather that human death. This is not meant to discount the importance of human death, as there was vast loss amongst whalers and also indigenious populations as a result of the trade. Focus on these aspects, however, would require a separate ethical framework, especially if comparisons between humans and animals are made.[206] There is, however, a need to focus on these aspects, and especially the representation or absence of Inuit death caused by whaling. There are only two examples of Inuit figures in artworks from Hull. In one composition, a figure can be seen in the right-hand side, and in the second, they are found in a canoe paddling through the water.[207] Hopefully, bringing more attention to the work of the Hull whaling marine paintings

[206] For more information on the comparison between human and animal suffering, see Marjorie Spiegel, *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery* (New York: Mirror Books, 1996), Tony Miligan, *Animal Ethics: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2015), specifically the chapter "The Holocaust Analogy," which explores some of the limitations of making comparisons between human and animal suffering pp. 103-115. See also Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008).

[207] The two paintings are: unknown artist, "SS Emma," (jpeg image of painting, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, nineteenth century), and attributed to James Wheldon, "A Whaling Brigg," (jpeg image of painting, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, nineteenth century). There is not a great deal written about Inuit whaling, but a number of books consider the interaction between western and native whalers, including Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were up North, Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). In relation to the bone objects made by the Inuit, see the chapter summaries in Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen* and Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum*. A more theoretical and useful for this thesis account can be found in Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), in particular chapter seven "Totemism, Animism, and the Depiction of Animals," which discusses the assumed two-way symbiotic relationship between animal and human in Inuit communities pp.111-132. Ingold uses a series of drawings and bone objects as examples for this.

such studies will soon follow, including research that focuses more directly on the artwork produced by these communities.

Marine Painting in Hull

Ward, along with fellow artists from the Hull School, are often dismissed in marine painting studies or treated as a mere footnote, especially in relation to Turner's more famous whaling paintings. For example, the recent 2016 MET Museum publication *Turner's Whaling Pictures* labels the paintings as a 'stylistically unadventurous and narrowly patronized genre.'[208] There is obviously some truth in this, but this is not a reason to prevent study, especially because nineteenth-century Hull supported a rich marine painting tradition, which flourished especially as the maritime and notably whaling trade grew from the late eighteenth century onwards.[209] Artists were typically employed as apprentices engaged in other work such as ship, house and sign painting. The practice of fine art then was often restricted to the free time of the artists. Such experience outside of fine art practice would, however, have provided perfect context for marine painting in Hull, which was defined by its 'fidelity to the subject matter.'[210]

Two men and their apprentices were particularly influential: Thomas Fletcher and William Meggitt, employed various artists, posthumously labelled the Hull School, including Ward, Robert Willoughby (1768–1843), Thomas Binks (1799–

[208] Alison Hokanson, "Turner's Whaling Pictures," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 73, no. 4 (2016): 15. The first reference to the Hull School as a collective term can be found in Brook-Hart, *British 19th-Century Marine Painting*, 41. In this, he makes reference to the 'The Hull School of Painters.' This has also been addressed/recast more recently in Martha Cattell, "The Hull School," in Jason Edwards ed. *Turner and the Whale,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 24–54.
[209] Growth in the maritime industry in Hull was signalled by the installation of new docks, which opened in 1829.
[210] Ayres, *Art, Artisans and Apprentices: Apprentice Painters & Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition*, 240.

1852), William Griffin (1800–1883) and James Wheldon (1832–1892).[211] Although these artists did not solely focus on whaling subjects, it is these works that are of most interest here. The majority of these paintings are now housed in the collections of the Hull Maritime Museum, the Ferens Art Gallery, Trinity House and Wilberforce House, all in Hull, as well as in The National Maritime Museum, London, the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Massachusetts, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.[212] These works are largely categorised under the genre of marine painting and, according to Geoff Quilley, 'the subject of the sea, far from being marginalized, was in fact integral to British society in a variety of material and ideological ways.'[213]

Despite its popularity, in fine art circles, marine painting never quite reached the heights of other categories, such as history painting. As Joshua Reynolds, artist and president of the Royal Academy stated: 'The Sea-Views of [the] Vanderveldes are relegated to the category of those artists, whose genius, has been employed on low and confined subjects.'[214] Further, it should be noted that this genre has largely been dominated by a focus on human interactions with the sea, and not the natural inhabitants of it. This is surprising, as the definition of marine references 'shipping

[211] These are just a selection of the names associated with the Hull School. For a more detailed study, see Credland, *John Ward of Hull: Marine Painter 1798–1849;* Credland, *Marine Painting in Hull: Through Three Centuries*; Bell, Birchall and Credland, *Northern Seascapes and Landscapes*; Bell and Credland, *Victorian Ships, John Ward's Marine Manual*. For more on James Wheldon see, Jason Edwards, "The Vegan Viewer in the Circum-Polar World; Or, J. H. Wheldon's The Diana and Chase in the Arctic," in Emelia Quinn, Benjamin Westwood, (Eds.) *Thinking Veganism in Literature and Culture,* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 79-106.
[212] For more information on the collections in Hull, outside of the UK see the collection in the New Bedford Whaling Museum, see Various Authors, *Treasures of the Whaling Museum, Touchstone to the Region's Past*. For the National Maritime Museum, see the Online Collection, date unknown, accessed July 24, 2017, http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections.html.
[213] Geoff Quilley, "Missing the Boat: The Place of the Maritime in the History of British Visual Culture," *Visual Culture in Britain* 1, no. 2 (2000): 79-92.
[214] Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourse on Art,* ed. Robert R. Wark (London: Royal Academy, 1769–1790; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), citations refer to the New Haven edition, 42, 50, 51–52.

or naval matters,' and also 'relating to [things in] or found in the sea.'[215] In Ward's work, therefore, an awareness of the term's dual definition is needed in order to address the animal and environmental elements I focus upon here.

Ward's years of active artistic operation spanned some of the main high points (and low points) of the whaling industry, something he would have benefited from directly in terms of commissions. Ward also benefited from his immediate exposure to the industry, or at least certain aspects of it. This would have included everything from the products brought to the shoreline processing sites of Hull to the smell of the boiling blubber that permeated the air. In Aberdeen, a port town with a comparable connection the business of whaling, a 1784 letter to the *Aberdeen Journal* complained about the boiling of blubber which went on at Footdee (an area of Aberdeen). A concerned resident wrote in to express their wish that the processing would move to the other side of the river, 'as it would have prevented that intolerable stench which is unavoidable, from affecting those who have occasion to be in the neighbourhood of the new pier which of late has been a favourite walk of invalids.'[216] Local newspapers were filled with notices about the industry and articles reporting profit/losses, tragedies or recruiting. In the thriving artistic community in Hull, as we have seen, Ward and his fellow artists would have had access to organisations like The Mechanics Institute, which offered the opportunity to develop skills. The institute ran a regular lecture series and art classes, as well as a subscription library, which had about 2,230 volumes, with circulation being about 17,000 volumes annually, including many natural history titles.[217] RA member

[215] *Oxford English Dictionaries*, s.v. "Marine," 2017, accessed June 5, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/marine.
[216] Unknown, *Letter to Aberdeen Journal*, Aug 2,1784, currently on display in the Aberdeen Maritime Museum, Aberdeen.
[217] As Bell suggests, however, even within the provincial setting, this may still have been seen as quite an elitist group. Thus, the more artistically inclined among the population clubbed together and

Benjamin Robert Haydon gave one lecture on May 3, 1839, and commented on how 'I never witnessed more enthusiasm anywhere than at Hull, the last night. The people are slow, but feel deeply. A School of Design was begun, and I do not doubt its complete establishment.'[218] The support from Hull for the arts was large, and the Hull and East Riding Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts was established in 1827. A number of exhibitions were held from 1827 in the Hull Assembly Rooms, displaying established artists whose work was held in private collections alongside more local talent, such as the Hull School.

There is speculation that some of the artists, especially Ward, may have gone to the Arctic, which is thought to account for the supposed accuracy of the Arctic scenery. There is no evidence for this, however, and my research shows that the artists were primarily drawing from other visual sources, newspapers/prints/local knowledge and weather, which suggests a shared visual language.[219] For example, Hull artist, Richard Dodd Widdas painted a couple of snow scenes, including "Winter Coach Scene" and also "Coach in a Snowstorm" (Fig. 4). These would have given him experience painting snowy weather, transferable to his later painting of the whaleship *Diana* (1867) (Fig. 5). Such snowy weather was not uncommon in the nineteenth century, which saw the end of a 'little ice age', when from around 1300 to 1870 the Northern Hemisphere experienced the coldest weather for around one

painted a panorama which opened in 1829, Bell and Credland, *Victorian Ships, John Ward's Marine Manual*, 8. The Hull Literary and Philosophical society also hosted a number of lectures, a few of which were on whales/whaling, see Margaret Imrie, *Hull, the Lit & Phil and the World* (Hull: Hull Literary & Philosophical Society, 2016).

[218] H. Elwin, *The Autobiography and Journals of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (London, 1853; London: MacDonald, 1950), in Bell and Credland, *Victorian Ships, John Ward's Marine Manual*, 7.

[219] Some artists definitely did see whaling. Scoresby made a series of drawings to accompany his text as shown in the first chapter. John Wilson Carmichael, whose works included "Newcastle Whaling Fleet in the Arctic," (c. 1835) also went to the Arctic and witnessed whaling.

thousand years, creating good conditions for replicating a snowy Arctic environment.[220]

Various visual sources also act as evidence of a shared visual language amongst the artists depicting whaling scenes. William Huggins' "Northern Whale Fishery" (1829) offers an example of a frequent source of repetition. Huggins was a marine painter to King William IV. His painting, or more precisely the print made after his painting, influenced the work of a number of the Hull artists. Ward would have had known Huggins' work, since together with one of his sons, they displayed works at the 1835 Hull Fine Arts Exhibition.[221] After spending his early life at sea, Huggins created a number of whaling works, including "Northern Whale Fishery," which was later adapted as a print by Edward Duncan (Fig. 6). This print was copied almost in its entirety by Wheldon in his "Hull Whaler 'Harmony' (After William John Huggins)" (date unknown) (Fig. 7). It shows numerous whalers catching and killing whales with ease in the Davis Strait. Smaller details were also scopied including various arctic animals (Fig. 7a). Huggins' seals, walruses and narwhals were copied in Ward's work, showing an awareness of the work by these artists. This copying also shows how few people in Britain would have actually seen such animals first-hand. Thus the subsequent "realistic" depictions of whaling created by Ward should be treated with suspicion, since realism is always representational. In this chapter I will consider how the works may be considered realistic in terms of style, but are more ideological in other ways.

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[220] For more information on the mini ice age, see Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300–1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Jean M. Grove, *The Little Ice Age* (New York: Routledge, 1988).
[221] Bell and Credland, *Victorian Ships, John Ward's Marine Manual*, 41.

Whale Death

In order to contextualise my analysis, I will examine how whale death was conceptualised during Ward's time to reveal the relation of the paintings to the whaling trade. For whalers, the death of a whale would have been marked by great excitement, since it could often be days or even weeks of agonising wait before a whale appeared. It was also a popular subject for whalers to carve on scrimshaw, as we shall see. Such emotions are highlighted by British explorer Albert Markham (1841–1918), comments that 'it is customary to give three cheers, both when the fish is killed and when the last of it is taken on board.'[222] Here, the death of the whale validates the skill of the crew and the whaling mission, and represented pleasure, profit and success for those involved.

Guilt, was also associated with the death of a whale, and there are various visual manifestations of these emotions. Firstly, I consider a piece of scrimshaw on the side of a sperm whale tooth from the Whitby Museum collection, where a memorial or tomb is etched on the surface (Fig. 8). The decoration on top of this tomb is a whale with just part of its body visible. Sticking out from above it is a harpoon, a blubber spade and a Union Jack. The stone of the memorial below these etched details reads 'Of A Giant who fell in Battle,' indicating some form of memorialisation and remembrance in relation to the whale. Similar emotions were especially wrought on the occasion of killing a whale calf and its mother. For example Scoresby Jr observed that: 'There is something […] extremely painful in the destruction of a whale, when thus evincing a degree of affectionate regard for its offspring, that would do honour to the superior intelligence of human nature.' He

[222] Albert Markham, *A Whaling Cruise to Baffin's Bay and the Gulf of Boothia. And an Account of the Rescue of the Crew of the 'Polaris'* (London: Sampson Low, Marston Low and Searle, 1874), 56.

adds, however, that 'the object of the adventure, the value of the prize, the joy of the capture, cannot be sacrificed to feelings of compassion.'[223] George Manby also quotes how:

> Nothing can surpass the tender attachment and maternal attention which a female whale will sometimes manifest, if her young one be harpooned: she joins it at the surface, whenever it has occasion to rise for respiration, encourages it to swim off, assists its flight by taking it under her fin, and seldom deserts it while life remains. She is then dangerous to approach: but affords frequent opportunities for attack. She loses all regard for her own safety, in anxiety for the preservation of her young; dashes through the midst of her enemies; despises the dangers that threaten her; and even voluntarily remains with her offspring, after various attacks on herself from the harpoons of the fishers.[224]

The acknowledgement that 'nothing can surpass the tender attachments' emphasises the clear emotions of the occasion. An unknown whaler in the New Bedford Whaling Museum (Fig. 9) created a visual representation of such an event where a whaleboat, in the front right of the canvas, has harpooned a sperm whale calf. Its mother cradles its baby in its mouth in an attempt to save it, but its fate is obvious from the blood falling from its wound and its blowhole.[225] Yet, such sympathetic

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[223] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions,* 414.
[224] George Manby, *Journal of a Voyage to Greenland* (London: G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1823), 51. For more discussion on this see Edwards, eds. "Turner and the Whale/rs, c.1845-46," in *Turner and the Whale*, 54-93 and Edwards, "Turner's Dark Veganism," *History of Art Research Portal*.
[225]Various Authors, *Treasures of the Whaling Museum, Touchstone to the Region's Past,* 77.

views are often found alongside ambivalent descriptions, such as in Scoresby Jr's case, who goes on to describe how 'like the rest of the lower animals, it is designed by Him who "created great whales," and every living creature that moveth [is] subject to man; and therefore when attacked by him, it perishes by its simplicity.'[226] Beale gives a further example of such inconsistency stating:

> But this violent action being soon over, the now unconscious animal passes rapidly along, describing in his rapid course a segment of a circle, this is his 'flurry,' which ends in his sudden dissolution. And the mighty rencontre is finished by the gigantic animal rolling over on its side, and floating an inanimate mass on the surface of the crystal deep – a victim to the tyranny and selfishness, as well as a wonderful proof of the great power of the mind of man.[227]

Beale appears to acknowledge consciously the 'violent act' of whaling, further elaborating as to whales being 'a victim to the tyranny and selfishness [of man];' yet, he ends with the consideration of the whale's death as being 'wonderful proof of the great power of the mind of man.' A reference to power and mind suggests how both elements are needed in order to capture the whale, in contrast to the 'simplicity of whales,' and a statement that clearly positions reason as belonging to humans and lacking in animals. Such descriptions make whales appear as unconscious and unresponsive beings, encapsulating Georges Bataille's belief of animals being 'like

[226] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions,* 417.
[227] Thomas Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (London: John van Voorst, 1839).

water in water.'[228] In effect, they add nothing to the surrounds in which they are found.

Although there are no records of responses to "The Northern Whale Fishery" or other Hull whaling paintings from the period, there are a number of reviews and responses to other whaling paintings, specifically Turner's whaling paintings, which allow for a comparative marker of reception for the subject matter, although it should be acknowledged that there are clear differences in the paintings in terms of prestige and style. Take, for example, art critic John Ruskin, one of Turner's greatest supporters, and a figure who publicly deplored hunting. He states directly in relation to hunting's (mis)use as an artistic subject that 'magnificent art-power' should not be degraded by 'giving semblance of perpetuity to those bodily pangs which Nature has mercifully ordained to be transient […,] forcing us […] to dwell on that from which eyes of merciful men should instinctively turn away.' He adds that such representations might create 'joy rather than horror in the viewer.'[229] Such views indicate a clear disagreement with representing hunting as an artistic subject. Yet, after seeing Turner's whaling paintings at the Royal Academy, Ruskin merely mentioned they were 'altogether unworthy' of the great master, rather than showing any particular attention or empathy to the barbarous scenes that not only depict a whale hunt, but glorify it, with the titles of the works foregrounding the human endeavour and success, most noticeably in "Hurrah! For the Whaler Erebus! Another Fish!"[230] Perhaps he was too shocked at Turner's change of style to comment on the

[228] Georges Bataille, *Theory of Religion,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 19.
[229] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters,* Vol. 5, (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1860), part 9, chap. 6.
[230]John Ruskin, *Modern Painters,* 3rd ed., Vl.I (1843; London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1846), 135–136. The exact meaning of this title is largely unknown, and there is much speculation over its origins. For more information, see "Hurrah! for the Whaler Erebus! Another Fish!," *Tate Britain,* Tate, Aug 2007, accessed July 23, 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-hurrah-for-the-whaler-erebus-another-fish-n00546.

subject matter; yet, in an alternative reading, his reaction further highlights how whaling has been largely overlooked in relation to issues surrounding animal welfare, especially within the field of art history.

There were, however, some Victorians who did consider the perspective of whales. An article from *The Friend* (October 15, 1850) entitled 'A Polar Whale's Appeal,' offers such an example. Here, a polar whale, who gives its location as 'Anadir Sea, North Pacific,' laments that 'a furious attack has been made upon us, an attack more deadly and bloody than any of our race ever experienced in any part of the world' and that 'multitudes of our species have been murdered in "cold" blood.' The article ends by questioning 'Must our race become extinct?' and commenting on how 'We have heard of the power of the "Press;" pray give these few lines a place in your columns, and let them go forth to the world.' The article signs off as 'Yours till death, Polar Whale.'[231] Another example is a cartoon from *Vanity Fair* in 1859 (Fig. 10). It shows a dinner party in which whales are all in attendance after the discovery of oil wells in Pennsylvania. The whales are shown upright on their flukes, dressed in human attire. Some toast with flutes of champagne, whilst others talk and dance; a banner overhead states 'We wail no more for our blubber.'[232]

A final example is a contemporary representation of Sea Shepherd's 2015 video campaign "#UltimateDeathScene" (Fig. 11). This is a short two-minute video, in which Australian actor David Field re-enacts the *reality* of when a whale is harpooned in the back.[233] The actor contorts his body in pain as blood pours from his

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[231] Unknown, "A Polar Whale's Appeal," *The Friend* 8, no.11 (Oct 15, 1850).
[232] Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830–1870*, 25. The use of anthropomorphism in such a manner can be found in earlier painted examples, this time with monkeys, attributed to Francois Louis Joseph Watteau, "An Assemblage of Monkeys" (oil on canvas, Bowes Museum, County Durham, eighteenth century).
[233] Sea Shepherd Global, "Australian Actor Dies in Latest Sea Shepherd Campaign – #UltimateDeathScene," YouTube video, 1:41, posted by Sea Shepherd, Jul 28, 2015, accessed July 24, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGI7FifcVWc.

mouth, in an act aiming to represent the brutality of the whaling trade. It creates a highly performative representation of death, but still given on human terms through the use of a human actor. These imitations of the animal form are reminiscent of Deleuze and Guattari's "Becoming Animal," as expressed in their philosophy: 'We fall into a false alternative if we say you either imitate or you are. What is real is the becoming itself, the block of becoming, not the supposedly fixed term through which that which becomes passes.'[234] The caption labels Sea Shepherd's performance as a 'play' and states further how 'if this cruel and cold-blooded death were to happen to humans, the perpetrators would be jailed immediately.' This suggests that it is not a true becoming and can, therefore, not fully represent the trauma of the animal's reality. It further highlights how such acts of violence towards animals cannot be fully comprehended unless conceptualised in human terms.[235] Whaling death was and is treated with great emotional ambivalence. How, if at all, is it addressed in Ward's work?

Recording

The first theme to be addressed is recording, and this section will consider the recording of whales' deaths on canvas, and how this related to the real experience of whaling. One way in which whales are made present is via their flukes. These are two lobes, which compose the whale's tail. They move up and down to propel the whale through the water. They are often the last visible part of a whale before it dives into the depths of the ocean. On the right-hand side of the composition of

[234] Gilles Deleuze Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 238.
[235] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "Becoming Animal," in *The Essential Classical and Contemporary Writings,* ed. Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerald (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 37–50.

"Northern Whale Fishery," a figure navigates with his oars, whereas the five central figures row in unison, as the lead leans forward in order to get a closer look at the potentiality of harpooning the whale (Fig. 12). The whale they are in pursuit of is only visible via its flukes. Two additional whales may be seen in the far right of the composition, one by its black back and a spout of water ejecting from its body, and one another visible in the far distance by another jet from its blowhole.

In whaling logbooks flukes would often be used as a visual record of the whale's deaths. These logbooks were kept by the ship's captain as we have seen, and recorded each day's weather conditions, basic information, ship morale, meals and the number of whales caught.[236] These illustrated flukes would be located in a small, pencilled box that would also contain the date of capture and, typically, below the image of the flukes would be the size of the whalebone that the whale produced. For example, in the log of the Hull whaling ship *Duncombe*, the drawing of the flukes is below the date of its capture 'Monday May 28th.' Above the image it reads 'Length of Bone' which is listed as 75 13[237] (Fig. 13). Enclosed within its lightly pencilled box, the narrative between the fluke and the text evokes a format that is somewhat akin to a gravestone. With the tablet-like shape and identification it appears as a representation of death, but here it is one that commemorates the individuality of a being in terms of market value. The captain's description of this particular whale's death simply reads, 'at 11 am Henry Denton struck a fish at Meridian Dead.'[238] The day after it was killed the process of flensing the whale is listed, 'Got the fish

[236] Little has been written about whaling logbooks, especially in relation to the artwork that can be found within them. Exceptions are Pamela A. Miller, *And the Whale is Ours: Creative Writing of American Whalemen* (Kendall Whaling Museum: David R. Godine, 1979) and the recently published book by Dyer, *O'er the Wide and Tractless Sea: Original Art of the Yankee Whale Hunt*.
[237] *Duncombe* Whaling Logbook, Monday, May 28, 1822, Hull History Centre, Hull, microfilm, L DMWH/3/2.
[238] Ibid.

alongside at 2 Began to flinch at 4 Done cleaned the Decks and set the watch.' It lists the practicalities of the whale's death and the subsequent value that it gives via the length of the whalebone. The drawn fluke from the *Duncombe* logbook appears to have been done free-hand, as it differs from other flukes that are present within the same volume. In other logbooks, such as the logbook for the voyage of the *Swan* in 1817 however, stamps were used, creating a repetitive uniformity, which, in turn, creates a more homogenised representation of death (Fig. 14). In the *Neptune* ship roll, a small sketch of a whale fluke with the words 'lost' written inside its fluke, rather than the black pigment that it would have had in other examples, signified the death of the whale[239] (Fig. 15). The culmination of these symbols could often be found on the back pages of the logbooks where a chart of all the depicted whale flukes from that voyage would be collectively displayed. For example, in the case of the *London* from Hull under Captain William Linskell, 1827 (Fig. 16), each whale caught during the voyage is demarked by a drawing of a fluke, with the name of the person who killed the whale over the top and the date that this occurred. Along the bottom of each drawing of the flukes, the size of the whalebone the animal provided is listed. Here again, the value of animal death is reduced to a series of signs and statistics. The statistical representation of animal death in such circumstances translates animals into their numerical value rather than a living being.[240]

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[239] It was not just the whale fluke that was used to represent the death of the whale. Some logbooks are more elaborate in their depiction or use a different stamp, such as the whale's whole body, see James Ward, "Ship Sapphire," 1836, Log 418, Phillips Library, Peabody and Essex Museum, Salem.

[240] These were not the sole representations of death. For example, prior to a whaling voyage, women would tie the number of whales they hoped their lovers would catch into a ribbon, once again reducing whale death to a mere act of representation or statistical evidence. This is something Manby highlights when he states: 'I was very much amused with this last process, as there were interwoven in the rope, at distances of two or three feel pieces of riband of various colours. These decorations I was informed were the gifts of the men's sweethearts; on some, I observed pieces that had undergone the useful office of garters; this at once elucidated the "magic spell," as they were intended to animate the powers of the harpooner, who derives fame, and consequently, the approbation of his lass, in proportion to the number of whales he is able to strike and to capture', Manby, *Journal of a Voyage to Greenland,* 10.

Building on from this, Ward's use of the flukes suggests that each time they appear, they represent the death of the whale in question and the clear victory for the whalers, creating a state for the depicted whale in which 'visibility is a trap.'[241] A piece of scrimshaw (Fig. 17) offers a strong point of reference to this. A sperm whale is in the process of being killed, it raises its head above the surface on the left, while the man visible in the crow's nest points his telescope directly at the sperm whale, as if vision itself is the direct bearer of the whale's death.

The longevity of whale flukes as a symbol of a whale's death still holds relevance today. A recent Russian Greenpeace poster shows a large whale's flukes with blood around the base, which stains the surrounding icy background red. The caption below the whale flukes reads 'there is a little left' (Fig.18). The image is comparable to prior logbook depictions, especially considering how the flukes were sometimes depicted in a fleshier reality with blood present around the base. For example, the logbook of the *Andrew Marvel* from Hull emphasises this (Fig. 19). The Greenpeace poster subverts convention, where its symbolic potential has now significantly changed. The flukes are no longer associated with their material value, but reduced to a dismembered body part; therefore, removing them as a symbol of success and value. Furthermore, another contemporary reinvention of the image of the whale fluke is found on the island of Martha's Vineyard, a former whaling port. Here, a memorial plaque reads 'dedicated to the whales and to the people who pursued them'. This is accompanied by a large sculpted whale tail that descends into a grassy patch of land (Fig. 20). This monument alters the whale fluke, making it a different type of memorialisation.

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[241] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975; New York: Vintage, 1995). The citation refers to the Vintage edition, 200.

What is more, the whale fluke is often a distinguishing feature of the identification of whales. A website belonging to the University of Alaska Southeast has an online flukes ID catalogue, where whales spotted in the wild by the general public can be identified referring to the online database, subsequently allowing one to discover their assigned 'unique identification number.'[242] Through its grid-like structure and numbering below images of flukes it holds a distinct similarity to the whaling logbooks (Fig. 21). The number, however, is used to highlight the individuality of the animal, rather than emphasise the amount of blubber or oil that it has produced. Thus, representations of whale flukes may change their symbolic signification from financial to humanitarian. After thinking about the methods of recording, I now shift the discussion to consider how such records of the whale were idealised through representation.

Idealisation

In the left rear of Ward's composition, a whale, presumably a right or bowhead whale, is being caught (Fig. 22). Two black humps are the only visible parts of its body, as it floats on the surface of the water. A whaleboat, with a crew of six, has the whale attached to it via two large holes made in its tail. The whale is being hauled to an awaiting whaleship, ready to be rendered into manageable pieces. Hauling the whale was a process usually carried out by around six whaling boats, at a speed of a mile per hour.[243] The kill only becomes visible when drawing in close to the canvas, meaning animal death has been reduced to a background detail and can be described in just a couple of sentences. Moving forward from this scene, the further whaling

[242] University of Alaska Southeast, "100–75% White Flukes," Fluke ID Catalog, accessed Aug 26, 2017, http://www.alaskahumpbacks.org/flukeIDcatalog.html.
[243] Basil Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers 1876–1944* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1955).

process of flensing is visible (Fig. 14). The whale carcass has been strapped to the side of the vessel, and stretched to its full extent with its head facing towards the stern. A molly boat floats alongside, filled with the various processing tools needed, including blubber knives and spades.[244] A crew member, whale knife in hand, slices blubber away from the whale secured in this position by spurs attached to the bottom of his shoes. The whale's body would have been slowly rotated or 'canted' by 90 degrees each time to ensure the removal of all of the blubber. At the same time, on-board the ship, speck-tackles (a large hook and pulley system) are used to haul the pink fleshy blanket pieces of the whale on board.[245] Here, a large pinkish lump of whale blubber hangs, suspended. When eventually on board, it would be cut to a smaller size, ready to be stored in barrels below deck in a process known as making-off. The blubber in the painting is a rich rosy hue, representing a young whale. Small and regular white brushstrokes denote the gentle waves of the Arctic seas lapping against the ship and ice floe. A swarm of birds of various species encircle the carcass, looking for scraps of whale flesh.[246] Two birds successful in their mission fly away from the scene, one with a large piece of whale in its beak, too large perhaps. It drags the bird down, slowing its ability to fly, whilst the other bird drops the flesh completely onto the white ice. A further speck of blubber floats on the surface, the result of a bird's greed (Fig. 23). Such details animate the scene and highlight the supposedly natural processes of whaling.

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[244] So-called from the molly birds that flock around it. Sometimes also referred to as a Mallemauk boat.

[245] Blanket pieces are the whaling term for a rectangular piece of blubber, which for the whale was insulation, but was also rich in oil and, therefore, profit. Adamson, *The Great Whale to Snare: The Whaling Trade of Hull*, 30.

[246] Albert Markham describes such an occurrence in his whaling journal when he witnessed '[h]undreds of screaming and greedy fulmar petrels "mollies".' Although hard to make out on this canvas, the specific species of birds here would range from kittywakes, mollies, burgomasters, puffins, Iceland crows, to dovekies and even looms', Lubbock, *Arctic Whalers,* 23.

Through such examples, Ward's representation does not translate the bloody, noisy reality of the trade, which was highly speculative, filthy and dangerous. Whaling narratives can act as useful sources in questioning such depictions. For example, Scoresby Jr's *Account of the Arctic Regions* emphasises the three main dangers when approaching whales, as 'ice, climate and the whales themselves.' This shows that there was a clear understanding amongst the whalers as to the dangers of the pursuit. In a more specific example, Scoresby Jr comments on how a whale 'rose with unexpected violence beneath the boat, and projected it and all its crew, to the height of some yards in the air[;] at length, when exhausted by numerous wounds and the loss of blood, which flows from the huge animal in copious streams, it indicates the approach of its dissolution, by discharging from its "blow-holes" a mixture of blood, along with the air and mucus, which it usually expires.'[247] The liquidity of blood in Scoresby Jr's quote is noticeable as it 'flows' in 'copious streams' from the whale. This, along with the whale's other bodily fluids, would have stained and polluted the surrounding water red, and covered the clothes and bodies of the whalers. This reality is also encapsulated in a quote from a witnessed scene from the logbook of the whaler *The Cumbrian* (1823), which states that 'along the flore edge lay the dead bodies of hundreds of flenshed whales, and the air for miles around was tainted with the foetor which arose from such masses of putridity.'[248] Ward's painting fails to reference any blood spilt in the water; instead, the sea is calm and a solid green/blue hue, seemingly untainted by the death of the whale.[249]

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[247] William Scoresby Jr., *An Account of the Arctic Regions: With a History and Description of the Northern Whale-fishery, Volume 2* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co. 1820), 248.
[248] Capt. Martin Munroe, *Log of the Cumbrian of Hull,* 1823.
[249] Ibid.

Ward's "Whalers in the Arctic" (Fig. 24) offers an interesting point of reference here. At the front middle of the canvas, a polar bear stands on some ice floe; it possesses a wild ferocity that is not replicated in the hat-wearing whalers, who carry out their business with an apparent decorum and efficiency. The polar bear's animality is placed front and centre, its mouth open in a snarling growl, as it sinks its claws into the body of a dead seal whose blood spills out and stains the snow around it. The whalers are unalarmed by its presence, and show less aggression in the killing of their prey, with the blood they spill from the whale not even touching the surface of the water. As in the case of the feeding sea-bird, the representation here of animal conflict and killing justifies the killing of animals by humans, showing that they are less brutal in their slaying of species. Meanwhile, the rear of the composition shows a number of whalers with shotguns raised, as they are ready to slaughter a polar bear descending from a hill. Such a detail is similarly found at the very back of "The Northern Whaler Fishery." Although once again a small detail, it emphasises that polar bears offered no threat to the whalers. There is then a clear sanitation of human violence present in this representation, recalling Eleanor Hughes's analysis of marine battle paintings, which had the effect of 'glamourising and legitimising the practices and institutions', and which emphasised 'British corporate action, unified, well managed and on an independent scale.'[250] Ward's work depicts the strength of the whaling crew as championing over both animals and a highly hostile setting, emphasising the well-controlled state of the industry, and how the management of the environment is key in legitimising the prosperity and legacy of the trade. The figures are shown as static and unemotional,

[250] Eleanor Hughes, *Spreading Canvas, Eighteenth Century British Marine Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

not getting at all attached to the death of the whale that they have just caused. This consequently reduces the men to figures for their use and labour, and they become part of the wider system of biopolitical power that is at play.[251]

Ward's whaling scenes are typically set within the Arctic, where the majority of Hull whaling took place. Paintings of the polar regions had, during this period, reached a climax, as Samuel Scott acknowledges that 'the polar landscape tradition of Western art belongs most appropriately to the hundred years beginning in the 1830s and ending in the 1930s.'[252] This had been caused by a growth in polar exploration, reaching its zenith in the late 1840s with the disappearance of John Franklin and all 125 of his crew.[253]

In "The Northern Whale Fishery" large ice floes in the foreground lead the eye into the middle ground. To the right, a large iceberg acts as a repoussé. Similar to a tree in a Claudian landscape painting, it frames the view taking on the tropes of the picturesque. Wildlife abounds in the scene, with species ranging from seals and polar bears, to two narwhals. Yet, all of these animals would have been victims to the whalers, something Manby comments on when he states that 'I prepared my gun for any subject of natural history that might come near.'[254] Narwhals swim in the

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[251] In making reference to biopolitics, I recognise that it is a term that was not initially applied to animals, but recent studies have shown that there is legitimacy in doing this, especially if one thinks in terms of meat production/slaughterhouses. Here, Ward's example is relevant, as the human figures are reduced to resources, a homogenised workforce, much like the whales who are objectified within these works. For more on biopolitics, see Kristin Asdal, Tone Druglitrø and Steve Hinchliffe, *Humans, Animals and Biopolitics: The More Than Human Condition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016); Ron Broglio, *Beasts of Burden: Biopolitics, Labor, and Animal Life in British Romanticism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017); Cary Wolfe, *Before the Law: Humans and Other Animals in a Biopolitical Frame* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[252] Samuel Scott, "Frozen Requiem – The Golden Age of Polar Landscape Painting," in *To the Ends of the Earth, Painting the Polar Landscape,* ed. Brian Hotchkiss (Salem: Peabody and Essex Museum, 2008), 5.

[253] For more information on the Arctic, see Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture, 1818–1875* and David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914*. For more on Franklin see Gillian Hutchinson, *Sir John Franklins Erebus and Terror Expedition,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017) and Michael Palin, *Erebus: The Story of a Ship,* (London: Random House Books, 2018).

[254] Manby, *Journal of a Voyage to Greenland,* 32.

water across the scene, 'unis' or unicorns as they were colloquially termed by the whalers, and three seals can be seen resting on the ice. The whole scene creates a form of idealisation that is akin to a Claude glass being held up to the industry. A Claude glass is a small glass mirror, slightly convex in shape, with a surface that would be tinted a dark colour. This blackened glass weakened the reflection, stressing the prominent features in a landscape at the expense of detail, and reflects a scene that was intended to have formal similarities to an Italian landscape by the famous seventeenth-century painter and sketcher.[255] If the parallel holds, it could explain to some degree the use of such phrases by the National Gallery, quoted at the beginning of the chapter to describe Ward's painting, as these are terms that would usually be used to describe the aesthetic style of the picturesque or a Claudian landscape.[256] The ship is often read as a symbol, representing not only a real physical object, but culturally understood to embody the accomplishments of its captain or owner. Here then, the Arctic landscape is mere scenery for the more complex representation of whaling that occurs centrally within the work.

In order to demonstrate further the role visual sources play in creating a fictionalised representation and a more idealised composition, I also want to reference here another example of Ward's work, "South Sea Whaling" (Fig. 3). It is believed to be his only painting of a South Sea whaling voyage. Three British whalers are afloat on the sea, as a number of whaleboats, present in the background, have their sails raised, propelled by the wind and heading into the hunt. In the rear of

[255] For more information on the Claude Glass, see Arnaud Maillet and Jeff Fort, *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art* (New York: Zone, 2009).
[256] The picturesque as a concept grew in seventeenth-century Italy, and was associated particularly with artists such as Claude Lorrain. It became popular in Britain via the writings of William Gilpin and was translated into visual form by artists such as Turner and Thomas Girtin. Gilpin commented on 'that kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture', *An Essay Upon Prints, Containing Remarks Upon The Principles of Picturesque Beauty* (London: J. Robson, 1768), 2–3.

the composition, green rolling hills of some distant land are visible. On the right, two whaleboats are engaged in the kill, the right boat having hit the tail of the whale and the harpooner, whose line is attached to the flank of the whale, propelled into the water. The boat to the right of the dying whale similarly has already stuck a harpoon within the animal's body, and the harpooner holds a lance; a determined look is painted on his face, as he aims to plunge it into the vital organs of the animal. The other members on board the boat appear restrained and calm, as if participating in some form of rowing competition rather than in a tussle with one of the largest animals on the planet. The whale has rolled over onto its back, in its final death throws, a customary characteristic of the kill. Its mouth is open in agony, as it cries out. The picture is silent, however, and so does not align with the view that one whaler from the twenty-first century describes in terms of the whale sounds: 'when you hit them they cry really and I felt that.'[257] A spray of blood ejects from its blowhole signalling its imminent death, as its open mouth reveals the whale's teeth. This detail is found in *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale* and its drawing of the spermaceti whale. The image was originally taken from "The Spermaceti Whale," drawn by Scottish artist James Stewart (1791–1863) and engraved by William Lizars (1788–1859) as an illustration in Robert Hamilton's *Natural History of the Ordinary Cetacea or Whales*, which was published as Volume 6 in a series edited by William Jardine entitled *The Naturalist's Library* (Edinburgh, 1837) (Fig. 25).[258] Stewart's scene, in turn, is based on descriptions of a sperm whale capture in

[257] Roddie Morrison, mess boy, former whaler, 15.58–16.04, 2014, "The Rise," *Britain's Whale Hunters: The Untold Story,* BBC Four, July 17, 2017, television broadcast. To hear a replication of what whaling would have sounded like in the 19th century, see this soundscape created as part of the *Turner and the Whale,* Exhibition, "Can the Sub-Arctic Speak? Ventriloquising James H. Wheldon's The Diana and Chase in the Arctic (c.1857)" *Turner and the Whale,* Oct 28, 2017, accessed Jan 27, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleSoundscape.jsp

[258] Sir William Jardine, *Naturalist's Library, Mammalia Vol. VI. On the Ordinary Cetacea or Whales* (Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1837).

a pamphlet by Beale, in the first ever first-hand, scientific description of a sperm whale. Beale approved of Stewart's interpretation, and when he expanded his pamphlet into a book, he included Stewart's picture.[259]

It is interesting to compare the differences between these two images, and what has been altered. In Ward's image, the first thing to note is the reduction of scale of the animal; its body has been shortened, and the two whaleboats that approach it now eclipse its body. This is an important point in relation to the literature on marine painting, as Hughes notes how 'marine paintings [operate] at the scale of the ship, not the human figure, to replay their narratives.'[260] What can we make of the relation of scale to the animal 'figure?' Clearly, in the case of Ward's painting, the whale is reduced in order to confirm its ability to be overpowered. Granted there are some cases, such as Thomas Fletcher's "Molly and Friends" (1787), in which the scale of the whale seems overtly larger than that of the human figures; yet, whales only appear to be exaggerated in scale when the animal is utterly overcome and there is no sign of any potential struggle.[261] This idea of scale is also used to demark different social levels between the crew. For example, in "English Whalers in the Arctic," c. 1740–1745 by John Clevely the Elder, (Fig. 26), the captain of the vessel stands aboard the deck of the central ship and is demarked by his larger size.

Again, like "The Northern Whale Fishery," "South Sea Whaling" depicts whaling as a calmer pursuit, with the rear boat depicted in a heightened sense of

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[259] Stuart M. Frank, *Classic Whaling Prints* (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society/New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2016), 33; Elizabeth Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection* (Salem: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1987), 214.
[260] Hughes, *Spreading Canvas, Eighteenth Century British Marine Painting*, 11.
[261] Thomas Fletcher, "Molly and Friends," (jpeg image of painting, oil on canvas, Hull Maritime Museum, Hull, 1787). For reference to this painting see Cattell, "The Hull School of Whale Painting," *Turner and the Whale,* 31.

security, as opposed to Beale's original print. This is similarly present in the whaleboat in the foreground of the composition. It is depicted with men spilling out of it, and in a much less precarious position than in Beale's print, where there is a greater sense of danger and a number of men in the water. Also, the death of the whale is represented in a much clearer manner, as instead of water, it is clearly blood that is ejecting from its blowhole in Ward's painting, making it evident that the whale is close to death. The second whale killing within the composition draws a parallel with another image taken from Beale's *Natural History*, on page 154 (Fig. 27).[262] Here, the contrast again is telling; the act of killing in Ward's work is a lot more restrained. The whale has been reduced in scale, placing the whalers again in a much more powerful position. The spears stick out of the animal with a certain air of success, and the whaleboat behind the animal, which spills its crew into the water, is more securely placed on the water. It is also worth considering how this scene is repeated at the rear left of the composition, as a small detail. This repetition highlights the fecundity of the waters and the financial successes that may occur in future whaling voyages, and the production line of the industry.

In both "South Sea Whaling" and "The Northern Whale Fishery" then, through the alteration of the whales' death on canvas, they become articulated on the basis of human terms. In relation to the polar bear, Baker states the reality of the death of the animal, noting that 'the bear is not posed on its own, as a photograph of the dead polar bear without the agent of its death would make no sense – its death is only significant and worth recording and preserving because it is a human, hunted, death.'[263] Likewise, whales are never shown isolated in a dead state or swimming

[262] Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale. To Which is Added, A Sketch of a South-Sea Whaling Voyage,* 154.
[263] Steve Baker, "What Can Dead Bodies Do?," in *Nanoq: Flat out and Bluesome – A Cultural Life of Polar Bears*, ed. Bryndis Snaebjörnsdottir and Mark Wilson (London: Black Dog, 2006), 163.

unnoticed; instead, there is always a narrative built around their death to indicate a clear prosperity in the trade and the whale as a resource. In reality, however, the trade was dogged by the clear lack of whales and, here, the various sections of the hunt are condensed onto one canvas, allowing for the full visual dissection of both the whale and the trade itself.

In an interesting comparison, James Ayres likens the work of marine painters to 'botanical illustration,' due to their focus on the supposed accuracy of their subject matter.[264] This is an interesting evaluation, as botanical illustrations would often feature a dissection of a plant and show its value for human use and understanding. This is something that the whaling paintings also do and, instead of conjuring up the physical beauties of wild animals, Ward's paintings show the value of the whales' bodies as objects. The viewer is exposed to the interior of the animal, much like a botanical drawing, but in Ward's whaling paintings, the revelations are less about science and more about commerce.

Once again, it is here worth turning back to cattle portraiture, and the similarities it raises in terms of idealisation. On being asked to create some cattle portraits, Thomas Bewick (1753–1828), a British engraver and natural history author, described his struggle to create idealised and exaggerated livestock in a quote worth mentioning at length:

> After I had made my drawings from the fat sheep, I soon saw that they were not approved, but that they were to be made like certain paintings shown to me. I observed to my employer that the paintings bore no resemblance to the

[264] Ayres, *Art, Artisans and Apprentices: Apprentice Painters & Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition*¸ 240.

> animals whose figures I had made my drawings from; and that I would not alter mine to suit the paintings that were shown to me; my journey, as far as concerned these fat cattle makers, ended in nothing. I objected to put lumps of fat here and there where I could not see it, at least not in so exaggerated a way as on the painting before me; so 'I got my labour for my trouble.' Many of the animals were, during this rage for fat cattle, fed up to as great a weight and bulk as it was possible for feeding to make them; but this was not enough; they were to be figured monstrously fat before the owners of them could be pleased. Painters were found who could be quite subservient to this guidance, and nothing else would satisfy. Many of these paintings will mark the times, and, by the exaggerated productions of the artists, serve to be laughed at when the folly and the self-interested motives which gave birth to them are done away.[265]

Bewick describes how his patrons wanted him to 'put lumps of fat here and there' using 'paintings' rather than the real animal to educate him in the changes that needed to be made. Ward's alteration of the animal subject and use of sources suggests how cattle portraiture was not alone in the manipulation of animal representations for human means. Having argued the role of pictorial idealisation in creating Ward's canvas, I lastly move on to think further about ideas of visibility.

[265] Thomas Bewick and Jane Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Newcastle on Tyne: Robert Ward, 1862), 184.

Visibility

I end with a discussion on visibility, a key theme of the trade and also important in the viewing of paintings. Visibility or the lack of visibility in relation to whales became particularly key in the later stages of the Hull whaling industry, where this chapter will end. Through the static quality of the painting and the compositional arrangement, whales are made constantly visible. This creates a reassuring state for observers in which the fecundity and future possibility of the trade is constantly emphasised. This visibility, however, as already highlighted is highly mediated.[266] Although I am careful with such comparisons as obviously differences amount, Ward's painting is akin to the modern vogue for visually seductive, natural history programmes, which are often accompanied by a rousing soundtrack.[267] These create a form of representation in which animals are always on show and visible. Such documentaries condense hundreds of hours of footage and, like whaling voyages, in which ships could go weeks without seeing or catching a whale. Anat Pick comments on how animal documentaries 'satisfy the desire for an illusion of closeness with nature, and use perspective (telephoto lenses, blue chip, post-production sound enhancement, and so on) non-reflexively to create an immersive but highly contrived experience of nature.'[268] This suggests a clear desire to manipulate real-life footage in order to show a certain version or view. Also, even if sighted, there was no guarantee that an animal would not escape. Further, during the capture, the whale could also disappear below the surface of the water for long

[266] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (France: Les Lettres Nouvelles, 1957; London: Vintage, 1993). Citations refer to the Vintage edition.
[267] For more information on animals and natural history documentaries and films, see Anat Pick, ed., *Screening Nature: Cinema Beyond the Human* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013) and Jonathan Burt, *Animals in Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).
[268] Pick, *Screening Nature: Cinema Beyond the Human*, 31.

stretches of time. As Captain Gravill of the *Diana* comments 'I believe they can stay as long as they like. I have struck a fish and had her remain 2 hours 20 minutes under water before she showed herself again; this was in clear water with no ice or bergs about so that we should have seen her immediately if she had come up to breathe.'[269] Although Ward's canvas and natural history documentaries have different motives, it highlights how the visibility of animal life is constructed into a realm of mythmaking and fabrication. In both instances, animal life is articulated for human consumption/exploitation, either literally or visually.

Whales' forms, such as flukes and backs, would have been the identifying features that whalers would have looked out for when on watch, in order to signal the start of the whale hunt. Whaling logbooks, diaries kept by captains of the ship, comment on sending men 'on the watch.' [270] This involved standing at the top of the main mast, in a structure known as the crow's nest (Fig. 28). Originally invented in 1807 by William Scoresby Snr, it was described by his son as:

> an apparatus placed on the main-top-mast, or top-gallant-mast head, as a kind of watch-tower, for the use of the master, or officer of the watch, in the fishing seas, for sheltering him from the wind, when engaged in piloting the ship through crowed ice, or for obtaining a more extensive view of the sea around, when looking out for whales.[271]

[269] Capt. Gravill, in Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers 1876–1944,* 17.
[270] *Duncombe* Whaling Logbook, 1822, Hull History Centre, Hull.
[271] Scoresby Jr, *An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery,* 203–204.

A crows nest is visible as a small detail in "Northern Whale Fishery" at the top of the main mast of the ship *Swan*, inhabited with a human figure. Here, perched in the rotund structure, his arm is outstretched appearing to either point or hold a telescope. The figure inside surveys the scene for potential prey, scanning the water's surface for whale flukes or backs, which populate the scene as small details. This way of looking is reflective of a panoptic state in which making something visible is not just gaining understanding over it, but control of it, a 'reduction of the animal' to use John Berger's term from *Why Look at Animals?* [272]

The panopticon, which I here refer to, is a way of looking originally theorised by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), which uses as a point of reference Jeremy Bentham's prison designs.[273] Foucault, and more specifically, the panoptic have not been widely applied or used in relation to animals bar a few exceptions, including Matthew Churlew and Dinesh Joseph Wadiwel's *Foucault and Animal* (2017) and Randy Malamud's *Zoo Spectatorship* (2007).[274] Foucault makes direct reference to Le Vaux's menagerie at Versailles, as perhaps the initial inspiration for Bentham's idea of panopticon prisons. Le Vaux's menagerie, originally built in 1664, was designed by architect Louis le Vaux. Foucault describes it in reference to a royal court stating how 'the panopticon is a royal menagerie; the animal is replaced by man, individual distribution by specific grouping and the king by the machinery of a furtive power.'[275] He comments further as to how both zoo and panopticon 'induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility

[272] Berger, *Why Look at Animals?*, 13.
[273] The panopticon prison, an architectural style famously devoted to regulation, discipline, separation between a figure of power and a subjugated other, and the enforced imposition of order upon its subjects. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* 195–228.
[274] Matthew Chrulew and Dinesh Joseph Wadiwel, *Foucault and Animal* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 6. Randy Malamud, "Zoo Spectatorship," in *The Animals Reader: The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings*, ed. Kalof and Fitzgerald, 220–236.
[275] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* 203.

that assures the automatic functioning of power. […] Surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its actions.'[276]

Relating this to Ward's painting is useful, especially when considering the wider alterations in vision that were occurring during the nineteenth century, especially in relation to the observer.[277] Considering the panopticon in relation to Ward's paintings suggests a staged artificiality in which whales are placed selectively via what Foucault later considers as an 'analytical arrangement of space.'[278] The whales' eyes are concealed, and are not given the look of power; power is largely given over to the observer, who has the ability to observe in a singular and authoritative manner, having both animal and human under observation. This is something Broglio acknowledges when he states in relation to cattle portraiture that 'optical supremacy enables the circulation between canvas and the cattle bodies.'[279]

I move on now to think about visibility in another way. Through the desire for this constant visibility and availability of whales, the reality of whaling meant that whale stocks were depleting, driving whalers deeper into the Arctic or other areas of

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[276] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 223.

[277] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992). Crary explores how the nineteenth century became defined by the subjectivity of vision, moving away from the eighteenth-century model of objectivity imposed by the camera obscura. He identifies how mass culture, which was typically seen as more realist, was actually more abstract.

[278] My use of the term 'spatial collapsing' relates to the idea of time and objects being reduced in the reality of what is actually occurring, for example, in reality, whaling scenes would have occurred a lot further apart, than what is depicted here on the canvas. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Such ideas build on Michael de Certau's comments in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California, 1988), 36, where he states how '[t]he division of space makes possible a panoptic practice proceeding from a place whence the eye can transform foreign forces into objects that can be observed and measured, and thus control and 'include' them within its scope of vision.'

[279] Broglio, "'Living Flesh': Animal–Human Surfaces," the circulation in Ward's whaling painting creates a very schematic representation of whaling, which is very much like a map, plotting the route that should be taken to gain success in the whaling trade. Mapping was obviously a key skill in whaling, so whalers would have been familiar with it as a style of representation.

danger. There was some speculation about this growing invisibility of cetaceans species, with Melville, for example, suggesting that:

> Equally fallacious seems the conceit, that because the so-called whale-bone whales no longer haunt many grounds in former years abounding with them, hence that species also is declining. For they are one being from promontory to cape; and if one coast is no longer enlivened with their jets, then, be sure, some other and remoter strand has been very recently startled by the unfamiliar spectacle…[So], hunted from the savannas and glades of the middle seas, the whale-bone whales can at last resort to their Polar citadels, and diving under the ultimate glassy barriers and walls there, come up among icy fields and floes; and in a charmed circle of everlasting December, bid defiance to all pursuit from man.[280]

Clearly Melville does not fully consider the possibility of extinction in relation to whales, seeing how they have 'bid defiance to all pursuit' and move away from danger. There was, however, some acknowledgement of extinction as a concept in relation to whales, with nineteenth-century whaler and author C.M. Scammon commenting:

> The civilized whaler seeks the haunted animal farther seaward, as from year to year it learns to shun the fatal shore […] and ere long

[280] Melville, *Moby Dick,* 663–664.

> it may be questioned whether this mammal will not be numbered among the extinct species of the Pacific.[281]

Although specific to the California Gray whale, the growing invisibility of the whales was gaining some more rational reasoning. In Hull, the depletion of whaling stocks was having a great effect on the trade, especially by the mid-nineteenth century. Whalers were being driven into more hostile zones and many voyages were lost or came home 'clean.' One of the major human disasters for the Hull whaling industry was the case of the *Diana,* as we have seen, which acted as an epitaph for the industry in the city. In 1866, the *Diana*, while on a routine whaling expedition, became frozen in the ice and was trapped for six months. The ship's captain, John Gravill, and many of the crew died.[282] The surgeon on-board, Charles Edward Smith, kept a journal, and a number of his illustrations from the voyage acted as the base for further paintings, including R.D. Widdas's "Diana Gripped in the Ice" (1867) (Fig. 5). The Arctic winter darkness envelops the scene, with the moon offering the only light. Surrounded by an array of ice formations, the central vessel rests precariously on its side, evoking the desperate situation of the crew, and emphasised by the lack of indigenous people and animal life, exaggerating the lonely emptiness of the space. The figures in the foreground remain resilient, demonstrating human ingenuity in such a hostile zone, carrying supplies and dragging whaleboats, accompanied by man's best friend, in the form of Smith's dog, Gyp, who despite surviving a number of months aboard, was eventually shot, with 'a heavy heart,' by his owner, due to

[281] C.M. Scammon, *The Marine Mammals of the North-Western Coast of America* (New York: Dover, 1968; New York: John H. Carmany and Company, 1874). Citations refer to the John H. Carmany and Company edition.
[282] For more information on the *Diana*, see Charles Edward Smith, *The Nightmare Voyage of the Diana* (Lerwick: The Shetland Times, 2014).

showing the first signs of hydrophobia. Gyp was, however, outlived by two other on-board pets: the captain's canary and a linnet belonging to the engineer.[283] Here, as in the industry itself, the whales in the Hull School canvases discussed are exploited, both as commercial goods, in the wider depiction of man's prosperity in the region, and when disaster strikes, are absented in order for human tragedy to take centre stage.

In "Regarding the Pain of Others," (2003), Susan Sontag writes that 'transforming is what art does.'[284] In the case of the "Northern Whale Fishery," Ward creates a new reality, which *transforms* whale death from its bloody and violent reality into something more sanitised, not only objectifying the animals, but legitimising the potential of future whaling voyages. Re-evaluating Ward's work in this age of mass extinction alongside a number of case studies, provides a warning for this often-blind idealisation of animal death, which aids in legitimising further violence without fully acknowledging the human, animal or environmental cost. Representing animal death, is again featured in the subject of the next chapter, but it moves on from thinking about the represented act itself, like in this chapter, and instead focuses around the afterlife of the whales' deaths, and specifically the 'lives' of the objects made from their bodies.

[283] Smith, *The Nightmare Voyage of the Diana,* 106, 116.
[284] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003), 68.

CHAPTER THREE: SCRIMSHAW AFTERLIVES

How are the contours of the body clearly marked as the taken-for-granted ground or surface upon which gender signification are inscribed, a mere facticity devoid of value, prior to significance?[285]

Judith Butler, (1990).

Accept, dear Girl this busk from me;
Carved by my humble hand.
I took it from a Sperm Whale's jaw,
One thousand miles from land!
In a gale, has been the Whale,
In which this bone did rest,
His time is past, his bone at last
Must now support thy brest [sic] [286]

(Anon)

'Afterlives' is a term used by Samuel J. Alberti in *Animal Afterlives* (2011) to emphasise the new narrative of an object made of animal material, after its death.[287] The afterlives of such objects are typically dictated by a new human autonomy, in which animals are reduced to mere surface, material and object. Alberti's parameters of animal afterlives will be developed in this chapter in relation to scrimshaw,

[285] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, Routledge, 1990), 129.
[286] Anonymous (nineteenth century), quoted in Clifford W. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler* (New York: Dover Publications Inc. 1992), 114.
[287] Samuel, *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*.

building on and incorporating the work of Donna Haraway and Judith Butler to emphasise the gendered and relational aspects of such objects.

In scrimshaw, the raw materiality of whalebone, teeth or baleen, as well as other marine mammal bones, has been transformed through the killing of an animal and the crafting of its bones into a 'souvenir of the hunt,' often gifted as a token to loved ones onshore. I focus on these 'post-narratives' of scrimshaw objects in order to emphasise the shifting value that can be placed on them as 'object-relics' and souvenirs, thinking in particular about how they helped sustain and maintain relationships in a metaphorical state both on- and off-shore. This is key, as 'ideas' of gender and relationships were strained by the time and distance of whaling voyages and the all-male environment on board whaleships. Scrimshaw, through the carvings and crafting, was often used as a physical and visual representation for such emotional strains.

Lisa Norling explores the complicated gender dynamics of whaling by stating how 'sentimental imagery abounded throughout seaports of New England, and appeared in the form of local newspapers, public addresses, charitable appeals, sermons and poetry.' These invoked sentimental imagery and underscored the importance of domesticity. The women themselves were increasingly caught between conflicting developments in the deep-sea industries and ideas about women's place in society. Norling goes on to quote Mazine van de Wetering, who argues that the nineteenth-century home was '[i]ncreasingly invested with the kind of reverence and faith normally attributed to organised religion,' wives and husbands sought 'continuity, stability and individual nurture' in their domestic relationships.[288]

[288] Maxine van de Wetering, "The Popular Concept of 'Home' in Nineteenth century America," *Journal of American studies 18* (1984): 24.

Butler's work on performativity is relevant to this, as she comments how 'there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; [...] identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results.'[289] Whilst I acknowledge that I am looking at male-crafted objects, it is important to think more widely about what McManus calls the 'decidedly feminine aspect' that scrimshaw can be seen to possess.[290] This offers an interesting point of intervention on current scholarship on scrimshaw, as 'feminine' can be taken to relate both to a woman but also to function within queer identities. This is an intersection that is covered in this chapter with the consideration of exotic and also queer anxiety, as well as through thinking about the role of the animal and human in each of these. This ties in well with Haraway's *When Species Meet* (2008), in which she states that 'species reek of race and sex.'[291] This chapter departs from previous studies on scrimshaw, which have largely focused on the role of the supposedly heterosexual male whaler, and are mostly, written and consumed by men. For clear evidence of this, see the statistics for the New Bedford Whaling Museum's Annual Scrimshaw Weekend. For example, in the 2017 programme, only one out of the eight talks was given by a woman, an improvement on 2016 when all seven talks were given by men.[292]

In order to structure my argument, I begin the chapter with a cultural and material history of scrimshaw for the sake of context. Then, I focus on three sub-chapters: domestic, exotic and queer anxiety, using a selection of scrimshaw case studies in

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[289] Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.
[290] Michale McManus, "Scrimshaw," in Stephen S. Lash ed., *America and the Sea Treasures from the Collections of Mystic Seaport,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 114.
[291] Haraway, *When Species Meet,* 18.
[292] "29th Annual Scrimshaw Weekend May 12–14, 2017," *Past Programs,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2018, accessed Jan 15, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/programs/29th-annual-scrimshaw-weekend-2017/, "28th Annual Scrimshaw Weekend May 13–15, 2016," *Past Programs,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2018, accessed Jan 15, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/programs/28th-annual-scrimshaw-weekend-2016.

each. In the domestic, I consider how domesticity was constructed as an ideal on the surface of scrimshaw in order to legitimise and comfort the thoughts of whalers that their wives were conforming to such stereotypes at home. This was particularly pertinent in the example of the domestic scrimshaw busk, a popular object for whalers to craft for their companions back home. I argue that the busk acted as a physical reminder for women of their whalers at sea and, for the whaler, it offered some comfort that his lover/partner was protected, conforming to the wider notions of domesticity and control. In the second sub-chapter, I explore the appearance of 'exotic' communities and specifically womens' bodies on scrimshaw teeth, which through their appearance and decorative scheme create a clear sense of othering that also relates to the animal materiality of the tooth itself. I end the chapter thinking about scrimshaw and queer anxiety. I highlight the link between the frequent representations of highly domesticated women, and how this can be read as an attempt to justify and emphasise the whaler's masculinity through the physicality of the crafting process. The combination of these three sections will highlight the 'performativity' that is present in the construction and legitimisation of gender, as well as the construction of the animal form, something that Haraway reminds us of when she considers how animals bear little, if any, resemblance to the signifiers and discourse used to reference them.[293] Butler herself, it should be added, does not mention animals except once in her books, and certainly not in terms of the idea of performativity; yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, they can be seen as contributing greatly to conversations around the topic, especially if one thinks about the macho associations connected to hunting big game. This study creates an intersectionality that reveals the largely patriarchal desire for control and stability, present in these

[293] Haraway, *When Species Meet*.

objects. I cannot offer a comprehensive overview of scrimshaw as a material subject. Instead, much like the other chapters in this thesis, I offer an intervention into the current literature on a topic, aiming to use a more theoretical and visual-focused approach with a number of case studies, in order to emphasise the role of objects after the death of animals and the role they play in animal and human, as well as inter-human relations.

I again mainly, but not exclusively, use scrimshaw from the Hull Maritime Museum as case studies. The collection has been largely overlooked in current scrimshaw studies. The museum holds the largest collection of scrimshaw in Europe, with 325 results surfacing when the online catalogue is searched.[294] I will contextualise these with examples from a number of public collections mainly from the United States, to emphasise the ability of Hull's collection to be considered in dialogue with other significant pieces and collections around the world. Hull's objects far outweigh other collections of scrimshaw in the UK, in quantitative terms at least, with the Scott Polar Museum offering the second largest collection amounting to around 78 examples. A further series of smaller aggregations can be found in the National Maritime Museum, London, the Scottish Fisheries Museum, Anstruther and the MacManus Museum, Dundee, whereas the National Museum of Scotland claims to have the largest single piece of scrimshaw in the world, dating from 1843 and decorated with various details including a whale hunt off the Banda Islands.[295]

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[294] "Collection," *Hull Museum Collections,* Hull Culture & Leisure, date unknown, accessed Jan 15, 2018, http://museums.hullcc.gov.uk/collections/.

[295] 'Physeter macrocephalus, sperm whale, lower jaw with scrimshaw engraving depicting both the sperm whale and the sailing ship *Woodlark* and its boats capturing it off the Banda Islands, Banda Sea, Indonesia, 7 April 1843.' *Search our collections,* National Museums Scotland, date unknown, accessed Jan 15, 2018, https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/?item_id=565579.

In the USA, individual museum collections are of a much grander scale. The main and most comprehensive collections include the New Bedford Whaling Museum, which has around 3,000 examples of scrimshaw, followed by the Nantucket Historical Association and Mystic Seaport.[296] Smaller collections can also be found in Martha's Vineyard Museum, South Seaport Museum, Sag Harbour Whaling Museum and the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum, all in New York.[297] The proliferation of scrimshaw examples in the USA is understandable, American whaleship crews carved the majority of scrimshaw specimens, and it is more inherently valued as an American folk art, with dedicated shops, weekends and auction houses specialising in the craft. Alongside these major public collections, there are most likely a great many private collections yet to be fully studied and researched.

In order to establish the rationale for this chapter, it is important again to discuss the literature from which the methodology is established. Work specifically on the Hull collections is, thus far, sparse. The conversation was recently re-opened with a chapter I contributed to the *Turner and the Whale* (2017) exhibition catalogue, "Shopping and Scrimshandering: Whales as Commodity and Craft," which explored the commodification of animal subjects. Also more recently, Emilia Quinn and Jason Edwards have both challenged the historical narrative about scrimshaw, but I will return to their works in the next section. Prior to this, only Janet West and Arthur G. Credland's *Scrimshaw: The Art of the Whaler* (1995)

[296] The number of scrimshaw objects at New Bedford Whaling Museum was kindly related by the director of collections, Jordan Benson.
[297] There are many other examples of scrimshaw that can be found in smaller quantities in other collections, such as the National Maritime Museum in London, the Scottish Fisheries Museum, in Cold Springs Harbour and Martha's Vineyard in the US. Judging the other significant collections is obviously a rather subjective pursuit, and often mostly associated with the quantity that is held by a particular institution.

addressed the collections, which comment that it is 'only with this book that a real impression of the rich corpus of material in Hull is at last available.'[298] Although spotlighting the collection, Credland and West's publication offers a good survey of the collection, but lacks any critical engagement with the works. It takes the different material body parts as the main chapter's sub-headings, which gives some indication of the clear diversity and variety of scrimshaw and how well this is represented in the collections. As Credland and West comment, these collections have previously only functioned as 'illustrated in publications in Britain and overseas,' something both Credland and West's work and this chapter aim to change.[299] The only other book to reference the Hull collection in its own right is Peter Adamson's *The Great Whale to Snare: The Whaling Trade of Hull* (1973), which dedicates a very small section to scrimshaw, under the chapter, '"Upon a Painted Ocean": The Art of the Whale".[300] In this case, scrimshaw is described alongside Hull School Paintings, demonstrating a clear comparative link between the two media, a dialogue on which this thesis subsequently expands.

The most significant texts so far, on scrimshaw have been American. The most comprehensive is E. Norman Flayderman's *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen* (1972) and Stuart Frank's *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum* (2012).[301] They both

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[298] West and Credland, *Scrimshaw: The Art of the Whaler*. Adamson, *The Great Whale to Snare: The Whaling Trade of Hull,* gives a further brief mention of the Hull scrimshaw collection, and information can also be found in Credland, *The Hull Whaling Trade An Arctic Enterprise*.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Adamson, *The Great Whale to Snare: The Whaling Trade of Hull,* 22-27.
[301] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum*, Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen*. For further examples on scrimshaw, see Richard C. Malley, *Graven by the Fishermen Themselves: Scrimshaw in Mystic Seaport Museum* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1983), Nina Hellman and Norman Brouwer, *A Mariner's Fancy, The Whaleman's Art of Scrimshaw* (Southsea Port Museum: Balsam Press, 1992), Martha Lawrence, *Scrimshaw: The Whalers' Legacy* (Atglen: Schicher, 1993), Alfred Maskell,

provide introductions to the subject and are largely illustrative, as images outweigh text in both publications. Flayderman's work was really the first significant scholarly book about scrimshaw. It is expansive in scope and covers the various incarnations of scrimshaw, building a rich contextual framework around the case studies used. The author raises further interest by including a chapter on "Allied Arts," which features sailors' valentines and prisoners-of-war bone models amongst other things. This emphasises the comparative variability of scrimshaw craft objects.

Despite this, however, consideration also needs to be given to the way Flayderman's text often glorifies the role of the whaler. For example, the title of the introduction reads "The Romance of Scrimshaw." This is then furthered in the first paragraph in which Flayderman argues that 'in all our history and folklore no men were braver nor fought a more dangerous or powerful foe than did the American whalemen […]. If the reader will allow me the liberty – the feat of St. George versus the dragon pales beside the vision of a single man balanced in the rocking bow of a frail whale boat about to heave a harpoon into the side of a 65-foot long multi-ton monster.'[302] Such interpretations are ethically problematic to say the least. They are also highly US-centric, perpetuated fully by the use of 'our history,' which seems to apply exclusively to the American North, but uses the term 'American' forgetting that this actually also refers to the South and Central American countries, where whaling played smaller or different roles. Further, the description of the whale as a '65-foot long multi-ton monster' is a highly anthropocentric assertion.

Ivories (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1966), Charles R. Meyer, *Whaling and the Art of Scrimshaw* (New York: Henry Z. Walck, 1976). Frank, *Dictionary of Scrimshaw Artists*.

[302] Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen,* 1. Further references to the romance of scrimshaw can be seen in Barbara Delatiner, "Succumbing to the Romance of Scrimshaw," *New York Times,* 1993.

In Frank's case, the book was 'predestined to be a selective anthology of salient highlights, to be accompanied by a comprehensive, searchable and infinity expanded inventory.'[303] Although large in scope, the book only focuses on the scrimshaw collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum, which means that more studies are needed in order to see how representative the collection is, and foreground the works and examples of other collections to a similar prominence. One methodological approach used in Frank's work is again problematic, as he takes a keen interest in attributing an author to works of scrimshaw. Fellow scrimshaw author Michael McManus acknowledges this flaw by stating that 'thanks to his ongoing efforts we have a compilation of all known attributed scrimshaw artists. Problems exist in this new interest of identifying the scrimshaw carvers, because, as of yet, there is no accepted standard. One person or institution may have different guidelines from another for determining what is positive identification and what is an attribution.'[304] My concern goes a little deeper than McManus's, as Frank's preoccupation with the artist perpetuates methodologies that prioritise the role of the individual, rather than considering the wider social value of objects as materials in their own right. This is especially so in the case of a material such as scrimshaw, where the vast majority of examples are created by anonymous whalers. In his essay "Death of the Author" (1967), Barthes comments that to 'give a text an author […] is to impose a limit on that text.' He goes on to draw an analogy between text and textiles, declaring that 'text is a tissue [or fabric] of quotations, drawn from innumerable centres of culture.'[305] Griselda Pollock builds on this:

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[303] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum*, ix.
[304] Michael McManus, *A Treasury of American Scrimshaw: A Collection of the Useful and the Decorative* (New York: Penguin, 1997).
[305] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image Music Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 142–149.

> The preoccupation with the individual artist is symptomatic of the work accomplished in art history – the production of an artistic subject for works of art. The subject constructed from the art work is then posited as the exclusive source of meaning – i.e. of 'art,' and the effect of this is to remove 'art' from historical or textual analysis by representing it solely as the 'expression' of the creative personality of the artist. Art is therefore neither public, social, nor a product of work. Art and the artist become reflexive, mystically bound into an unbreakable circuit which produces the artist as the subject of the art work and the art work as the means of contemplative access to that subject's 'transcendent' and creative subjectivity.[306]

Pollock's words here, and in particular how 'art and the artist become reflexive', fully align with what I believe about the exclusivity of the author and their subjective control over the artwork in question. Frank's constant reference to the individual maker allows causes the works to lose some of their cultural and social value, especially in terms of their 'afterlife', as it ties the object to an individual. Further, attribution of scrimshaw is also likely to boost the market value of an object, which once again brings to the foreground the perception of the object as a monetary item, something that I wish to challenge.

Although Frank and Flayderman's books have provided useful context, their methodologies are less convincing. More relevant is the recent work by Jason

[306] Griselda Pollock, "Artists, Mythologies and Media – Genius, Madness and Art History," *Screen, Volume* 21, no. 3 (1980): 58–59.

Edwards, which refers directly to the chapter "A Squeeze of Hand" in *Moby Dick* commenting how 'scholars have not encouraged viewers to consider scrimshaw in Melville's homoerotic terms.'[307] This brief statement by Edwards in a short text online opens the dialogue to this issue and no doubt anticipates further studies on such aspects, something that this chapter also aims to do. A second interpretation of scrimshaw that foregrounds a queer narrative is Emilia Quinn's "Notes on Vegan Camp," in which Quinn proposes the notion of viewing scrimshaw as a form of 'vegan camp': [308]

> A camp enjoyment of scrimshaw thus detaches us from the earnestness with which we might otherwise want to approach the remains of a brutally slaughtered intelligent mammal and raises key ethical questions. Principally, are we are obliged to bear witness to violence and condemn exploitation or might we foster an aesthetic enjoyment; asserting agency by incorporating such products into vegan cultures? Rather than vegan camping being inherently problematic, we might consider the importance of detaching ourselves from earnestness in order to enjoy the spectacle and frivolity of human exceptionalism. Camp offers us a way of enjoying the artwork featured in the Hull Maritime Museum's collection by refusing to take it seriously, or at least not only seriously.

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[307] Jason Edwards "A Squeeze of the Hand, A Twist of the Wrist? Handling Scrimshaw at one Remove," *Turner and the Whale,* Oct 28, 2017, accessed Jan 27, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhale3d.jsp.

[308] Emelia Jane Quinn, "Notes on Vegan Camp," *Turner and the Whale: Position Papers,* Oct 28, 2017, accessed Jan 27, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=311. An updated version of this paper was also given at the Minding Animals Conference, 4, Mexico City, January 2018, in the Veganism Panel.

This is an interesting proposition that aids in the rethinking of how we approach the materiality of scrimshaw, embracing both a queer and vegan perspective. In addition, however, in a point not touched upon by Quinn, the very campness that can be found in the scrimshaw objects is also suggestive of an unease, whereby relationships between humans and animals in turn become a source of anxiety for the whalers, as they destabilise the normative and slide into Butler's notion of 'gender troubles.'[309] Considering whaling in terms of gender performativity is something that has also been touched upon briefly before in Melanie S. Reid's PhD dissertation entitled "The Captain's Best Mate': Gender, Genre, and Representation in Women's Whaling Journals, Letters, and Memoirs, 1823 to 1915." This thesis uses 74 journals, collections of letters and memoirs written by 61 different women during their voyages on whaling ships in the nineteenth century, with the aim of 'reveal[ing] how the women perform gender, class, and national identity, and how they adhere to, breach, and/or negotiate these ideological constructs through their writing.'[310] She cites Butler in her analysis to argue for the performativity of gender in the case studies and offers a good starting point for discussion, but does not, use scrimshaw as a further method of creating or 'performing' a sense of domesticity, something this chapter will develop.

Another text that is worthy of mention and offers a starting point in the discussion of women and whaling within a scholarly context, and one often quoted by Reid in her thesis, is Lisa Norling's *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720–1870* (2000).[311] Norling's text expands the

[309] Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.
[310] Melanie S. Reid, "'The Captain's Best Mate': Gender, Genre, and Representation in Women's Whaling Journals, Letters, and Memoirs, 1823 to 1915," (PhD thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2013), 2.
[311] Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

whaling historiography to include womens' narratives and explores the emotional relations whaling created consulting letters and logbooks as evidence. She also emphasises the clear gender disparity of maritime studies by decoding and challenging 'an aggressively masculine world of "iron men on wooden ships" that marginalised and objectified real women while feminizing the sea, ships and shore society.' Indeed, Norling notes that in 'seafaring custom, song and craft, women have featured more prominently as metaphor than as flesh-and-blood persons.' There is only a brief mention of the materiality of scrimshaw in which she states how '[whalers] may have needed specific material things to affirm their connections as husbands, fathers, sweethearts, or brothers to those people and places far distant.'[312] Although not expanding on this point, Norling alludes clearly to the potential of objects such as scrimshaw to activate a connection, stating, for example, in relation to certain materials, 'the symbolic content of the clothing and quilts and mementos provided by women at home was crucial in helping sustain at both ends intimate relationships over the thousands of miles and many years that separated husbands from wives, sons from mothers, and brothers from sisters.'[313] Norling goes on to comment from this how 'ironically, though, the emphasis on the sentimental meaning and associations of the goods and supplies ended up masking the substance of women's labor, reinforcing the notion of female dependency, through the process that historian Jeanne Boydston has termed 'the pastoralization of housework.'[314] The text, however, is largely heteronormative and does not go into any great detail about the homosexual relations that potentially occurred on board whaleships. This is a topic that is covered to a small degree by Margaret S. Creighton in *Rites and*

[312] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720–1870*, 189.
[313] Ibid., 156.
[314] Ibid. and Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 142–163.

Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830–1870 (1995) and specifically in her chapter "Sailors, Sweethearts, and Wives: Gender and Sex in Deepwater Workplace," but again scrimshaw is absent from this discussion.[315]

Alongside the texts on scrimshaw and the feminist texts I cited above, the second strand of literature that I draw on in this chapter is object, and specifically animal object studies, an area which has recently been the subject of growing academic interest. The main focus of these publications tends to be taxidermy, rather than the more fragmented/abstract representations of animal lives, such as sperm whale teeth.[316] Notable studies include the installation artwork and subsequent publication by Bryndis Snaebjörnsdottir and Mark Wilson's *Nanoq: Flat Out and Bluesome – A Cultural Life of Polar Bears* (2006), which explores the histories of taxidermied polar bears in the UK, considering the broader history of hunting and the display of stuffed animals as trophies and museum specimens.[317] Their aim was, as the artists state, to do a 'survey of taxidermic polar bears,' which 'after three years of research' revealed '34 stuffed polar bears.' They made a series of large-scale, medium format photographs of the bears in situ, before bringing the bears together away from the museum context, into a 'converted' environment, ideally a contemporary art space. Through this transition, the artists deconstructed and then reconstructed the animals through a shifting of context. The rationale and link to scrimshaw can be summed up by their comments on how 'much has been written on

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[315] Margaret S. Creighton, "Sailors, Sweethearts, and Wives: Gender and Sex in the Deepwater Workplace," in Creighton, *Rites and Passages, The Experience of American Whaling, 1830–1870,* 162–195.

[316] In some cases, the raw context of animal bones has been interpreted directly as artistic object. For example, in *The Sculpture of the Grant Museum* (London: Dudfields Ltd, 2003) Ann Byrne and Dan Smith dislocate the biological narrative of the animal objects in the Grant Museum, discussing them instead in art historical terms.

[317] Snaebjörnsdottir and Wilson, ed., *Nanoq: Flat out and Bluesome – A Cultural Life of Polar Bears*. A series of essays at the end of this volume has been highly useful in this study, Steve Baker, "What Can Dead Bodies Do?," 148–155, Garry Marvin, "Perpetuating Polar Bears: The Cultural Life of Dead Animals," 156–165.

the hollowness of souvenirs, their intrinsic sadness and the ultimate futility of collecting things. In an effort to remember places and events […] we may find a multitude of narratives and interlocking fragments, redolent not only of what has transpired, its dislocation, journey and its second life, but inevitable, if only by implication, of what else might have been.' It is these fragmented narratives that are important to consider in such circumstances, as in each instance a fragment is used as a stand-in for a wider whole or piece of something.[318]

Broglio has commented on Snaebjörnsdottir and Wilson's work, stating how '[t]he skin of the animal functions as a surface of contact and resistance. It is a veil: on one side is a living bear with its depth of world and life that remains unknown, while on the other side is the bear as perceived, captured, and killed by humans. The veil is torn, removed from its animal and placed with a cultural economy of meaning, geopolitics, and capital.'[319] Broglio highlights the transition found in such objects, the dichotomy between the real/unreal, which creates something that, although solid in form, is constantly searching for authenticity. There is still this sense that there will always be an element of the unknown, as through the transformation of the animal into material, part of its original identity has been lost, a point that needs to be constantly revisited when analysing such material, in order to not impart blindly something new on it.

Alberti's *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie* (2011) is another useful contribution to the topic. This book offers a collection of essays, which

[318] Scrimshaw has often been altered and placed within the contemporary art space. Relevant examples include "Aquatopia: The Imaginary of the Ocean Deep," *Nottingham Contemporary,* Jul 20, 2013 – Sep 22, 2013; "OFFSHORE: ARTISTS EXPLORE THE SEA," *Ferens Art Gallery, Hull,* Apr 1 – Aug 28, 2017. Both featured examples of scrimshaw from the Hull Collections, but within a very different context.
[319] Ron Broglio, *Surface Encounters: Thinking with Animals and Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 73.

consider how animals both pre- and post-death 'defy taxonomy.' Taking examples of dead animals and 'trac[ing] their individual histories both before and after death […] enables one to trace the shifting meanings of singular animals and their remains.' Alberti's approach is anthropological. He is interested in the 'social life of things,' rather than a more basic narrative of objects. Most of the chapters focus on examples of animals that were famous in life, except one: Garry Marvin's "Enlivened through Memory: Hunters and Hunting Trophies." This concerns a collective mediation on the notion of animal afterlives, through focusing on hunting trophies and, thus, on animals that do not have a public life pre-death. He explores how the individuality of the animal is brought about 'with their death' and its transition into a hunting trophy, and he states how 'this autobiography of the now dead animal, as an afterlife becomes inextricably tied to the autobiography of the hunter' indicating the role of human within the equation here.[320]

In addition to this, Erica Fudge's essay "Renaissance Animal Things" (2012) is worthy of mention. In this, she draws on examples such as a pair of gloves made from civet, and she considers the role of animal agency after death as a 'haunting' of sorts.'[321] Her notion of 'haunting' is very interesting, as objects are often discussed in terms of the memories which they possess or enact. In relation to scrimshaw, this notion can reference the haunting of an individual, be it an animal or the hand of the carver leaving their mark. Lastly, a book that is often referenced in the aforementioned works on animal-made objects is Susan Stewart's *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (1992). Its relevance to whaling here is that the idea of scrimshaw as trophy can only begin with

[320] Garry Marvin, "Enlivened through Memory: Hunters and Hunting Trophies,' in *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, Samuel J.M.M. Alberti ed. (London: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 203.
[321] Erica Fudge, "Renaissance Animal Things," *New Formations* 76 (2012): 86–100.

the death of the whale, allowing the 'life' or more precisely the afterlife of an object in this case (the bones, baleen or teeth of the whales) to begin. A number of the scrimshaw authors directly refer to scrimshaw as a 'souvenir'. Flayderman does this by comparing scrimshaw to what 'the ear of the bull is to the matador, or what antlers or tusks are to a big game hunter,'[322] whilst Frank comments how 'the engraved whale's tooth was a memento of the search and the chase, of the stalking of the leviathan – the largest game ever hunted by man.'[323] Defining the term trophy, Stewart states that 'we do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby only exist through the invention of narrative.'[324]

In the examples I discuss in this chapter such a definition is more complicated, as etchings offer a combination of unfamiliar scenes, which one may associate with a souvenir, such as far-off lands and animals, alongside scenes of home life and domesticity on shore. This contrast is firmly established in a busk from Mystic Seaport, where images of both 'home' and 'sea' sit next to each other. Stewart goes on to state how 'the souvenir is by definition always incomplete […]; the souvenir displaces the point of authenticity as it itself becomes the point of origin for narrative. The souvenir reduces the public, the monumental, and the three-dimensional into the miniature, that which can be enveloped, that which can be appropriated within the privatized view of the individual subject.'[325] The question of authenticity that Stewart raises is key, especially if considered alongside the dual

[322] Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders Whales and Whalemen*, 29.
[323] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved*, 29.
[324] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), 135.
[325] Ibid., 136.

definition of surface, which is firstly given as 'the exterior or upper boundary of an object or body', and secondly as an adjective 'appearing to be such on the surface only: superficial.'[326] It is on this superficial quality in scrimshaw that the masculine whaler and the women at home rely on in order to create the 'authentic,' and legitimise an 'authentic' experience in each case.

Cultural and Material History

Before analysing the individual case studies, I first turn to the cultural and material history of scrimshaw in order to establish the context of the works to be discussed. Firstly, the definition and origins of scrimshaw are a long-debated issue. Carson I. A. Ritchie, for example, argues that the most likely purpose of scrimshaw was bartering.[327] Flayderman and Frank, by contrast, give varied interpretations of the use and purpose of scrimshaw: as a gift, point of exchange or utilitarian object.[328] In etymological terms, the exact meaning of the word seems unknown, a point confused further by similar iterations of the word appearing in whaling journals and logbooks, such as scrimshank, scrimshander, scrimshant and scrimshone.[329] Scrimshaw also has earlier precursors, with ivory/bone carving dating back to at least the early medieval period in Europe. It was also a skill practised by indigenous populations in the Arctic Circle, as well as by prisoners of war.[330] The definition I will adopt here, however, is from Frank, who states how scrimshaw relates to

[326] *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "Surface," 2017, accessed Nov 3, 2017, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/surface.
[327] Carson I.A. Ritchie, *Modern Ivory Carving* (Cranbury: Barnes, 1972).
[328] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances*, *Curiously Carved,* Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen*.
[329] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved,* 3. See also William Sayers, "Scrimshaw and Lexicogenesis," *The Mariner's Mirror* 103, (2017): 220–223.
[330] Thomas Kenneth Penniman, "Pictures of Ivory and Other Animal Teeth, Bone and Antler," *Occasional Paper on Technology* 5, Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum, 1952. Paul Williamson, *An*

> the various decorative and practical objects that whalers made to while away their leisure hours at sea, mostly intended as mementoes of the voyage and especially as gifts for loved ones at home […]. [It also] referred to objects made from the hard by-products of the whale hunt: sperm whale teeth, walrus tusk, skeletal bone, and baleen, often in combination with such other found materials as wood, mother of pearl, abalone, tortoise shell, coconut shell, coin silver and other bits of metal.[331]

The scrimshaw collection at Hull offers a good historical overview of this materiality (although it does not contain any pre-historic bone carvings). The earliest example is of bone carving or scrimshaw, from 1665, in the form of a small snuff box inlaid with walrus ivory (Fig. 1). The box features stippling around the lid and reads 'Either love mee or love mee not,' clearly referencing the object's potential function as a love token.[332] Scrimshandering is also a tradition that has continued into modern times, with contemporary how-to guides giving instruction on how to practise the craft, albeit more typically with fake plastic teeth, while examples of design often include objectifying images of scantily clad women.[333] More modern examples of scrimshaw, represented in the Hull collections, include those likely produced aboard twentieth-century factory ships, such as a small cocktail stick holder (c. 1970), where

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Introduction to Medieval Ivory Carvings (London: H.M.S.O., 1982); O. Beigbeder, *Ivory* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965).

[331] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved,* 3.

[332] Ritchie, *Modern Ivory Carving*, 38.

[333] Steve Paszkiewicz, *Scrimshaw: A Complete Illustrated Manual* (East Petersburg: Fox Chapel, 2005), Jim Stevens, *Scrimshaw Techniques: with Gallery of Contemporary Artists* (Atglen: Schiffer, 2008). A variety of video demonstrations on how to create scrimshaw can be found on YouTube.

once the consumer has finished picking food from between their teeth, they could plunge the small implement, like a micro-harpoon, into the back of a diminutive whale (Fig. 2). The holder is clearly meant to be playful, and the reduction of scale again renders the brutality of the act less violent just as it did in Ward's painting, but again the violence remains. The violence against animals is all the more apparent if what is being picked from the consumer's teeth is a piece of meat or fish. A further, more recent example includes a Faroese knife used in pilot whale drives. Targeted for their meat, the spines and arteries of pilot whales are cut on shore, after being driven there by members of the local population, in a hunt known as grindadráp (Fig. 3).[334] The handle of the knife is made from jawbone with a crosspiece of sperm whale tooth, and carved in the shape of a pilot whale, with details of its dorsal fin, eye and mouth. The motif acknowledges the violent use for the tool.

The majority of scrimshaw, however, was created during the nineteenth century aboard whaling ships, typically by men, who made up the majority of the crew. Surplus teeth and bone would be given to men on board the ships, who would then craft and decorate them to their own designs of either functional or decorative objects.

Functional objects made from whalebone could range widely from domino sets and ditty boxes to more practical objects for use on-board vessels, such as fids, used for making holes into sails and tarpaulin, and untangling lines of rigging, and also seam rubbers, used for smoothing certain materials, such as sailcloth and whalers' clothes.[335] There were also a great many items crafted by whalers intended for domestic use by the mothers, siblings, partners, friends and lovers at home,

[334] See *The Islands and the Whale Film*, directed by Mike Day (Intrepid Cinema, 2017), film.
[335] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum*, 165–167.

including busks and pie crimpers, pastry rollers, used to add patterns or to cut the top of pastry, and swifts for winding yarn, made of pinned-together jawbone pieces, which when fully outstretched appear almost skeletal in form.[336]

The feminine form was one of the most popular decorations on the surface of scrimshaw, its popularity clearly perpetuated by the length of voyages. These representations were often idealised or sentimentalised, as the very notion of the real and ideal, the natural and the unnatural, would became increasingly confused during the long voyage. Pollock describes the nineteenth century as a 'regime of representation […] naturaliz[ing] woman as image, beautiful to look at, defined by her look.'[337] The proliferation of fashion magazines aided in this creation of women as image, as they were often taken on board vessels by sailors, as well as other reading/visual material. Flayderman first makes the case for *Godey's Lady's Book*, but as Frank highlights, *Harper's New Monthly* was also a popular choice, as were other magazines published in New York, which included *Graham's, Peterson's* and *Scribner's*.[338] It is interesting to consider how and why these publications would even have been on-board the whaleship, as on-shore it would have been women that would have formed the typical readership. Perhaps whalers had forward thinking and knew they would need some designs for their scrimshaw, or they simply needed to maintain a reminder of women back on shore, as photographs of loved ones may not have been available for low income crew members.

Images from these publications would often be repeated across a number of teeth by different whalers, which creates a certain repeated style in scrimshaw decoration despite having been crafted by different hands and people. This is a trait

[336] West and Credland, *Scrimshaw: The Art of the Whaler,* 69.
[337] Pollock, "Artists, Mythologies and Media: Genius, Madness and Art History," 57–58.
[338] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved,* 30.

commonly associated with folk art, alongside which scrimshaw is often categorised. For example, Karel Šourek states how 'objects should look like other objects but not exactly,' and how '[a] sense of continuity thus appears central to folk art, and the idea of the multiple is key. Their appearance concerns itself less with the unique, aesthetically valued art object as we generally understand it, and more with the part they play in the social system.'[339] Taking this on-board indicates the attempt by whalers to form an image of their wives or loved ones within a set and repeated visual standard, suggesting how they tried to retain/maintain a certain standard image and narrative in relation to women.[340]

Turning to the material history of scrimshaw, like the etchings adorning the objects which are largely anonymous, it is nearly impossible to identify the individual whale from which each tooth or bone was taken.[341] Despite this, it is important to consider the wider animal materiality and origin from which the object was taken. In scrimshandering, after all, the whalers were not just employing pieces of neutral raw material, but the bodies of dead whales: whale jawbones, known as pan-bone, baleen and sperm whale teeth, alongside other marine mammal products including dolphin jaws, walrus tusks and narwhal horns. These are the various surfaces on which the origins of scrimshaw begin. According to Broglio, 'because the world of the animal remains foreign to humans (or, as Thomas Nagael says, we will never know "what it is like to be a bat" from the bat's perspective), we can only know the animal through surfaces.'[342] This is especially true if one considers how

[339] Karel Sourek, *Folk Art in Pictures* (London: Spring Books, 1960), 130–131.
[340] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720–1870*, 140.
[341] In some examples of scrimshaw, the identity of the whale is distinguished by its death, as listed on some teeth is the time and date of death, along with the amount of bone and oil that was subsequently produced from it.
[342] Broglio, *Surface Encounters: Thinking with Animals and Art*, xxx.

most people would have interacted with whales as a surface, be it via a painting, a natural history book or an object.

Sperm whale teeth were a particularly popular raw material for whalers in the long nineteenth century, and each fully grown adult sperm whale would have had, on average, a set of 40–50 large teeth in the bottom jaw, which could reach a length of around 20 cm. Teeth were found in the *Odontoceti* sub-order of whales, with the sperm whale being the most popular whale of this sub-order to be hunted. Some teeth were also present in the upper jaw, but they would often fail to break through. The teeth would have aided the whale in eating its prey, which included giant squid. Its dangerous jaws were also often commented upon by whalers. For example, Beale states how 'the infuriated "sea beast" rolls over and over, and coils an amazing length of line around him; he rears his enormous head, and with wide expanded jaws snaps at everything around.'[343] On being killed, these teeth would be extracted from a sperm whale's jaw, in a process depicted by Francis Allyn Olmstead's "Incidents of a Whaling Voyage from 1841" (1841), which compares the process to 'the practice of dentistry on a grand scale' (Fig. 4). The image shows a string of teeth being pulled off along with the gum, in an act of dismemberment. Here, the body of the animal is fragmented in order to reinvent and domesticate it within a more human-orientated realm.[344]

Human dentistry was also becoming more popular during this period, with the first dental licence given in Britain in 1860. Before this time, as Stanley Gelbier notes, '[e]xtractions were by forceps or commonly keys, rather like a door key.'[345] On board whaleships, as McManus comments: 'malnutrition and scurvy often caused

[343] Thomas Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (London: John van Voorst, 1839), 165.
[344] Francis Allyn Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* (New York: Appleton, 1841), 181–182.
[345] Stanley Gelbier, quoted in Jane Elliott, "When Blacksmiths Were Dentists," *BBC News,* July 17, 2010, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-10552644.

teeth problems, such as a tooth broken at the gumline from biting into hardtack. This tooth extractor with its bone handle would have been screwed onto the tooth, while the sailor held onto the bench he sat upon and endured the countless yanks until the tooth came out. If that wasn't enough, the sailor had to pay for the extraction.'[346] Extractors (Fig. 5) used for such processes were often, or rather ironically made out of bone or ivory, such as this example from the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

The other sub-order of whales is *Mysticeti* to which the *Balaenidae* family belong. The species of this sub-order that were specifically targeted by whalers included North-Atlantic right whales, North-Pacific right whales, southern right whales and bowheads. These whales differ from the sub-species *Odontoceti,* due to the sheets of baleen that hang down from the mouth instead of teeth. Baleen is a keratinous substance, which hangs from the roof of the mouths of whales in strips, and is used to strain out krill from seawater. It was referred to often by whalers, rather confusingly, as whalebone (Fig. 6).[347] Through the whaling industry, baleen was a substance that was employed for a wide variety of utilitarian objects, as suggested by an advert for a Hull-based company, John Bateman and Robert Bowman's Whalebone Manufactory on South Street, which lists '[s]ieves and riddles of every description, nets […], slays for weavers […], trellises or guards […], ornamental blinds […], carriage backs and sides […] stuffing, for chair and sofa bottoms [and] brushes.'[348] Such a list gives just a small indicator as to the multiplicity of objects that baleen was used for. This was largely down to the flexible and malleable properties of the substance, a forerunner to modern plastic. These

[346] McManus, *A Treasury of American Scrimshaw: A Collection of the Useful and the Decorative,* 39.
[347] Hal Whitehead and Luke Rendell, *The Cultural Lives of Whales and Dolphins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 147.
[348] "The Whalebone Manufactory, South Street, Kingston upon Hull," reprinted in Adamson, *The Great Whale to Snare: The Whaling Trade of Hull,* 8.

products would often have been found and used in domestic settings, and this, or more specifically the idea of the domestic, forms the focus of my first sub-section.

Domestic

Norling comments that 'domesticity – in this case, the demand that women be faithful, chaste and also blind to men's transgressions – seems to have trumped the customary indiscretions of maritime men [...]. While maritime wives and sweethearts evidently preferred to let the issues of sexual fidelity lie buried, it apparently troubled many of the men at sea.'[349] Thus, the thought of carving a tooth or recreating a scene that would demonstrate some form of domesticity would have been comforting to the sailor on one level, allowing him to think that his wife was loyal. The portrayal of domesticity on scrimshaw is exemplified by the "Domestic Happiness Tooth" by William A. Gilpin from the New Bedford Whaling Museum (Fig. 7). The tooth features an interior scene of a home, with elaborately decorated walls and carpets. Seated are a man and woman, presumably a couple, whose children play on the floor or read to their observant parents. Outside the window, a ship is visible, a repeated motif that can be similarly found at the top of the tooth. The repetition acts as a reminder of the presence of the male within the scene. Enforcing the theme of the tooth is the text that reads (in capitals) 'DOMESTIC HAPPINESS,' an optimistic message and scene that most likely cover the larger anxieties and paranoia that would have been associated with such long-distance relationships. As Julia C. Bonham states, '[i]n a very important sense our seafaring wives were archetypal Victorian women, letting their lives be rigidly influenced and

[349] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720–1870*, 201.

manipulated by their husbands' needs and desires.' This is something highlighted by the rigid formality of the depicted scene.[350]

The scrimshaw busk is another example I want to draw on here in relation to its domesticity. This object attempted to domesticate both the feminine and the animal form, through its creation and use. As briefly mentioned in the introduction, a busk is a long narrow piece of carved baleen or panbone (jawbone), which acted as the central supporting element in a corset (Fig. 8). The busk was a highly intimate object and inserted in an open slit in the front of the corset as a 'main stay,' with its purpose being to 'firm up' the bodice.[351] Busks have a heritage that dates back to the sixteenth century, and have, throughout their history, been seen as a love token.[352] This was a time, as historian Sarah Ann Bendall comments, when womens' bodies were 'replaced with other bodies – constructed "bodies" of whale bone, horn and busk.'[353] She goes on to comment how busks had traditional associations with expressions of love; 'lovers saw the busk as a love token of affection, usually given by a man to a woman during the act of courting, thus entering into the complex social performance of courtship and marriage.' Clearly, then, as an object, the busk has for a long period in history played a key role in what Bendall calls a 'complex

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[350] Julia C. Bonham, "Feminist and Victorian: The Paradox of the American Seafaring Woman of the Nineteenth Century," *American Neptune* 37, no. 3 (1977): 203–218.

[351] For more information on corsets, see Valerie Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), Leigh Summers, *Bound to Please: A History of the Victorian Corset (Dress, Body, Culture)* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) and Norah Waugh, *Corsets and Crinolines* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1993).

[352] For more information on busks, see Sarah Anne Bendall, "To Write a Distick Upon It: Busks and the Language of Courtship and Sexual Desire in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," *Gender & History* 26, no. 2 (2014): 199–222; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, "Busks, Bodices, Bodies" in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011). For information specifically on nineteenth-century scrimshaw busks, see Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum,* 38–39, 52, and Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders Whales and Whalemen*, 154.

[353] Bendall also emphasises how the term 'corset' is a modern word that came into use during the nineteenth century. Stiffened torso-shaping devices during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were referred to as 'bodies,' 'stays' and even 'bodices' (if incorporated into the dress itself).

social performance,' indicating its functionality in the maintenance and 'performance' of interactions and relationships. Further, Bendall's notion of 'the conjoining of bodies' that the busk enacts, emphasises the clear intimacy of the objects and the bodies, both human and animal, with which they interact.

During the nineteenth century, scrimshaw busks would typically have been made out of the jawbones of whales, which could sometimes extend to around 25 feet on a bowhead whale. After being extracted, these jawbones or baleen plates would have been shaped down to the correct size, which for a busk would typically be around 8 to 14 inches in length and 1 ½ inches in width.[354] The animality of the busk, not simply its materiality, is important to remember here, since, as Fudge notes, 'the danger is that reading animal matter rather than reading living beings might, in short, only reinforce the perspective that relegates animals to the realm of inert objects.'[355] Despite the attempt to domesticate the busk, then, it possesses a distinct bodily context within which the whale, as well as the intended recipient, and the whaler who crafted it, are all implicated. Quotes of the crafting process of busks make this clear. Joseph Bogart Hersey, Third Mate at the whaling schooner *Esquimaux* of Provincetown, Mass. (1843) stated: 'This afternoon we commenced sawing up the large whale's jaws that we captured […]; the bone proved to be pretty good and yielded several canes, fids and busks. I employed a part of my time in engrav[ing] or flowering two busks.'[356] This description of the carving busks as 'flowering', indicates how it was thus highly feminised in its representation and act of creation. These busks were often decorated with geometric patterns or featured

[354] Richard C. Malley, *Graven by The Fishermen Themselves: Scrimshaw in Mystic Seaport Museum* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1983), 85.
[355] Fudge, Erica, "Renaissance Animal Things," *New Formations* 76 (2012): 86–100.
[356] Joseph Bogart Hersey, 3rd Mate, whaling schooner *Esquimaux* of Provincetown, Mass., 1843, in Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum*, 75.

initials, presumably of the woman wearing them or the whaler carving them, or both, such as an ornately coloured example in the Hull collection (Fig. 9), which alongside various decorative elements, includes at the top a three-mast ship with a variety of house flags, and below this a small symmetrical cottage, smoke emitting from the chimney, implicit of a warm homeliness. Further down, a pair of opened curtains reveals a decorative structure on top of which two hearts rest. The Union Jack and St Patrick's saltire are found below and further down there is a lozenge-shaped form with the initials A.R. A black swan is located beneath it; black swans are a species non-native to Britain, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were brought from Europe and placed in menageries. Finally, a small, two-story fortification with a Union Jack flying at the top, analogous perhaps to a watchtower, may indicate a watchful eye over the body of the woman, and is juxtaposed with what appears to be a turkey in a tree at the bottom. As Bendall comments, 'giving an initialled busk to a woman may also have signalled the act of possession, as men could essentially write their initials on the most intimate feminine apparel.'[357] The painful and direct physicality of the busk subordinated the position of women; likewise, through the use of animal materiality it similarly subordinates the animal subject as object.

Scrimshaw busks would often be ornamented with personal motifs and decorations carved onto the surface, the whales aided in a clear process of denaturing the original animal subject and entrenching a sense of ownership. This process is related to a seventeenth-century practice, where the beaks of live swans were carved with an identifying mark in order to assert a sense of human ownership over the

[357] Bendall, "To Write a Distick Upon It: Busks and the Language of Courtship and Sexual Desire in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," 205.

swan in question.[358] In terms of scrimshaw, these carved images were often romantic in sentiment, but also tend to incorporate more violent imagery of the whale hunt. At the top of the busk (Fig. 10), depicted in portrait view, is an elaborate pot with curved handles, containing a bouquet of red roses: a symbolic representation of love and the natural beauty of the woman. At the bottom of the busk, also rendered in portrait, is the stern view of a vessel overlaid with an anchor and rope wrapped around it: a symbol of stability and strength. Below this, an unusual tent-like structure with a crescent moon at its top is found in landscape position, possibly suggestive of some form of fantasy or the shape of the moon, which has links to Islamic and Asian culture. The central and largest etched detail of the busk, however, is that of a sperm whaling scene, which unlike the other examples is noticeably shown in landscape view, where the various aspects of hunting and processing of whales are shown. In the foreground, two whaleboats, each filled with a crew of six, have caught a sperm whale. Its large head is visible out of the water, mouth open in agony and emitting from its blowhole a mixture of blood and innards. To the right of this, a small pod of whales are hoping to escape, but their visibility suggests that they will soon suffer a similar fate as the central whale.

Behind the foregrounded action, two ships under partial sail are at different stages of processing dead whales. The right ship is cutting in to port side, removing the precious blubber from the whale, ready for it to be sliced up and then burnt on the tryworks, a process which is occurring in the left vessel. The tryworks, located amidships, billow out a small cloud of smoke, pungent in both its thickness and dark colouration, which, along with the whole scene, has been made more vivid through

[358] Thanks to Amy Concannon for drawing this to my attention, David Starkey, Simon Thurley and Sarah Monks, *Royal River Power, Pageantry and the River Thames* (London: Scala Publishers, 2012), 188–189.

the addition of ink or a mixture of soot or oil.[359] The scene's vividness in its display of animal violence alongside the more genteel imagery of flowers and other motifs is not uncommon. A similar decorative composition is present in another scrimshaw busk from the collections of the Scott Polar Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 11). Here, there is one detail of further note that is pertinent to mention: in a small detail within the wider central whaling scene, a flag has been placed in the body of a whale, known as a 'waif'. This act was done in order to mark firstly its location, so it could be recovered after the hunt, and also to signal proof of ownership over the kill in case other ships were operating in the same waters. Although small in its depiction, this overt act of ownership displayed on the busk's surface can be translated onto the function of the object itself. Through the placement of the busk on the woman, she, like the whale, has been 'waifed'.[360] The busk acts like the flag, a sign of ownership, making her a bounty which the whaleman has marked out, aiming to return. Bendall comments on this in her readings of busks, when she states that the whaler 'claim[s] her body as his from afar, or a promise that her body would be his without violating her chastity.'[361]

In both busks, the violent scene of whaling is made diminutive and decorative, commodified for the purpose of taste and emotional sentiment. It is endowed with a new context, where along with other busks, would be pressed against the bosom of a woman. The closeness to the breasts at one end and the groin

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[359] These materials as Amy Concannon details, are present in some of Turner's paintings and sketches of whales, see Amy Concannon, *Whalers, Burning, Blubber: Material, Marks and Meaning in Turner's Whalers Sketchbook, Turner and the Whale,* History of Art Research Portal, 2017, accessed Jan 15, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=303.

[360] Linguistically the work 'waif' also sounds similar to the word wife, which furthers this comparison.

[361] Bendall, "To Write a Distick Upon It: Busks and the Language of Courtship and Sexual Desire in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," 206.

at the other is an intimate but constraining physicality, which would both remind wives and girlfriends of the touch of the whaler, but also act to keep those same womens' bodies tightly constrained whilst the sailors were away. Carved messages often appear on scrimshaw busks, inferring connections, such as an example from the Hull collection which states: 'When this you see remember one & keep me in your mind & when that I am far away speak of me as you find' (Fig. 12). The rest of the busk's decorative scheme is also interesting. At the top, the message is carved with a delicate rose above it in full bloom, its lightly red colour evoking the flower's associations with sacrifice and immortal love but also whale blood. A dogtooth border encases both words and image. Below this, an angel rests on a cloud, and further down is a palm tree adorned with seven coconuts. A barque in full sail follows next and, at the bottom, is a feminine figure in a patterned dress standing, one hand on hip while the other arm is resting on the anchor with the hand pressed against her face as if in reflection or contemplation. This woman is noticeably the largest etched element, and through her size and positioning at the bottom of the other images, makes those above her head appear to be some form of dream, in which she considers the sea-bound vessel of her lover/husband and the exotic places that he may visit, all watched over by an angel. Further, the anchor she leans on does not just symbolise nautical ties, but is symbolic also of both hope and steadfastness.

The interesting aspects of this busk continue on its reverse (Fig. 13). Here, a rather crude image of a sperm whale hunt is in full action. The sperm whale, identifiably in its death throws, has a large stream of blood pouring from its blowhole, an over-enlarged eye and razor-sharp teeth creating an almost comedic interpretation of the animal. The whale spills a series of whalers from a whaleboat into the ocean; limbs outstretched, they tumble into the sea at the sudden motion of

the whale. Yet, the whale's struggles are in vain because further whaleboats are shown in close pursuit, with the harpooners holding their weapons high ready to make the final blow. Once again, here is an example of the incorporation of violent imagery alongside that of a more sentimental nature. The frequency of this repetition is no coincidence, and it emphasises the heroism of man against whale, rather than what we now see as a cruel act of violence.

Consider how these scenes of whaling assert a clear sense of manliness in the participants, like a David vs Goliath altercation. This notion of 'manliness' is demonstrable through the ability to tame and kill other creatures: a sense which is often noted to be heightened by eating the animal killed.[362] Here, in the creation of scrimshaw, the carving, polishing and etching of the whale's bones can replace the act of eating, as it is a process, which indelibly shapes and marks the whale's bones as trophy. This is a process in which scrimshadering is redefined from a leisurely past-time to quench the boredom of the whaler, to a coded art which shapes physical man's ability to kill and tame nature. The whaler's ability to do so can be extenuated when his work takes the form of a busk, as the man aided in the creation of an object, whose main function was to control and tame the human form. Thus, in the creation of the busk, the whaler was dually participating in subduing the wild in both whale and woman, maintaining the latter as a wistful character like the feminine figure seen on the reverse side of the previously described busk, leaning against the anchor and waiting patiently for her lover/partner to return.

The long nineteenth century was an era of hunting and manliness, especially of unfamiliar and exotic prey, which would emphasise further the adaptability of

[362] Lynda Birke, *Feminism, Animals and Science, The Naming of the Shrew* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994), 21.

man. This idea can be furthered when considering the shape of the busk, which is a form charged with masculine eroticism, its phallic shape, and hard and stiff materiality also attaining notable ambiguities through its insertion into a woman's clothing appendage: the corset. These notions are then transferred to the body through its interaction with the corset, which aimed to keep the figure erect.[363] Such ideas can be encapsulated by John Donne's poem "On his Mistress Going to Bed," where he laments how his 'yard' will never be able to remain as close or as hard to his mistress's body as the busk does, and this must have been a constant source of, frustration and excitement for the sailors when they were away at sea.[364]

The pacification of the women to a domestic and beautiful cliché is also interesting to consider as this was a time, especially in America, when the men were away for so long that women would sometimes take on more duties often managing domestic life and intellectual, financial and community life as well. Husbands at sea were not always be happy with such arrangements, and would often appoint a guardian to oversee their wives and families whilst away. Such liberties, and the very absence of the male from the household, would confuse the role of the authority figure within the house. Therefore, the busks featuring images of women, and the crafting of such an object would have been a satisfying reminder of an assumed 'normality.'

Whalebone and baleen were not just used to make busks, but were also found in other fashion items such as bonnets and crinolines. More widely, animal bodies and skins were incorporated into various dress items, such as fur coats and linings, leather shoes and bags, and feather hats. Scrimshaw and whalebone busks, however,

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[363] Norah Waugh, *Corsets and Crinolines* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1987), 77.
[364] John Donne, "On his Mistress Going to Bed," 1669, accessed Nov 3, 2017, http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/180683.

have yet to be fully engaged within these dialogues in a critical manner. Michelle Tolini links the rise in the use of animal materials, often in a highly direct and exuberant way, to the industrial revolution, causing women to desire a sense of authenticity and a return to nature.[365] This even stretched to the preparation of their own specimens and, on either side of the Atlantic, women's journals of the day encouraged them to skin and mount their own creations. With Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* likely to have been known by at least middle-class women, as it was a recommended read in *Godey's Lady Book*, they would have been more aware of the internal workings of animals, which suggests that they not only did the wearing, but also actively engaged with the topic.[366]

An example of such fashion can be found in this particularly macabre example of humming bird earrings, held at the V&A. The heads of two humming birds are delicately mounted on gold with the back of the earring stamped with the maker's mark for Harry Emanuel and Patent No. 1779. This ties in with a fashion for mounting small bird heads in jewellery in the 1860s and 1870s. The heads would dangle from the ear, and the coloured feathers of the animal would react to the light that would fall on them. The original beaks of the birds were removed and replaced with gold replicas, like the previously mentioned practice of carving the beaks of live swans with identifying marks (Fig. 14).

In paintings from the nineteenth century, women are also often adorned in rich furs and feathers. Holman Hunt's "The Birthday" (1868) is an example (Fig. 15). The central figure, Hunt's sister-in-law Edith Waugh, gazes solemnly out of the

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[365] Michelle Tolini, "Bettle Abominations and Birds on Bonnets: Zoological Fantasy in Late Nineteenth-Century Dress," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide, A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (2002): 1, accessed Jan 15, 2018, http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring02/85-spring02/spring02article/206-qbeetle-abominationsq-and-birds-on-bonnets-zoological-fantasy-in-late-nineteenth-century-dress.
[366] Ibid.

frame of the image. In her hands, she holds various gifts: a fan, some beads, a couple of flowers and a watch, but what is of interest here is that she also wears an elaborate peacock feather shawl, which covers half of her body, the colours glistening as they are illuminated from an exterior light source. The shawl then appears to be lined with a fur rim, creating an item of clothing that combines two animal materials, and acts as an indicator of wider womens fashion, albeit of the higher classes, at the time. Tolini writes how 'in these creations, where spectacle and surface displaced form, ornithological and entomological specimens were transformed from animal beings into pure ornament.'[367] This 'transformation' is similar in the case of scrimshaw, with the transformation and reduction of animal to object, imbued and transferred to a vessel of human thoughts and emotions, a notion which Michael Carter builds on, commenting how the use of nature in fashion created an 'order of theatricality, seduction and enchanted spectacle.'[368] This wider context shows that it was not unheard of or unreasonable for women to adorn their bodies with birds, beetles and animals. Thus, the materiality of a whalebone busk would not have been unusual in this respect. More broadly, indeed, the wearing of such aided in creating an experience with nature that was a construct, and one which shifted 'real' nature into the ornamental. This desire for the natural 'real' during the period, in relation to women's fashions, displaces Carol Adams' notion of the 'absent referent,' a term which for Adams represents the literal being which disappears in the eating of dead bodies, through either literal or metaphorical terms. This is not true in these cases, as the women are literally wearing animal bodies without disguising the fact that they are, and the visibility of the animal is made clear and often exaggerated.

[367] Ibid.
[368] Michael Carter, *Putting a Face on Things* (Sydney: Power Publications, 1997), 136.

Not everyone, however was a fan of animal fashions and there was certain outrage from animal campaigners and other individuals against such displays and uses of animals. For example, the artist George Frederic Watts' painting "A Dedication," was a public denouncement of the fashion of using birds and feathers in hats and clothing, it shows an angelic figure weeping over the dead body of a bird laid out on an altar (Fig. 16).[369] In addition, groups including the Humanitarian League created a leaflet entitled "How We Get Our Sealskin." There was also the Croydon-based Fur, Fin and Feather Folk, whose members each took a pledge 'to refrain from wearing the feathers of any birds killed for the purpose of food; the ostrich only excepted.'[370] It did encompass fur and skins in its wider agenda, and had over 5,000 members in its first month. The protest against such outward displays of animal objects was less prominent in relation to the wearing of whalebone as a material in terms of scrimshaw busk, and I have so far not come across any examples. This indicates that there was less ethical concern associated with the use of whales; yet, there is one image that suggests some questioning of the ethical use of whalebone in women's corsetry. This comes from an article in *Drapers Magazine* from March 14, 1891 (Fig. 17). The advert for the company Herts, Son & Co., London, features the image of a whale with the text 'No More Bone Required' written across its body, and the text above the form of the whale reading, 'Important to all who wear dresses.' Although the initial statement may seem to be in support of stopping the use of whales, it turns out that it is just for the sake of price, rather than

[369] Watts was an active member of the RSPB and allowed the group to use reproductions of his paintings in a number of their publications. J. Keri Cronin, *Art for Animals: Visual Culture and Animal Advocacy, 1870–1914,* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 67, 100.
[370] The Fur, Fin and Feather Folk were one of the for runners of The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), RSPB, "Our History," *About the RSPB,* 2019, accessed Aug 3, 2019, https://www.rspb.org.uk/about-the-rspb/about-us/our-history/

whale welfare, as the text goes on to read, 'The always increasing price of whalebone makes its use practically prohibitive.'

Thus, in the scrimshaw busk, bone or baleen was transformed from the internal skeletal support of a whale, to a new role aiding in the encasement of a woman as an exoskeletal armour, a process in which both whale, through the use of its raw materials, and woman, under the notion of fashion, have undergone a process of commodification and transformation. Ultimately, however, through its materiality and physicality, the whale, and not the whaler, will remain most intimate to the wearer as, despite the opening poem relating how the whaler 'took [the busk] from a Sperm Whale's jaw', it is ironically the 'bone' of the whale and not that of the man who 'must now support thy breast.'[371]

Exotic

Distanced from their 'domestic happiness,' whalers often interacted with foreign (to them) lands and new communities. These 'exotic' places and people often fascinated the whalers and became the subject of a number of pieces of scrimshaw. Norling gives an example of how whalers would often engage with island women, leaving one Captain Samuel to deal with several cases of 'Ladys fever' among his crew.[372] The women in particular that were encountered, were of great interest to the whalers, as well as artists and writers who visited the islands. As Rod Edmond contends, the use of the Polynesian woman as a cultural archive has a long history in western representations of the Pacific.[373]

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[371] Anonymous (nineteenth century), in Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler*, 114.
[372] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720–1870*, 140, 201.
[373] Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific, Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 253.

In scrimshaw, 'exotic' bodies especially became the subject matter for carvings. In the Hull Maritime Museum, a pair of teeth offer an example of this (Fig. 18). One of the teeth shows an armed tattooed warrior on one side, with the inscription 'Marquesas Man' and on the other side is an image captioned 'Indians Devouring their enemies,' where islanders are depicted sat round a camp fire, with three bound captives and another islander about to strike them with a club. The other tooth shows the calmer scene of a Marquesas woman in her village, wearing traditional dress, and a sea view of what is most likely the Marquesas Islands on the reverse. For context, the Marquesas Islands were often encountered on South Sea whaling voyages, where a whaling station was located. The Islands would have offered a contrast to what the whalers were used to both on-board and back home. Before the invention of photography, the carved images on scrimshaw would have offered a pictorial record of 'foreign' shores and their inhabitants, which would have entertained families back home, especially in an era of colonialism and exploration. Such encounters were never positive for the locals of the Islands, as unfamiliar diseases including syphilis were spread to them by the likes of missionaries and whalers, causing great population loss. Their cultural identity was also often put into crisis or forcibly removed through such encounters.

Representations of the South Pacific created during the nineteenth century, did as Michael Jacobs comments: 'reinforce stereotypical images of the exotic.' [374] This ties in with notions proposed by Edward Said in *Orientialism* (1978), which considers the cultural output of western countries as the largely mediated representation of oriental people and environments for their own political means.[375]

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[374] Michael Jacobs, *The Painted Voyage, Art, Travel and Exploration 1564–1875* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 12.
[375] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Another text, which more specifically relates to the South Pacific, is Bernard Smith's *Imagining the Pacific* (1992). In this, he examines the 'image' to 'imagination' process in the context of Cook's voyages. Smith comments how 'if we are to understand the Pacific World we must also accept the reality of the objects out of which the concept of the Pacific was constructed.' He does this through considering the idea of imagination as 'consisting of two primary components. First there is imaging, in which a person constructs an image in the presence of an object from which the image is fashioned, and then there is imagining, in which a person constructs an image while not in direct sensory contact with the object or objects from which the imagery of the imagining is constructed.'[376] This emphasises the clear intervention at play in such representations, something to be similarly aware of when examining scrimshaw.

It was not only whalers who were inspired artistically by the islands of the South Pacific. The various land masses were also categorised and studied by a great many western artists and, as Rod Edmond comments, it was a space that despite knowing a great deal about 'by the mid-nineteenth century […] remained remote and inaccessible, an inviting space for writers of fiction to fill and exploit.'[377] Discussion of representations of the South Pacific Islands often start with the eighteenth-century artworks created by the artists who accompanied the three Cook Voyages: the first voyage (1768–1771), where Joseph Banks, the scientist, was accompanied by botanical draughtsman Sydney Parkinson; the second voyage (1772–1775), where the artist William Hodges was on-board; and the third voyage (1776–1779), where

[376] Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific in the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), ix.
[377] Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific, Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin*, 18. It should be noted that it is often easy when talking about the South Pacific islands to homogenise them and their culture. There is, however, a great difference between the separate cultures of each island and, where possible, I will identify the specific island I reference.

artist John Webber was in control of the artistic output of the expedition.[378] The work created in each case altered the style and focus of depiction, and the level of 'imagining' that occurred.

Another cultural reference that is often cited in representing the South Pacific is Melville's *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* (1846). This is a novel partly based on his one-month experience on Nuku Hiva, the largest island of the Marquesas Islands after fleeing a whaling voyage. It offers a mix of fiction and non-fiction, and was heavily inspired by the various contemporary accounts from Pacific explorers that existed at the time, meaning the representation of Nuku Hiva slips between the boundaries of reality.[379] One of the last names often cited in representing the South Pacific is artist Paul Gauguin. He spent a number of months on both the Marquesas Islands and nearby Tahiti at different points in his later life. He created a great many paintings as a result, especially of the women he met or even married, three of whom were 13, 14 and 14 years old respectively. In addition, he also wrote a travel narrative *Noa Noa* (1848–1903) about his experiences in Tahiti. Abigail Solomon Godeau situates him and this work within a broad nineteenth-century orientalist tradition, and has used Gauguin's own myth of primitivism to produce a discourse she names 'Gauguinism.'[380] This for her, accounts for the still mythical images he had created that were meant or often interpreted as being more primitive and 'realistic' in depiction.

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[378] For more on these artists see Geoff Quilley, John Bonehill, *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration,* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2004), D. J. Carr, *Sydney Parkinson: Artist of Cook's "Endeavour" Voyage,* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1984), Laurence Simmons, *Tuhituhi: William Hodges, Cook's Painter in the South Pacific,* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011)

[379] Herman Melville, *Typee* (London: John Murray, 1846; Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1994).

[380] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native Paul Gauuin and the Invention of Primitivist Modernism," in Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, eds. *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism And Art History*, (Westview Press: New York, 1993), pp. 315-329.

Typically then, the western artistic narrative of the South Pacific is told via the early voyages of Captain Cook in the late eighteenth century and ends with Gauguin in the early twentieth century, filling the gaps in between with various missionary and fictional works. This has meant, however, that scrimshaw (which often features imagery from the South Pacific), despite being created in the very seas that are typically discussed, is largely overlooked as a form of representation and is absent from three of the most comprehensive texts on Western Pacific representations.[381]

Yet, scrimshaw adds a different form of expression and encounter than those showing a western woman's body, representing the clear exoticism that many of the whalers found irresistible. A pair of teeth, like those discussed above are located in the collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum (Fig. 19a-b). Labelled the Wahinee teeth, both feature on one side bare-breasted women wearing simple straw skirts, surrounded by lush landscapes of palm trees and mountains, with small buildings behind them. Frank comments about how they recall the recurrent myth of the enchanted island, with the whaling era ballad "The Lass of Mohee" expressing the romantic ideal that the Hawaiian Islands symbolised for many sailors. Turning these teeth over, one finds two fully dressed western women located within a domestic setting.[382] They are shown in a private space, as reinforced by a decorative border that encloses each woman, with a potted plant at the top of each tooth. The presence of these two images on the reverse of one another creates a clear dichotomy between the lifestyles of the two women. The contrast of these bodies also recalls Peter Brookes' comments on the representations of women created by Gauguin. He

[381] For examples of this, see Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific, Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin*, Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific in the Wake of the Cook Voyages* and Michael Jacobs, *The Painted Voyage, Art, Travel and Exploration 1564–1875*.
[382] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved*, 36.

states how their representation 'reaches back beyond the simpler forms of colonial domination, to participate […] in the earlier debate – that of Bougainville and Cook – about how the sexual body in Tahiti problematises standard European versions of the body.'[383] This is something that is played out physically here, with the representation of the two bodies on the same tooth but on different sides, not forgetting the body of the whale which holds the very depictions together.

The process of crafting such teeth, an image is inserted onto the surface and then dyed with ink; a technique that can find parallels with the practice of tattooing, a physical mark made to record a memory. During the nineteenth century, tattooing became more popular and was not simply the reserve of criminals and sailors. According to Matt Lodder, '[t]he first tattoo artist opened up a space in a Turkish bath in the late 1880s in Jermyn Street, London, then the height of the fashionable West End,'[384] suggesting that in Britain at least, it was not only engaged in by the lower classes. What is of further interest here, however, is its association with exoticism. For example, in *Typee,* a reference can be found to the process of tattooing. The protagonist, Tommo, encounters some local islanders on Tahiti and describes them as possessing 'bare legs, embellished with spiral tattooing, and somewhat resembling two miniature Trajan's columns.'[385] Tommo resists getting a tattoo himself for fear of becoming a convert and not finding his way home. As Edmond argues, in the case of Tommo the rejection '[t]o be tattooed is not to become Marquesan but to cease to be western. Or, at least, it is to become confined to those marginal groups, with little stake in their society, for whom tattooing in

[383] Peter Brookes, quoted in Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific, Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin*, 255.
[384] Matt Lodder, quoted in Michael Segalov, "A Brief History of the British Tattoo," *Huck,* Mar 20, 2017, accessed Mar 11, 2018, https://www.huckmag.com/art-and-culture/brief-history-british-tattoo/.
[385] Herman Melville, *Typee* (London: John Murray, 1846; Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1994).

western cultures has provided an alternative social matrix.'[386] This suggests, in effect, a rejection of otherness and difference, which can once again account for the need also to depict a western woman on the same tooth as the Tahitian woman on the aforementioned scrimshaw.

This fear and rejection of tattooing within the region can be further developed as 'the customary practice which most obsessed the missionaries, and which became the most important site of conflict with the Tahitians.' A concentrated effort was made by missionaries to prohibit the practice. The legal code established on Huanhine in 1823, which was to serve as a model for many other South Pacific stations, stated: 'No person shall mark with tatau, it shall be entirely discontinued. It belongs to ancient evil customs. The man or woman that shall mark with tatau […] shall be tried and punished.'[387] Clearly, this is, on one level, a desire for cultural cleansing on the part of the missionaries, but also suggests the fear they had of other cultures and their attempt to control and suppress the idea of the exotic. An anxiety caused further by the fact that in the culture of the South Pacific Islands, 'the tattooing of young Marquesan girls was associated with their entry into active heterosexual relations and was performed on anatomical parts of sexual importance, including the lips.'[388] This created a further sexual association with the act of tattooing in the Pacific Islands.

There are many comparisons made between scrimshaw and tattooing. For example, in the introduction of *Written on the Body, The Tattoo in European and American History* (2000), Jane Caplan writes how '[t]he case of scrimshaw is also instructive. There are striking parallels and ironies in the comparison with tattoos

[386] Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific, Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin*.
[387] In Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin,* 26
[388] Ibid., 91.

here. Scrimshaw employed a technique of pricking and inking (sometimes using illustrations cut from books or magazines as patterns), that was very close to tattooing.'[389] Thinking about such a comparison draws attention to the similarities and uses of the body as a source of message writing. There are obviously some differences, as tattoos are done directly on one's own body, typically of one's choosing whilst someone is still alive, but there are some similarities. In chapter nine of the same volume, James Bradley comments how 'more often than not, tattooing took place within the framework of a transaction of goods and services that involved the tattooed and the tattooer.'[390] Much like tattooing, scrimshaw was part of a transaction of goods, with the message engraved in the surface altering or constructing a relationship between different people, or more accurately bodies that were involved in the transaction. There is even one example, currently in the Mystic Seaport collection, in which a tattoo needle has been made directly out of whalebone, with an ivory shaft and steel needle head. The shaft is decorated with circular rings and topped by a decorative dice, which was also often a popular motif in sailor tattoos. As McManus states, '[t]attoos soon became a rite of entry into manhood or an emblem of accomplishment. A full-rigged ship decorating a sailor's arm in the nineteenth century signified that he had sailed around the fearsome Cape Horn at the bottom of South America.'[391] The permanence of the mark in each of these cases suggests an indelibility of subject and intent, transfixing an image often of desire or memory.

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[389] Jane Caplan, ed., *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), xxxi.
[390] James Bradley, "Body Commodification? Class and Tattoos in Victorian Britain," in Caplan, *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History,* 136.
[391] McManus, *A Treasury of American Scrimshaw, A Collection of the Useful and the Decorative*.

Queer Anxiety

The last theme on which I focus, and which offers a culmination of the previous sections, is queer anxiety. I here use 'queer' not as a negative term, but as a state of confusion that complicated the heteronormative domesticity to which whalers, through their scrimshaw, were seemingly attempting to conform. In so doing I build instead on cultural theorist Jennifer Terry's statement that '[a]nimals help us tell stories about ourselves, especially when it comes to matters of sexuality.'[392] The idea of queer anxiety also builds on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's idea of male homosexual panic, which she explores in her chapter "The Beast in the Closet," on how the heterosexual male must be wary of the 'threat' of homosexuality by negotiating 'the treacherous middle stretch of the modern homosocial continuum.'[393] One aspect I concentrate on in this section is the physicality of the process of creating scrimshaw. As we have seen, Edwards recently suggested a parallel between the creation of scrimshaw and the "A Squeeze of Hand" chapter in *Moby Dick*. I quote a small section from the book here, where Ishmael describes how he felt after putting his hand in sperm whale oil:

> free from all ill-will, or petulance, or malice, of any sort whatsoever; and he hoped to 'Squeeze! squeeze! squeeze! all the morning long', and to squeeze the sperm until he 'almost melted into it', a 'strange sort of insanity' coming over him, as he also

[392] Jennifer Terry, "'Unnatural Acts' in Nature: The Scientific Fascination with Queer Animals," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000): 151–193.
[393] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet,* 1990; (London: University of California Press, 2008), 188.

> found himself 'unwittingly squeezing' his 'co-laborers' hands in it, mistaking their hands for the gentle globules. […] Oh! my dear fellow beings, why should we longer cherish any social acerbities, or know the slightest ill-humor or envy! Come; let us squeeze hands all round; nay, let us all squeeze ourselves into each other; let us squeeze ourselves universally into the very milk and sperm of kindness.[394]

The overt homoerotic overtones of the passage are heightened by the physicality of the description, especially with the focus on the role of the hand. With scrimshaw also being a product of extreme tactility – both in its crafting and also in its finished state – it too can be linked to similar homoerotic associations, and I will build on Edwards' initial work here.

Firstly, touch. William Gilkerson comments on the role of touch in relation to scrimshaw, stating in rather erotic terms that '[scrimshaw] asks to be held in the hand and turned and fondled as it is examined. That is a great part of the charm of the art form – to touch.'[395] A number of books have been published on the general topic of touch. For example, Constance Classen in the *The Book of Touch* (2005) mentions how 'I am struck by how integral tactile actions and symbols are to social life. Touch is not just a private act. It is a fundamental medium for the expression, experience and contestation of social values and hierarchies. The culture of touch involves all of culture.'[396] Ruth Finnigan similarly comments on how 'touch is also

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[394] Melville, *Moby Dick,* 393.
[395] William Gilkerson, *The Scrimshader: The Nautical Ivory Worker & His Art of Scrimshaw Historical and Contemporary* (San Francisco: Troubador Press, 1978).
[396] Constance Classen, *The Book of Touch* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2005), 1.

used to ratify contracts or relationships.' [397] Here, Finnigan's comment on the ratifying role of touch is interesting, suggesting that both the object and the physicality of touch are needed in order to solidify how the object becomes a stand-in for the other person in the 'relationship or contract.' This shows the importance of its physicality in maintaining/sustaining relationships, as well as of the act of touching itself.[398]

The tooth I want to focus on here is decorated on two sides, so needs to be turned in the hand in order to observe fully its complete decorative scheme (Fig. 20). One side of the tooth features a whaling scene, showing a fully rigged barque etched on the left of the tooth. A number of men in whaleboats in the right foreground aim to attack a pod of sperm whales, visible in various stages of distress. The sea is suggested by a series of small indents probably made by a jack-knife. The now familiar appearance of whaling scenes on whale teeth is, as McManus comments, 'both suitable and ironic.'[399] When the tooth is turned over, it reveals another carved image on the reverse. Here, we find a faint depiction of a woman, with her features just visible on the surface of the tooth, her curled hair falling about her face, and clothed in fashionable dress. In addition to the optical dynamics of this tooth, which reflect the dichotomy of the on-shore/ship-bound life of the whaler, the tactility of the tooth is also important. It would be a stimulus in the whaler's hands as he crafted the object, and also later, as he was able to turn the tooth in his hand, feel its weight and the lines engraved upon it, reminding himself both of the reason for being on-

[397] Ruth Finnigan, "Tactile Communications," in *The Book of Touch*, ed. Constance Classen (New York: Bloomsbury, 2005), 21.
[398] There is some speculation over the use of 'he's-at-homes' by whaling wives, whilst their husbands were away. For more information, see Ben Shattuck, "There Once Was a Dildo in Nantucket. On the Wives of Whalers and Their Dildos, aka 'He's-At-Homes,'" *Literary Hub,* Oct 16, 2015, accessed Jan 15, 2018, http://lithub.com/there-once-was-a-dildo-in-nantucket/.
[399] McManus, *A Treasury of American Scrimshaw*, 11.

board and also the reason to get home. Such tactility is mostly lost through the museum experience, where glass cabinets prevent any form of physical interaction beyond looking.[400] In this example, the image of the woman is fainter than that of the whaling scene, suggesting perhaps that the portrait had been frequently touched or rubbed, as if, in some small degree, the whaler was trying to replicate an intimacy with the woman depicted, whilst also being reminded, through the weight and feel of the whalebone, of the very animal that was responsible for the separation in the first place. The length of separation was often very long. For example, in Melville's *Moby Dick*, Captain Ahab tells his first mate, Starbuck, that of the past forty years of 'making war on the horrors of the deep' he had only been ashore three, leaving only 'one dent in [his] marriage pillow.' '"[W]ife?" Ahab rages, "wife? – rather a widow with her husband alive!"'[401] Whilst acknowledging the somewhat temperamental character of Ahab, it does give some indication as to the nature of separation between partners. It should also be noted that the representation of women on the majority of teeth are fully dressed, indicative of the lack of nude imagery of women during the period. As McManus comments, 'many strict Christian captains would be dismayed by such licentious objects and have them thrown over-board. Scrimshanders often did this themselves before arriving at the home port, rather than offend their womenfolk. The carvers did produce women figures, but they were

[400] There are however some recent technological advances that allow for more tactility, albeit in a virtual way. For the recent web resource *Turner and the Whale,* a 3-D piece virtual piece of scrimshaw was created from an original piece from the Hull Maritime Museum, "A Squeeze of the Hand, A Twist of the Wrist? Handling Scrimshaw at one Remove," *Turner and the Whale,* History of Art Research Portal, 2017, accessed Jan 15, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhale3d.jsp

[401] Melville, *Moby Dick,* 503.

usually clothed. Acceptable nudity was granted in the depiction of mermaids that were considered less offensive because they were objects of fantasy.'[402]

It is also interesting to emphasise how in a number of cultures whalers would encounter on the voyages, the idea of homosexuality was treated differently. For example, Edmond comments on 'the Tahitians' normative attitude to homosexuality.'[403] Melville also gives mention of it in *Typee*, in which he states how 'there is a vast deal of unintentional humbuggery in some of the accounts we have from scientific men.'[404] Later, Tommo the protagonist observes how 'I have seen boys in the Typee Valley of whose "beautiful faces" and "promising animation of countenance" no one who has not beheld them can form any adequate idea.'[405] It was also something, however, that not all those who encountered it found manageable to negotiate, such as the artist Gauguin who used it as a sign of corruption in his work *Noa Noa*.

An example similar to the tooth described above, is a small knitting sheath from the New Bedford Whaling Museum (Fig. 21).[406] Here, a small family scene is carved in relief all around. A well-dressed male stands on the left complete with top hat, and a woman with three children stands on the right. The scene is separated by a large central heart on a stand that extends to the base, with the whole composition surrounded by a stippled spot effect border. The male figure here has colour loss on his outer clothing, perhaps as a result of age or, similar to the aforementioned decorated sperm whale tooth, as a result of being physically touched in order to

[402] McManus, *A Treasury of American Scrimshaw, A Collection of the Useful and the Decorative*, 127.
[403] Rod Edmonds, *Representing the South Pacific, Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin,* 252.
[404] Herman Melville, *Typee,* 170.
[405] Ibid., 183–184.
[406] New Bedford Whaling Museum, "2001.100.1101," *Permanent Collection,* accessed Nov 3, 2017, https://collections.whalingmuseum.org/RediscoveryProficioPublicSearch/ShowItem.aspx?2388.

create some form of relation with a lover/husband at sea. Like the busk, it is also small and concealable, able to be slipped into a pocket or purse or even hung round the neck. This indicates a more concealed tactility and a commodification of form that is much more personal. In both these examples, there is clear prescriptive attention given to the normative gender stereotypes; yet, the objects, especially the teeth through their phallic shape, suggest queerness activated more by touch. The attention to domesticity here, as well as in the other examples, emphasises a wish for conformity, perhaps to legitimise and suppress other feelings, something that may also account for the lack of erotic scrimshaw previously noted.

When considering touch, one cannot ignore the role of the crafting process. The idea of scrimshaw as a way of filling idle hours would certainly have been appealing to a lot of the whaling captains, especially as it was a seemingly innocent past-time. Richard Sennent suggests 'learning to work well enables people to govern themselves and so become good citizens.'[407] His view can be related to Immanuel Kant's view that 'the hand is the window on the mind.'[408] Such power in the role of craft and its transformative and moral qualities would certainly have been appealing to the captain of the ship, even if in some examples he would be apprehensive of the potential consequences of men getting too distracted by it all or using it to conceal or suppress other desires. In his key principles of craft, R.G. Collingwood lays out what he considers to be 'the chief characteristics of craft.' He states how '[t]here is a distinction between raw material and finished product or artefact. A craft is always exercised upon something, and aims at the transformation of this into something different. That upon which it works begins as raw material and ends as finished

[407] Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman* (London: Penguin Group, 2009), 268.
[408] Immanuel Kant, in Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman* (London: Penguin Group, 2009), 149.

product. The raw material is found ready made before the special work of the craft begins.' Collingwood further states, in his fifth rule, how 'there is a distinction between form and matter. The matter is what is identical in the raw material and the finished product; the form is what is different, what the exercise of the craft changes. To describe the raw material as raw is not to imply that it is formless, but only that it has not yet the form which it is to acquire through "transformation" into finished product.'[409] Collingwood's parameters, although not explicitly mentioning the idea of animal materiality, fit well within the framework of scrimshaw's creation, as the original matter of the whalebone or baleen is transformed through crafting, etching and scratching of the tools of the whaler into something else.

This was also a key component in relation to the notion of folk art. For example, the recent exhibition catalogue for Tate Britain's *Folk Art*, states that 'many of these works represent a kind of condensation: a thing boiled down to its essence. The sense of time, the sheer labour involved, along with the at times intimate, miniaturised scale, suggest an interior (or internalised) work.'[410] This internalised work suggests a personal and private act of creation.

First-hand descriptions of scrimshandering, especially in regards to Hull and British whaleships are scarce, and it is therefore largely the products themselves that speak of the crafting process, with the slipped line on the surface of a tooth indicating a strong wave or a sudden movement on-board the ship. A woman's face has a distinct cut line across it in this example (Fig. 22), a mistake perhaps brought about by an unexpected seaborne motion. A written example of scrimshandering

[409] R.G. Collingwood, "Art and Craft," in *The Craft Reader*, ed. Glenn Adamson (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 421.
[410] Martin Myrone, *British Folk Art* (London: Tate Publishing, 2014), 13. "British Folk Art, June 10 – Aug 31, 2014," *Tate Britain Exhibition*, Tate, 2014, accessed Jan 15, 2018, http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/british-folk-art.

from American vessels is taken from the logbook of *Gurton Hall* in 1844, where it states: 'Got up a couple of Sperm Teeth, scraped them off smooth ready to polish. Have some idea of scratching a little something on them to make them look as curious as possible.'[411] Although brief, it gives an indication as to the surface changes that were made to the whalebone object through the process of crafting, while the words 'scraped,' 'scratching' and 'polish' create a certain physical link to the object and an indication of the alterations that are taking place. The most often-quoted description of the crafting of scrimshaw, however, can be found in *Moby-Dick,* chapter LVII entitled "Of Whales in Paint; in Teeth; In Wood; In Sheet-Iron; In Stone; In Mountains; In Stars:"

> Throughout the Pacific, and also in Nantucket, and New Bedford, and Sag Harbour, you will come across lively sketches of whales and whaling-scenes, graven by the fishermen themselves on Sperm Whale-teeth, or ladies' busks wrought out of the Right Whale-bone, and other like skrimshander articles, as the whalemen call the numerous little ingenious contrivances they elaborately carved out of the rough material, in their hours of ocean leisure. Some of them have little boxes of dentistical-looking implements, specially intended for the skrimshandering business. But, in general, they toil with their jack-knives alone; and, with that almost omnipotent tool of the sailor, they will turn you out anything you please, in the way of a mariner's fancy […] As with the Hawaiian savage, so with the white sailor-savage. With the same marvellous patience, and with the same

[411] Gurton Hall Journal, 1844, in Ritchie, *Modern Ivory Carving,* 9.

> single shark's tooth, of his one poor jack-knife, he will carve you a bit of bone sculpture, not quite as work-manlike, but as close packed in its maziness of design, as the Green savage, Achilles's shield and full of barbaric spirit and suggestiveness, as the print of that fine old Dutch savage, Albert Durer.[412]

The description of the crafting of scrimshaw as 'graven' is interesting as it is a term that means 'carved,' 'sculptured' but also 'deeply impressed,' 'firmly fixed,' and it is this fixing that implies the deep-rooted new meaning that has been impressed onto the surface of the scrimshawed items transforming the 'rough material' into 'elaborately carved […] ingenious contrivances.' This ties in with the veil (to use Broglio's term) imparting something new into the animal form.

As regards the carving process of scrimshaw, upon distributing the teeth amongst the crew, they would be prepped for carving. One quotation suggests how teeth would have been soaked in order to rid the surface of blood that would often build up: 'We also sawed off the pans and put them over board the bow, in order to soak the blood out [of] them and whiten the bone.'[413] This would involve soaking the teeth in liquids, such as hot water and lye, and then sanding them down with paper or shark's skin, to rid them of their natural ridged and worn surface, in effect domesticating them for human use.[414] Sailor Elias Willard comments on the process of using shark skin, by stating that after the capturing of a shark, which Willard described as an animal 'loathed and feared,' 'the men would [strip] him of his skin and hung it up to dry. Since then it has thoroughly dried and they use it preparatory

[412] Melville, *Moby Dick,* 258.
[413] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved,* 175.
[414] Flayderman, *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen*, 4.

to polish and mark their sperm whale teeth.'[415] The tooth was then cut, pierced or engraved with tools such as sailing needles or a jack-knife, or, in some instances, as Melville states in the previous quote, with 'dentistical-looking implements, specifically intended for the skrimshandering business.'[416] Every up and down motion applied by one of these tools would remove miniscule ivory or bone shavings, a removal of substance that would consequently embed, quite literally, the whaler's emotions and narrative onto the now indented surface, a process that is suggestively masturbatory in description. Colourants were also often used in order to bring out the etchings, staining the indents on the tooth with an unnatural colour. This was done by rubbing substances, such as lampblack or Indian ink, before the tooth was finished by being polished with a pumice or wax to produce a shiny finish. It was then ready for display or gifting.[417] Lampblack, as Amy Concannon highlights, was 'so-called because it was traditionally collected from the inside of oil lamp mantles. Given that the most widely used oil in lamps in the mid-nineteenth century was whale oil, this pigment bears a direct link with the whaling industry.'[418] Here then, the mixture that was being directly rubbed onto the surface was most likely made from the charred bodies of whales, in effect layering death on death.

To conclude, I am reminded of a comment by Haraway in which she states that 'all mortal beings […] live in and through the use of one another's bodies.'[419]

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[415] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum,* 159.
[416] Melville, *Moby Dick,* 258.
[417] Frank, *Ingenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved*, 153.
[418] Amy Concannon, "Whalers, Burning, Blubber: Material, Marks and Meaning in Turner's Whalers Sketchbook," *Turner and the Whale,* History of Art Research Portal, 2017, accessed Jan 15, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=303.
[419] Haraway, *When Species Meet*.

In the case of scrimshaw, it is the body of the whale which not-just human bodily relations are formed; but through their materiality they retain an animal 'haunting' and bodily physicality. As Mel Chen comments in his chapter "Queer Animality," 'amid the fluctuations of animals' lives, "the animal" as animal sustains, while humans project the vexed peculiarities that are the consequences of interested humans' psychic fibrillations onto the spectres and accomplices of animal representations.'[420] In the case of scrimshaw, the 'vexed peculiarities' of the 'human project' subject the material animal surface to a rhetoric that aims to disguise but also bring out 'gender troubles.'[421] Consequently, through the various decorative patterns and phallic crafting processes, it creates a state of queer anxiety, which complicates and confuses the afterlives of animals, and the hands and minds of the whalers that crafted onto and with them.

[420] Mel Y. Chen, *Animacies Biopolitics: Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 101.
[421] Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.

CHAPTER FOUR: MUSEUM REPRESENTATIONS

> For while *what* is shown in museums is important, the question of *how* museum artefacts get displayed and represented – and thus what they are made to mean – is as significant.
>
> Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum,* 1995.[422]

Museums are attractions dedicated to multiple subjects and objects, but they are also subjects and objects in themselves. The Museum Association offers the following definition: 'Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.'[423] Such a definition embeds great expectations within a museum and suggests a responsibility to be representative for both audiences and objects, something that has not always, and I should add is not still always, the case. Throughout the course of this thesis, I have visited many institutions, which either focus exclusively on whaling/whales or feature an object or exhibit on whaling in their collections. Initially visiting them for research, the museums soon became a focus in themselves, and with each visit I began to think: What does it mean to represent the controversial topic of whaling in a contemporary museum environment? What does it mean to represent whaling at the time of the Anthropocene? Should we represent a topic such as whaling at all? This

[422] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 117.
[423] This definition includes art galleries with collections of works of art, as well as museums with historical collections of objects. "What is a Museum?" *About,* Museums Association, accessed July 17, 2018, https://www.museumsassociation.org/about/frequently-asked-questions.

is also tied up with issues surrounding museum aims, cultural context, funding and partners' aspirations. These questions and issues led to this chapter, which thinks about the curation of objects and the museum experience, drawing on ideas from contemporary museum studies and environmental ethics.

In this chapter, I again use three case studies, The Amsterdam Maritime Museum *(Het Scheepvaartmuseum)* in The Netherlands, The New Bedford Whaling Museum in the USA, and The Hull Maritime Museum in the UK. I discuss the buildings, histories, websites/digital presences, and the interaction of displays and objects. I chose these three institutions, as I wanted to represent museums from the three countries most etched into the history of whaling during the nineteenth century. Obviously, these do not speak for the many institutions that also represent whaling, or for many of the objects that are not located within museums. Each of these spaces, it should also be noted, is located within the global North, and there is still much work to be done in thinking about how museums in the global South represent whaling, but this would require a different research focus and a more expansive project.[424] It is also important to acknowledge the subjectivity that is often present in certain institutions. Rachel Poliquin highlights this when speaking in relation to natural history displays. According to Poliquin, 'the animal displays in natural history museums are often shaped as much by national, political, and cultural

[424] I visited many institutions over the course of this PhD, in various spaces around Europe and North America. A number of these places in the UK, include: The National Maritime Museum, London, The Scott Polar Museum, Cambridge, the Scottish Fisheries Museum, Anstruther, the Whitby Museum, Whitby, the Natural History Museum, London, the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, the McManus Museum, Dundee, the Liverpool Maritime Museum, Liverpool. In Europe, I visited the Amsterdam Maritime Museum, Amsterdam, the Rotterdam Maritime Museum, Rotterdam, the Overseas Museum, Bremen, Germany. In North America: Mystic Seaport, Mystic, Martha's Vineyard Museum, the Nantucket Whaling Museum, MFA Boston, the Peabody and Essex Museum, Salem, the Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, the Natural History Museum, New York, the Natural History Museum, Washington D.C. It should be noted that a number of the museums listed are not specifically focused on whaling, but have small exhibits or even just certain select objects dedicated to the subject of whaling or whales.

agendas as by the scientific debates of their age.' [425] This clearly emphasises how institutions are often speaking for or from a particular agenda and are always partisan; something to be conscious of when writing about any organisation. Also attention should be given to the restraints of the funders or local authorities that often govern or shape the agendas of museums and their displays.

The importance of this chapter within the thesis should also not be understated, as the representation of whaling in museums is not a topic covered in museology or whaling history. This is a curious oversight, as a great deal of museology focuses on difficult histories and museum ethics, but whaling and, to a larger extent, animal hunting are largely absent from this, with a few exceptions.[426] James M. Lindgren's "Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood: The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903–1941" (1999) highlights the racist and pro-whaling initial underpinning of the space.[427] A lot has happened, however, since its publication in 1999, when it comes to the way that oceans and whales are viewed, with the Anthropocene well recognised, but also highly contended, as the current geological epoch from 2000 onwards.[428] There are also a number of books that concentrate on natural history museums, a category of museum that my case studies do not fit in, in regards to collections, but in terms of theories used to analyse them they can be useful to align with, as they often incorporate issues of animal displays, memory and

[425] Rachel Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 115.
[426] These exceptions include a number of guidelines that have been created by organisations and/or academics to discuss this topic. For example, Minding Animals Curatorial Guidelines: Animals and Art Exhibitions, *Minding Animals,* Sep 27, 2017, accessed Aug 18, 2018, http://mindinganimals.hyperstage.com.au:8080/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Minding-Animals-Curatorial-Guidelines-for-Exhibitions-27-Sept-2017.docx.pdf. This for example focuses here on the representation and ethics of animals within contemporary art.
[427] James M. Lindgren, "Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood: The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903–1941," *The New England Quarterly*, 72, no. 2 (1999): 174.
[428] See my introduction for mention of other '-cenes' alternatives to the Anthropocene.

aesthetics.[429] Poliquin's *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing* (2012) makes an interesting case.[430] Despite focusing exclusively on taxidermy, Poliquin raises interesting ideas of how galleries that host taxidermy specimens are 'marked by a sense of absence, an uneasy silence, a loneliness and longing.'[431] Bennett's *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (2004), although not exclusively about natural history, raises a similar idea, commenting on how the early nineteenth century conceptualised art museums as 'mausoleums for works of art.'[432] These statements can be translated to whaling representations, as viewers are often confronted by representations and parts of dead animals, similarly evoking a sense of memory and loss. As this chapter will suggest, however, we should not just focus on the subject through memory and 'longing', but instead pay attention to how parts of whale bodies are being used or can be used as a catalyst for future environmental change and public awareness. Jennifer Newell, Libby Robin and Kirsten Wehner's *Curating the Future: Museums, Communities, and Climate Change* (2016) offers an interesting intervention here, exploring the ways in which museums both tackle broad global issues of climate change and might adapt in the future to frame objects and encourage the varied communities affected (or those which will be affected most by climate change) to engage with the topic.[433] I have found its approach highly useful as a way to contemporise narratives such as natural

[429] Defining exactly what the museums are as a category differs per institution, with most whaling collections found in maritime museums, but they are also often found in many other institutions, such as art galleries (Boston Museum of Modern Art) and social history museums (Martha's Vineyard Museum).
[430] Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing*, 2012.
[431] Ibid., 3.
[432] Adorno, 1967, in Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2004), 13.
[433] Jennifer Newell, Libby Robin and Kirsten Wehner ed., *Curating the Future: Museums, Communities, and Climate Change* (London: Routledge, 2016).

history installations and their ability to engage with issues of environmentalism, which they have to do, in order to stay relevant.[434]

If scholars have failed to analyse whaling, the museological approach to whaling narratives is currently making headline news. For example, in 2017, the Natural History Museum in London (NHM) retired its staple attraction 'Dippy the Dinosaur' in Hintze Hall, replacing it with a 'stunning 25.2-metre-long blue whale skeleton suspended from the ceiling.' 'Hope' was so named in order to act 'as a symbol of humanity's power to shape a sustainable future' since '[b]lue whales were hunted to the brink of extinction in the twentieth century, but were also one of the first species that humans decided to save on a global scale.'[435] The museum's forward-thinking narrative emphasises institutional alignment with environmentalism, as the blue whale is often used as a symbol for this.[436] Museum director, Michael Dixon, further expands on this idea, stating how:

> The transformation of Hintze Hall represents a new era for us as a natural history museum for the future. We are living at a critical point in the history of the Earth. This generation's decisions will have an unprecedented impact on the world we live in. It is within the grasp of humanity to shape a future that is sustainable, and now more than ever we

[434] Environmentalism for museums also needs to be considered in terms of their running, and how environmentally conscious they are in terms of power usage. This was demonstrated to me recently (October 2018) at the V&A in Dundee, where their new café, although a sit-down venue, only served hot drinks out of disposable cups, which when challenged, commented that they have such a high turnover of sales that they cannot get dishwasher facilities.

[435] Natasha Brown, "Museum unveils 'Hope,' the Blue Whale Skeleton," *Natural History Museum,* July 13, 2017, accessed Aug 18, 2018, http://www.nhm.ac.uk/discover/news/2017/july/museum-unveils-hope-the-blue-whale-skeleton.html. Also in 2018, a fin whale was re-hung in the Museum of Zoology, Cambridge, "Whale Skeleton Rebuilt at Cambridge University Museum," *BBC News,* Sep 28, 2016, accessed Aug 24, 2018, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-37451334.

[436] For example, a company in the Netherlands, which I will mention later, Plastic Whale, takes plastic out of the canals in Amsterdam and turns it into furniture.

> want our galleries and exhibitions to inspire a love of the natural world, and our scientific expertise to inform solutions to the big, global challenges we face.[437]

The acknowledgement of sustainability and the 'critical point in history' emphasises the sheer scale of environmental degradation we are facing, and the choice of using a blue whale skeleton to push for this 'new era' at the NHM highlights the powerful association that whales have within a museum setting.[438] The skeleton itself, despite being acquired in 1981, is being used to indicate the past history of whaling and illuminate contemporary ideas of climate change, making the most of its 'afterlife'. However there is some slight scepticism in this example, as the hall in which the whale is situated, is named after funder Michael Hintze, a supporter of a climate sceptic thinktank. This makes the introduction of the whale, an example of what has become known as 'greenwashing,' the act of a complicity of culture in regard to the climate crisis.[439]

A second example of a museum changing its display to involve whales in an environmentalist narrative is the Nantucket Whaling Museum. In 2018, it created a display on 'whale ecology and environmental issues,' with the exhibition containing 'artefacts from nineteenth-century whale hunts, twentieth-century whale protection movements, and current-day marine mammal rescue efforts to illustrate our changing

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[437] Michael Dixon, in Brown, "Museum Unveils 'Hope,' the Blue Whale Skeleton."
[438] Ibid.
[439] A full discussion on this would require a separate thesis but for reference, Graham Readfearn, Leo Hickman and Rupert Neate, "Michael Hintze revealed as funder of Lord Lawson's climate thinktank," *Climate Change,* Guardian*,* Mar 27, 2012, accessed Aug 20, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2012/mar/27/tory-donor-climate-sceptic-thinktank For more on Greenwashing see Toby Miller, *Greenwashing Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

relationship with the whales over the course of centuries.'[440] The addition of this now permanent element of the museum highlights another example of how whales, and especially their ecology and environmental position, are becoming more closely linked, as well as the role of the museum in changing the more traditional rhetoric around whales as mere animal species for human use.[441]

One last example here is Whales of Iceland in Reykjavík, which describes itself as '[t]he largest whale exhibition in Europe, possibly the world.'[442] They recently released a statement about the killing of a supposed blue whale hybrid in Iceland.[443] The long statement 'condemning Hvalur hf's killing of the rare hybrid whale – a cross between the endangered blue whale and a fin whale' can be read below:

> We join the number of companies and organizations in condemning the whaling company Hvalur hf for this act. While the death of this hybrid whale is especially tragic, Whales of Iceland & Special

[440] "Whale Ecology," *Whaling Museum, Candle Factory,* Nantucket Historical Association, 2018, accessed Nov 22, 2018, https://nha.org/whats-on/exhibitions/permanent-exhibitions/whale-ecology/.
[441] This exhibition also corresponded with a series of lectures that took place that year at the Nantucket Whaling Museum, called "The Whales Tales lectures welcome naturalists, environmental activists, and scientists focused on the study of whale ecology today," and it featured lectures from scientist to activists, clearly showing a wider range of interest than is apparent in the subject of whaling, "Whales Tales Lecture Series at NHA Whaling Museum," Nantucket Historical Association, May 30, 2018, accessed Nov 22, 2018, https://nha.org/whales-tales-lecture-series-at-nha-whaling-museum/.
[442] "About Whales of Iceland," *History,* Whales of Iceland, 2018, accessed Aug 28, 2018, https://www.whalesoficeland.is. The institution was initially set up in 2014, for the 'close study of the 23 species found in Icelandic waters,' of which models were subsequently made.
[443] There are many articles that can be read in relation to this topic. A few are listed here: Matt McGrath, "Whale Killing: DNA Shows Iceland Whale was Rare Hybrid," *BBC News,* July 20, 2018, accessed Aug 27, 2018, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-44809115. Vanessa Williams-Grey, "Did Icelandic Whalers Really Kill A Blue Whale?", *WDC,* July 18, 2018, accessed Aug 29, 2018, https://us.whales.org/2018/07/18/did-icelandic-whalers-really-kill-a-blue-whale/. Tom Embury-Dennis, "Iceland 'Slaughters Blue Whale' for First Time in 40 Years, Sparking Anger Among Conservationists," *Independent,* July 12, 2018, accessed Aug 28, 2018, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/blue-whale-slaughtered-iceland-40-years-conservationists-anger-images-a8444821.html.

> Tours believe that all whaling is a senseless loss of life and we would like to see an end to whaling in Iceland.
>
> Whales of Iceland and Special Tours have been at the forefront of the mission to end whaling in Iceland. We contributed to discussions that led to legislation that was passed extending the sanctuary around Faxaflói Bay last year. This has significantly reduced the number of minke whales killed here in Iceland, and will hopefully lead to the end of minke whaling as well. We have also been active participants in the "Meet Us Don't Eat Us" campaign, which encourages visitors to Iceland to choose whale-friendly restaurants and not contribute to the fading demand for whale meat. We love these beautiful creatures and strongly believe that further education, and the opportunity to see these magnificent beings in the wild, will help people to have a better understanding of the situation. It is important for the Icelandic government to realize that there is much more value in watching whales than allowing them to be hunted.[444]

In addition, the museum usefully advocates actions that the visitor can do to help:

> – Join the peaceful protest this week, which will be held at the whaling station in Hvalfjörður, either this evening or tomorrow evening based on when the whaling boat returns to land.

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[444] "Whales Of Iceland & Special Tours: Statement Regarding Hvalur Hf's Killing of a Rare Hybrid Whale," *News*, Whales of Iceland, July 31, 2018, accessed Aug 20, 2018, https://www.whalesoficeland.is/post/whales-of-iceland-special-tours-statement-regarding-hvalur-hfs-killing-of-a-rare-hybrid-whale.

– When traveling to Iceland please make sure that your vacation is whale-friendly – please do not visit restaurants that sell whale meat, or businesses that support whaling. When you do encounter a restaurant that sells whale meat, please contact info@icewhale.is to report it, as they keep track of whale-friendly restaurants. For more information on this, you can visit www.icewhale.is
– Sign the petition by pledging to not eat whale meat, available online at www.ifaw.is[445]

Whilst much of this statement is clearly market-driven, it indicates that museums recognise that they have a voice on such issues and can aid in tackling controversial subjects such as whaling, especially when their collections are about the animals that are directly under threat.[446]

That multiple museums engage in current debates on whaling and changing age-old installations to use whales as a mouthpiece for climate awareness, reveals an opportunity to evaluate how other institutions are representing whaling, especially in this current state of environmental instability, where species such as whales, are greatly under threat, and not (for the most part) from whaling, but from other human-inflicted factors.[447] But there should also be a slight air of caution taken with such changes as they can also be examples of greenwashing.

[445] Ibid.
[446] In order to get all the models to Iceland, they were custom-built in China, and some were too large to fit in individual shipping containers so had to be split up across multiple ones. Such procurement of the models clearly indicates a large carbon footprint, yet there is no acknowledgement or consideration of this carbon footprint on the website.
[447] The factors that I am thinking about here are specifically in relation to sound pollution, plastic pollution, tourism, oil spills and rising sea temperatures, to name but a few.

Amsterdam Maritime Museum

My first case study is the National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam. I begin here because the Netherlands, as we have seen, is often considered as the first country to participate in large-scale commercial whaling. The museum was created in 1973 and is housed in a former naval storehouse, from 1656.[448] Its institutional aims are described as showing 'how our culture has been shaped by the sea. Stimulating, interactive exhibitions allow visitors to explore 500 years of maritime history.' It has various sections, including a replica three-mast East India Company Ship, rooms dedicated to navigational instruments, atlases, yacht models, the modern-day port and whaling.[449] The museum and all exhibits were renovated in 2007–2011 to include more 'interactive exhibitions,' a move some criticised for making the museum 'too commercial' and turning it into an 'amusement park.'[450] Such comments will become part of the analysis of their whaling space, as these notions of commerciality and amusement offer interesting juxtapositions in the context of whaling whaling.

The museum's website highlights that in the whaling exhibit, "The Tale of the Whale," visitors can explore 'the whale through the ages from sea monster to

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[448] The name of the naval storehouse is Lands Zeemagazijn, and was designed by the Dutch architect Daniel Stalpaert. "The Building," *What's On,* Het Scheepvaartmuseum, accessed Aug 28, 2018, https://www.hetscheepvaartmuseum.com/whats-on/the-building, "Organisation," *About Us,* Het Scheepvaartmuseum, accessed Aug 28, 2018, https://www.hetscheepvaartmuseum.com/about-us/organisation.

[449] For a full list of the exhibits that are on display, see: "Exhibitions," *What's On,* Het Scheepvaartmuseum, accessed Aug 28, 2018, https://www.hetscheepvaartmuseum.com/whats-on/exhibitions.

[450] Merijn Rengers, "Muiterij in Het Museum," *nrc.nl,* Jan 30, 2016, accessed Aug 29, 2018, https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/01/30/muiterij-in-het-museum-1582603-a268651. Matthias van Rossum, Karwan Fatah-Black, Lex Heerma van Voss, Jaap Bruijn, Gerrit Knaap, Leo Balai and Petra van Dam, "De Directie Van Het Scheepvaartmuseum Kiest Voor Pretparkkoers," *de Volkskrant,* Jul 30, 2014, accessed Aug 29, 2018, https://www.volkskrant.nl/columns-opinie/-de-directie-van-het-scheepvaartmuseum-kiest-voor-pretparkkoers-~b9a0304d/.

endangered species' and understand how our image of one of the largest creatures that ever lived has changed through the centuries. This exhibition is also meant to teach visitors 'all about whaling and how this mighty creature was turned into an endangered species.'[451] The language used here clearly indicates the educational intention of the exhibit, as it speaks specifically about the now endangered status of many whale species.[452] This learning and environmental role is further highlighted as an important strand for the museum's annual summer 'Whale Weeks' in which through 'various playful activities [visitors can] get to know more about the relationship between people and nature and the importance of clean oceans.' Activities include a travelling whale hospital run by SOSDolfijn, as well as workshops by Plastic Whale, who count themselves as the first plastic fishing organisation in the Netherlands.[453] Through such activities and bringing in external environmental charities and organisations, the museum helps enliven static exhibits through participatory events. The transitory nature of events also allows space for topics of greater public primacy, in this case plastic pollution, to take centre stage. Further, the targeting of events directly at children indicates a desire to develop a new way of thinking among a younger generation, and encourage them to have greater respect for the natural world.

When visitors enter the exhibition itself, the first thing they are greeted with is moving screens filled with images of 'whales' from early maps, deformed and abstracted into monstrous forms, and a mystical soundtrack made up of whales

[451] "The Tale of the Whale," *What's On,* Het Scheepvaartmuseum, accessed Aug 28, 2018, https://www.hetscheepvaartmuseum.com/whats-on/exhibitions/the-tale-of-the-whale.
[452] "Endangered Species," *Whale and Dolphin Conservation,* 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://uk.whales.org/whales-and-dolphins/endangered-species.
[453] Ibid.

spouting, flutes and theremin sounds, creating a rather supernatural overtone to the first encounter.[454] Text accompanies this multimedia experience:

> Is it a monster? A tasty bit of meat? Or a big softy? People's perception of the whale is constantly changing. In the old days, sailors were afraid of the whale. They saw it as a huge and dangerous monster. Later, people mainly saw the whale as a source of blubber and meat. These were worth a lot of money. Nowadays most people want to protect the whale. They believe that there are too few left […?] Long ago, sailors told wild stories about the whale. Artists and cartographers listened to these stories about the sea monsters. They painted and drew the whales as strange, monstrous fish. Their sketches became more accurate as more became known about the whale. Every time a whale washed ashore, people came to the beach to examine the animal. Artists also sometimes came for a look. This gave everyone a better picture of the sea giant.

The language here is rather imprecise, with terms such as 'in the old days,' 'long ago,' 'too few left' and a 'lot of money' (which means a lack of actual specific facts and figures), making it seem more of an exaggerated narrative. More detailed facts could have been beneficial. Alongside this already rather simplified description, there is a specific account for younger visitors. It states: 'Dear parents, guardians,

[454] For the sound of the theremin, see Maggie Gyllenhaal's character, Clara Wagner, in *Frank*, directed by Lenny Abrahamson (Film4, 2014), film, or the "Midsomer Murders" theme tune, 1997-present.

this exhibit tells the story of the whales from monster to cuddly toy in six themes. For our smallest visitors, colourful pictures explain the six steps of this transformation. The question on each picture is a good way to start off each theme.'[455] Again, like the 'Whale Weeks', it emphasises an engagement with younger visitors which is positive; yet, the vague initial introduction aimed at a more general audience already sets a naïve tone, especially through perpetuating such negative terms as 'sea giant' and 'monster' in relation to whales.

"The Hunt is On" is the first section I want to focus on, as it uses interaction and installations as a form of historic engagement. Here, a large model of a whale (over human height), emerges from the floor of the gallery space (Fig. 1). Its barnacled form, mock-baleen sheets and large eye create an imposing presence, added to by the dim submarine blue and green lighting. To the left of the whale, positioned at a height, is the modelled form of a whaler, harpoon in hand, his mouth opened mid-cry (Fig. 2). He wears a whaler's hat, a distinctive item of clothing to ensure the identity of individual whalers.[456] Although the whale is coloured in 'authentic colours,' the whaler is fully white, a curious curatorial decision as he becomes viewable as an ideal, marble-like figure, sculptural and statuesque in apparel in contrast to the whale, whose form is more animal-like, but in a slightly cartoonish way. The juxtaposition thus downplays the shared characteristics of whales and humans as fellow mammals, given the association of marble with ideal human form.

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[455] "Information board," *The Tale of the Whale,* Het Scheepvaartmuseum, visited Aug 7, 2018.
[456] For more information on whalers' hats, see the nearby Rijksmuseum, where they have four on display in a glass cabinet, "Woollen Caps Worn by Dutch Whalers," *Collections,* Rijksmuseum, accessed Feb 16, 2019, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-2006-110-1. Also, at the Rotterdam Maritime Museum, where there is a singular hat on display, accompanied by a narrated soundtrack of a whaler's encounter with a whale, which has the effect of really bringing the hat to life through the form of social and interactive context.

A set of steps allows the visitor to stand next to the whaler. From this spot, viewers feel as if taking part in the hunt, looking down at the whale which now appears in a vulnerable position. This location affords an unnerving sense of power (a mix of the uncomfortable and thrilling), as if it was the visitor that would be about to give the fatal blow to the animal. Another position from which the viewer is able to participate is from the whale's point of view. Standing now below the whaler, one can look directly up at him and see the primed harpoon in his hand. Sound effects accompany this part of the exhibition made up of the noise of the sea, men shouting and a harpoon flying through the air. Light is also a feature, and the blue-green lighting gives the effect of waves moving on the floor, creating an immersive, aqueous experience.

The participation does not end here, as like Jonah, the visitor is able to enter into the mouth of the whale, through a series of plastic strands approximating the materiality of baleen. The colour of the exhibit changes as you enter the space of the whale's mouth, from a dark blue to a dark red, which aims to imitate the fleshy interior of a whale's body (Fig. 3).[457] From this position, viewers are able to use a view hole to gaze back up at the whaler, from a whale's eye point of view and even move the eye around to change the angle of sight. This gives a sense of what it may have been like to be a whale in such a situation, although through a somewhat gimmicky sense of reality. The rather carnivalesque experience continues, as a large heart beating is visible in the interior space and, rather perversely, a number of objects made from whales are shown within the very animal whose body would have

[457] This change of colour is important and is a technique used especially in films to indicate a change in tonality, see for example *The Wizard of Oz*, directed by Victor Fleming, (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939), where there is a monochrome-to-colour transition, when Dorothy Gale (Judy Garland), travels from Kansas to the land of Oz. Also, in Peter Greenaway's *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife & Her Lover* (Allarts, Elsevier-Vendex, 1989), bold colour transitions are used in the Le Hollandais Restaurant scenes, to denote a change in space and tone within the narrative.

been used to produce them. It is worth returning to the Jonah and the Whale narrative here, as the eponymous character is swallowed by a 'Large Fish' or whale, after disobeying God's orders; as a result, he spends three days and three nights in the whale's belly, before finally repenting to God and going on his original mission to Nineveh. This process of self-reflection is what I wanted to draw on, as going into the body of the whale in Amsterdam is analogous, offering a point of thought and reflection, as much like Jonah, who is confronted with his own thoughts, in Amsterdam the visitor is confronted with things made out of whales, emphasising the reality of whaling. The whale also resembles Disney's animated whale Monstro from the 1940's film *Pinocchio* (Fig. 4). In the film, he is an enormous whale, a mix between a sperm and blue whale, described by Jiminy Cricket as a 'whale of a whale! Why, he swallows whole ships!'[458] During the course of the film, Monstro swallows Geppetto the woodcarver and creator of Pinocchio, who consequently ends up spending time in Monstro's stomach. Monstro was subsequently 'brought to life' outside of the film at Disneyland in Florida. Here, the park has created an enormous model of Monstro, which forms part of the Storybook Land attraction (Fig. 5). During the ride experience, the visitor is located inside a boat, which travels directly through the jaws of Monstro and into its red internal body, which echoes the exhibit in Amsterdam. The features of the whale from the outside also hold a similarity in form despite being a different species, but unlike a theme park attraction the experience of entering the whale in Amsterdam is more self-reflective, thanks to the objects made from whale inside its body, bringing the brutality of the trade to mind and, in doing so, subverting the idea of a 'theme park attraction.'

[458] *Pinocchio*, directed by Ben Sharpsteen and Hamilton Luske (Walt Disney Productions, 1940).

Further modelled aspects of the whaling exhibit are used to represent post Second-World-War whaling. These are contextualised by a small exhibit on how the Netherlands were 'saved by the whale' due to whales proving a 'quick source of fat and food' at a time when 'food was scarce.'[459] It outlines an interesting narrative in the story, in which 'whale hunters [were] heroes.' It features notebooks from children, who viewed whalers as brave sailors in Antarctica,' for whom 'special stamps' were made, and 'school children filled their notebooks with whaling stories.' This is a curious aspect of whaling to spotlight, as it raises the importance that whaling had at a time of great human need, a period of history that people may not have been aware of, and raises ethical questions of animal protection in times of human hardship.[460] Alongside this, one finds another life-sized white, sculpted human figure with a harpoon, but this time fitted out for a more industrial style of whaling (Fig. 6) As in the previous example, viewers are able to stand in front and slightly behind the figure, which gives an idea of what it would have been like to have been the hunter and the hunted. Again, sound is used in an attempt to heighten a sense of reality, but gets mixed with sounds that had been used in the previous section of the exhibition, creating a rather distracting soundtrack of contrasting noises, something that could be countered by adjusting the volume or the speaker locations. Here, there is no whale looking back at the visitor as in the previous model, just a large fluke, which is part of a later exhibition. To an extent, this can be read as showing the 'tail end' of whaling, or that whales were becoming less visible through the heightened hunting of their species especially by such industrial means, but this is not made obvious through any interpretation.

[459] "Information board," *The Tale of the Whale,* Het Scheepvaartmuseum, visited Aug 7, 2018.
[460] Ibid.

In this section on industrial whaling, the museum does not shy away from highlighting the brutal nature of it, emphasised by a large steam saw, which, as the label suggests, was used to 'cut large fragments of bone into small pieces'[461] (Fig. 7). It is framed in front of a large image of a dead whale, ready to be processed, and two peep holes next to this lets viewers see two further images of whales in various stages of processing. The brutality that these photographs emphasise demonstrate the trauma that the whales suffered and the industrial nature of the processing of whales, but also the human involvement in it. The idea of the peep holes offers a somewhat subversive way of viewing, similar to that of the nineteenth-century stereoscope, but the images that would usually have been seen in this type of viewing would typically have been associated with entertainment (popular entertainment in particular), so seeing the rather gruesome images of whaling offers a shocking sense of voyeurism that again, like the model of whale previously described, subverts expectations through interaction.

Other museums have used interactivity in different ways, aside from models. Leeds Armouries, for example, uses live actors. In its hunting gallery, alongside a small selection of items that are focused on the subject of whaling, there is a performance element, 'Whale of a Tale,' described by the museum as 'Bringing History to Life.' It involves a 20-minute presentation by an actor, which allows you to 'hear the amazing and terrifying tale of a Victorian whale hunting expedition whose ship was attacked and destroyed by a whale.' The actor is in full costume and, complete with a harpoon, recounts animatedly the tale, drawing towards the audience. The brutal narrative brings whaling to life, but somewhat glamorises the role of the whaler, as there is no self-awareness of what the whaler had done. As an

[461] Ibid.

alternative to live-action acting, what could be more effective would be a hands-on exhibit in which people would be able to interact directly with objects from whaling, such as scrimshaw, through a show-and-tell opportunity. This also allows for a more interactive and questioning style of museum presentation.

The exhibition at Amsterdam ends by bringing the discussion of whaling up to date. It explores humans' contemporary relationship with whales, our perceptions, as the wall text states, supposedly going 'from monster to cuddly toy.' A large whale fluke (over human height) is located within the middle of this last section and is surrounded by vinyl photographs of whales, a video showing humpback whales in their natural habitat, and two tanks, one filled with cuddly sperm whales, and the other with whale memorabilia such as 'sponsor a whale' information (Fig. 8). All this section is contributed to by the World Wildlife Fund who want to 'let you experience the beauty of the whale. There are still many threats, but there is hope [if?] we all continue our efforts to preserve the whale.' The use of the term beauty is worth exploring, as it connotes a certain aestheticisation of whales and that their value is akin to a piece of art to look at for human pleasure, rather than something to be valued and saved for its own right.

The involvement of a charity, the WWF, within an exhibition context creates a space for environmental awareness; yet, focusing on one large charity does not give a voice to the smaller charities that exist and do equally positive work.[462] Also, although there is a whale quiz the visitor can complete, this section appears to be more about getting people to join the WWF, rather than more directly thinking about

[462] Other exhibitions have and often are sponsored or aligned with charities. An example includes the 2017 exhibition "Disappearance at Sea – Mare Nostrum" at the Baltic, Newcastle. Here, the exhibition aimed to 'draw attention to the journey undertaken by migrants and refugees to cross the Mediterranean Sea.' This was created in cooperation with Amnesty International, "Disappearance At Sea – Mare Nostrum," *Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art,* Jan 27, 2017, accessed Aug 28, 2018, http://baltic.art/whats-on/exhibitions/disappearance-at-sea-mare-nostrum.

whales and the threats that they currently face. A more effective end point would be to signpost ways people can help keeping the oceans cleaner for example. It should be acknowledged, however, that partnering with a charity, however large, is much more positive than other museum collaborations, such as with oil companies.[463] The last thing that visitors encounter exiting the exhibition is a photo opportunity, where they can sit in a small pod and pretend to be surrounded by whales (Fig. 9). Again, this is an interactive element that aims to engage people directly within the exhibition. The bright graphics and gaudy imagery, however, are reminiscent again of an artifice and exaggeration. This photo opportunity does, however, create a certain memorable element to the exhibition and engages with the technological age.

The whole of the exhibition, however, is not just full of models. There are some exhibits that display objects narrating the history of Dutch whaling, including weapons, books and artworks, maps and plates, and even an example of a Hull School painting.[464] The plates date from 1765, from the Dr Porceleyne Bijl factory in Delft, and are based on earlier illustrations from whaling prints that were created by Adolf van der Laan, described on the label as a 'comic strip' (Fig. 10). They are displayed in a way that shows the different forms of visual representation that were associated with whaling, including prints, a topic covered in more detail in my first chapter. This mix and linking of media holds a similarity to this PhD, which aims to emphasise the level of association and differentiation that can be found between different media. In each case, these exhibits offer a form of interpretation for a younger audience. For example, in the case of the whaling ceramics, there is a TV screen offering a point of interpretation, entitled "A Plate of Whale." Again, the

[463] Mel Evans, *Artwash: Big Oil and the Arts,* (Chicago: Pluto Press, 2015).
[464] The inclusion of a Hull School painting within the collection is interesting, as it clearly highlights their international legitimacy as a genre. The painting in question is "Whalers in the Arctic," by Robert Willoughby. For more information on the Hull School, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

attempt to engage children with the topic is important, especially with texts that are tailored directly to them, and it is important to encompass such a cross-generational approach, especially on a topic such as whaling. Yet, the lack of interpretation that is present on some of the object captions means that an older audience are left unaware of certain objects' provenances or importance, signalling a potential lack of engagement as a result.

In *The Birth of the Museum,* Bennett comments on how 'the basic signifying currency' of exhibitions 'consisted in their arrangement of displays of manufacturing process and products.' In the whaling exhibit at the Amsterdam Maritime Museum, this 'arrangement' is told largely through a sense of interactivity, the mix of mood lighting, loud graphics, a range of sounds and often exaggerated modelled features, creating a certain performativity attractive to a younger audience.[465]

New Bedford Whaling Museum

Arriving at the New Bedford Whaling museum by bus from Boston, the visitor is greeted by the Whaling Wall, a large painting on the side of an industrial building by artist Robert Wyland. Wyland has painted 100 of these walls around the world, with the New Bedford Wall being the 93rd (Fig. 11).[466] Painted on October 20, 2005, it stretches the length of the building and features various different species of whales in an underwater view. This initial cetacean experience allows New Bedford to live up to its nickname as 'The Whaling City.' Melville described New Bedford as being 'perhaps the dearest place to live in, in all New England […]. [N]owhere in all

[465] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, 81.
[466] Wyland began the series of large-scale whale paintings on a wall in Laguna beach, 1981, with the last one completed in 2008 on the Beijing International Stadium, China. The New Bedford painting was created on Oct 20, 2005. For more information about the artist, see "The Artist," *Wyland,* accessed Aug 30, 2018, http://www.wyland.com/about/the_artist/1.

America will you find more patrician-like houses, parks and gardens more opulent, than in New Bedford […]. [A]ll these brave houses and flowery gardens came from the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans. One and all, they were harpooned and dragged up hither from the bottom of the sea.'[467] This metaphor indicates the extent to which the city's existence was based on its whaling wealth. Even now, it still reeks of its whaling past, with shops, cafés and pubs sporting names that are reminiscent of its history, such as 'The Quahog Republic Whaler's Tavern,' or 'The Black Whale.' There are two statues in the city dedicated to the trade: the Whaleman Memorial (commonly called the Whaleman's Statue) and the Lewis Temple Statue, to be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.[468]

The museum is located within the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, which was established in 1996. It encompasses 34 acres of city blocks and was created to commemorate the heritage of the world's pre-eminent whaling port during the nineteenth century.[469] The museum opened in 1906, with the establishment of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and, in the early stages, had an eclectic mix of objects, for example 'ship models, ship stern boats' but also more ethnographic objects, such as 'queer drums from the South Seas.' Lindgren highlights how 'like Salem's Peabody Museum and other ethnographic collections, the ODHS typecast such alien cultures as dangerous and bizarre,'[470] suggesting the now controversial nature of the museum's initial interpretation of its objects. The society was run by

[467] Melville, *Moby Dick*.
[468] An entirely separate study can be done in relation to memorials to whaling and whales, and there is not scope within this study to do this, but it is something I would hope to develop in the future.
[469] To find out more about the National Park at New Bedford visit its website. There is, however, little information aside from basic logistical directions, "Basic Information," *New Bedford Whaling,* National Park Service, July 12, 2016, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nebe/planyourvisit/basicinfo.htm.
[470] Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903–1941," 174.

William W. Crapo, who wanted to celebrate New Bedford as 'the foremost whaling port of the world.'[471] The founders were concerned about the reputation that whaling had during the early 1900s, and wanted to create a new museum that would cast 'whaling in the most favourable light possible'. They hired the amateur historian and former whaler Clifford Warren Ashley to help construct a mythology of whaling's virtues, showing that, over time, whaling could be used to 'enhance a family's prestige, foster local pride, provide role models, and establish a cultural control of sorts on the region's identity.'[472] In order to cement the pride felt for past whalers, Crapo commissioned the statue of a whaler, that still stands in front of the public library, a site which Crapo believed would be 'where hundreds of people passing every day could be reminded of the rugged sailors who made New Bedford possible.'[473] Crapo was keen that the figure portrayed should be a 'fair-skinned Yankee'. The statue and the ideology behind it does not reveal the great ethnic diversity that was present within the whaling industry in New Bedford.[474] This statue has provoked some controversy, especially in terms of recent debates around the ethics of American monuments. For example, an article published in the *New Bedford Guide* on August 24, 2017 entitled "Is it Time to Take Down the Whaleman Statue?" asked how '[w]ith the urgent need to appease all those offended by history and scarred by inanimate objects, is it time to erase New Bedford's whaling past?'

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[471] William Crapo (1830–1926) was the son of Henry Howland Crapo. He was the head of a number of law firms before going on to become one of the founding members of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society. For more information, "Inventory of the Crapo, Clifford & Clifford Records," *Manuscripts,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, Aug 10, 2016, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/library/finding-aids/mss118.

[472] Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903–1941," 176.

[473] Ibid., 177.

[474] For more information on this topic, see: Fredrick McKissack, *Black Hands, White Sails: the Story of African-American Whalers* (Pennsylvania: Scholastic, 1999); Donald Warrin, *So Ends this Day: The Portuguese in American Whaling, 1765–1927* (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts, 2010) and "Cultural Communities and Identities," *Learn,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, Feb 20, 2018, accessed Oct 7, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/learn/research-topics/cultural-communities.

The article also questioned the potential removal of whale skeletons in the museum as well. The other whaling statue in New Bedford is one of Lewis Temple, an African American blacksmith, abolitionist, and inventor. He is best remembered for the invention of the iron toggle harpoon lip. This was not, however, something that was reflected in the earliest plans for the museum, when narratives surrounding slavery and the 'debaucherous behaviour' of the whalers were completely ignored or suppressed. Lindgren, however, speaks eloquently about what the museum has become since its incarnation, writing that:

> image of whaling presented is more culturally inclusive, less romanticized, and more cognizant of the mammal's important place in the natural environment […] [T]he museum eloquently speaks to the never ending, ever changing construction of public memory.[475]

Lindgren's observation builds on the current aims of the institution, which are described by the Whaling Museum historian, Clifton Rice: 'We don't want people to forget this history […] but we can learn from it. Hope for the continued survival of the whale lies in our contact with nature and our ability to experience the wonder and magnificence of these animals.'[476] This emphasises the value of preserving the past and learning from it in order to create a more sustainable future for whales. Again the idiom of the 'wonderful and magnificent' recalls ideas of the sublime, like in the

[475] Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903–1941," 205.
[476] Clifton Rice on Mike MacEacheran, "The City that Lit the World," *Travel,* BBC, July 20, 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20180719-the-city-that-lit-the-world.

previous description of whales as 'beautiful,' suggesting that what is at stake is our aesthetic pleasure.

Further, the aims of the museum today are described on the museum's website, which notes how the museum seeks to:

> advance understanding related to the influence of the whaling industry and the port of New Bedford on the history, economy, ecology, arts, and cultures of the region, the nation and the world. We will expand our capacity to tell the stories of the many diverse communities that shared in the creation of this history, through excellence in our collections, scholarship, and all forms of public engagement. In doing so the Museum will be recognized as a compelling destination that inspires all visitors to reflect on the complex issues that shaped the past, remain critical today, and inform a sustainable future.[477]

This highlights their wish to raise awareness of the 'complex issues' that the museum has to tackle in its representation, something that is not openly acknowledged in the remit of the Amsterdam Maritime Museum. The attempt to remain 'critical today' is important, especially along with the idea of creating a 'sustainable future,' which clearly indicates the importance of considering the museum as a space for learning and contemporary relevance.[478] The website on

[477] "About," *New Bedford Whaling Museum,* accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/about.

[478] The museum also has space for temporary exhibitions that are specifically focused on whaling objects and the history of whaling, and often new biological research about whales. These often incorporate topical themes such as the role of women within New Bedford's history, see "Lighting the

which this statement appears also functions as a space to inform people in depth on various topics through online exhibitions, such as one on "William Bradford: Sailing Ships and Arctic Seas."[479] Much of the collection is also digitised online to a considerable degree (something unavailable at Amsterdam, where the infrastructure and search capacity is slow and exact searches are difficult), so one can explore the exhibits virtually, something one is also able to do via a Google walk through the space. The strong educational resource that is the website offers a virtual space of entry to the topic of whaling that also promotes the aims and name of the New Bedford Whaling Museum as a research venue.[480]

When visiting the museum in person, the visitor is greeted by three whale skeletons hanging from the ceiling (Fig. 12). The skeletons all came from animals that either died accidentally or naturally, and the NBWM clarifies that 'we at the Museum did not hunt the animals on display.'[481] The whale skeletons that are encountered are named KOBO, Quasimodo and Reyna and, on the website, there is a description given of each whale, referred to by a personal pronoun. Visitors are also invited to consider "Who is KOBO?," "How He Got Here," "Preparation and Display," and "Interesting Details." Each of these headings individualises and anthropomorphises the animals, giving them personal stories and identities. In this process of display, they have become similar to what Poliquin describes as

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Way: Historic Women of the South Coast," *New Bedford Whaling Museum,* 2019, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/collaborate/women-greater-new-bedford/.

[479] "Online Exhibitions," *Exhibitions,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/online.

[480] For more information on the role of digital space in museums, see Ross Parry, *Museums in a Digital Age (Leicester Readers in Museum Studies)* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); Susana Smith Bautista, *Museums in the Digital Age: Changing Meanings of Place, Community, and Culture* (Lanham: AltaMira, 2014); Haidy Geismar, *Museum Object Lessons in the Digital Age* (London: UCL Press, 2018); Alfredo M. Ronchi, *eCulture: Cultural Content in the Digital Age* (Berlin: Springer, 2008).

[481] "Skeletons of the Deep," *Biology,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, Aug 5, 2016, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/current/skeletons-of-the-deep.

taxidermy trophies. Through having a sense of individual identity and background, yet unlike a taxidermy trophy, they transpose the typical associations of a 'trophy,' such as prestige and decoration, and become instead more anti-trophy in order to reflect the whale itself rather than human mastery over it.

"Whales Today" is one of the most recent permanent exhibitions to have opened at the museum and it incorporates the three whale skeletons. It also features a large-scale model of a baleen whale, emerging from the side of the gallery wall. The blue colour of the walls again gives the impression of the sea from which the animal is emerging (Fig. 13). The whale is wrapped in green netting and string, with a sign giving information as to the 'problem of marine debris' and how it is an 'issue for many aquatic animals, not just whales.'[482] The visual confrontation of this model gives physicality to a problem that is usually abstracted through newspaper headlines. This is furthered with a series of photographs of the evidence, shown alongside the model, bringing the museum immediately in line with contemporary ecological issues, and through an accessible mode of representation, something that would be an improvement at Hull's Maritime Museum to be discussed later.

Following on from 'Whales Today' is another permanent exhibition called "From Pursuit to Preservation: The History of Human Interaction with Whales" (Fig. 14). It discusses the changes, knowledge and interaction that have existed between humans and whales, focusing on the past, present and future. This is a similar but more eloquently executed idea than Amsterdam's "From Monster to Cuddly Toy" concept, as it also covers the relationship of different cultures with whales. The display aims to 'guide visitors through the story of humankind's evolving

[482] "Information Board," New Bedford Whaling Museum, visited Aug 20, 2016.

relationship with whales, from the whale as a source of survival and symbolic power, to its exploitation for commercial wealth, to the first steps toward scientific inquiry and contemporary methods of observation and study.'[483] A board introduces it as a space for 'Your relationship with Whales,' which personalises the exhibit and the visitors' place within it. Various interpretation boards with questions offer a further method of engagement, and include questions such as 'What is a Barque?' and 'How Many Kinds of Whales are There?' In the centre of the gallery is a sperm whale skeleton, whilst a human skeleton stands nearby, which epitomises the scale and contrast, but also, in certain bone structures shows the similarity between the two species, in contrast to the Amsterdam maritime museum where human and whale are juxtaposed through sculpture. The exhibit also leaves space for future development and thoughts, by stating how 'Our hunt now is for knowledge: how better to apply the lessons of the past to the challenges of the future.' This is visualised in a comical manner, through a street sign that is labelled "Preservation Way," suggesting not only a learning space to gain an understanding about the past relationships between humans and whales, but also scope for future thought. The remaining use of the term 'hunt,' however, creates an aggressive sensibility.

The museum also includes a half-scale model of a whaleship, known as the *Lagoda* (Fig. 15). This is the largest model ship in existence and was built originally in situ.[484] It is fully fitted out as a whaling ship, complete with rigging, trypots, forecastle and crow's nest hoops at the top. The visitor is able to climb aboard the

[483] "From Pursuit to Preservation," *Past Exhibitions,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, July 26, 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/current/pursuit-to-preservation.
[484] The *Lagoda* was built from funds donated by Emily Bourne in memory of her father, whaling merchant Jonathan Bourne, Jr. "'Lagoda' – The Largest Ship Model in Existence," *Current Exhibitions,* New Bedford Whaling Museum, July 26, 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/current/lagoda.

ship and 'imagine life on a whaleship.' With the aid of an audio guide, visitors are able to visualise the ship 'alive' as they wander around the decks. Situated around the sides of the *Lagoda* are large open spaces, where the various trades that would have been connected to life on-board the ship are explored. Large quotes hanging down from the ceiling contextualise the ship within a certain time, such as 'His Chimneys A' Fire,' a term which refers to the death of a whale, at the point of which blood and mucus sprays from its blowhole (Fig. 16). The walls are covered with various weaponry that would have been used in the process of whaling, creating an unnerving reality of life on-board and the vast undertaking that such a trip would entail.

Up the stairs, around the top of the gallery, one reaches a number of gallery spaces that represent whaling from a more global perspective, entitled "A Voyage Around the World." They demonstrate the remarkable breadth of a real whaling journey, and contain a variety of objects from panorama images, artefacts, ethnographic objects, sea charts, logbooks and prints. From this space, there is also an exhibition of Azorean whaling in the Whaleman Gallery, which, as the space boasts, is 'the only permanent exhibition space in the United States that honours the Portuguese peoples and their significant contributions to the country's maritime heritage.' The "Cape Verdean Maritime Exhibit" also explores some of the wider communities, aside from North America, which were involved in whaling.[485] This clearly offers a stark difference to the early set-up of the museum, where there was a focus on the heroism of the 'white Yankee whaling figure'. This indicates the willingness to alter the narrative of whaling to include a more global approach, and

[485] "Azorean Whaleman Gallery," *New Bedford Whaling Museum*, Jun 20, 2017, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/current/azorean-whaleman-gallery.

represent and give a voice to wider communities, who feature in the form of talking heads.

Whaling art and scrimshaw are also well represented within the museum and are seen as 'one of the jewels in [its] crown.' The scrimshaw collection in particular is considered to be the largest in the world. On the website, the scrimshaw is described as 'a sumptuous display' and is shown in a dimly lit space, backed in dark blue cases (Fig. 17), recalling a religious reliquary.[486] Scrimshaw obviously is made of animal parts, so its display and interpretation is questionable. Poliquin gives an interesting reading of a similar (but it should also be noted different) example: William Bullock's *Hummingbird Cabinet*, a large cabinet filled with a fake tree holding a great number of hummingbirds.[487] She comments that 'by offering an encounter with nature that no longer resonates in the twenty-first century, Bullock's hummingbird cabinet forces each viewer to confront the troubled relationship between the aesthetics and ethics of taxidermy: the compelling urge to look and the worry about what made that looking possible.'[488] This is similar with scrimshaw, where aesthetics and ethics are entangled with notions of its display and interpretation.

Hull Maritime Museum

The thesis comes full circle in the last case study, the Hull Maritime Museum. On its website, the museum states its aims to offer visitors the chance 'to discover more about Hull's maritime heritage [through] artefacts from Hull's whaling, fishing and

[486] Various Authors, *Treasures of the Whaling Museum: Touchstones to the Region's Past,* 82–92.
[487] Judith Pascoe, "The Hummingbird Cabinet," *The Wordsworth Circle* 35, no. 1 (2004): 30–33.
[488] Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing,* 50.

merchant trade.'[489] In addition, the museum's stated mission is to 'preserve and make available the maritime history of Hull and East Yorkshire through artefacts and documents.'[490] The museum was originally opened in 1912 in Pickering Park as the Museum of Fisheries and Shipping, and moved to its current, rather apt, location in the Dock Offices building in 1974. This was the former headquarters of the Hull Dock Company, which like the building used for the Amsterdam Maritime Museum, has a maritime legacy (Fig. 18). The building was originally constructed in 1872 and designed by architect Christopher George Wray. John Underwood of London was responsible for the principal sculptures, and Thomas Frith of Hull carved the exterior capitals, friezes and decorative panels, which are all maritime-themed and include shells and dolphins.[491]

A second reason for ending with the Hull Maritime Museum is due to its current point of transition not only due to it being the UK City of Culture 2017, but also through the receipt of a £27.2 million National Lottery Heritage Fund grant. This has given the museum the chance to transform various maritime sites and to place maritime themes 'at the heart of what our city has to offer.'[492] This means that the current whaling gallery will change significantly from what is now on display. In a recent consultation with the public on the museum's future, the question was asked as to what 'aspect of Hull's maritime history is the most important?' 'Whales and

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[489] "Hull City Council: Maritime Museum," *Hull City Council,* 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.hcandl.co.uk/museums-and-galleries/hull-maritime-museum/maritime-museum.
[490] "Hull Maritime Museum," *Our Members,* United Kingdom Maritime Collections Strategy, 2007, accessed Mar 13, 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20070610023804/http://www.ukmcs.org.uk/members/member_hull_maritime_museum.htm.
[491] Nikolas Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire – York and the East Riding* (Hull: Neave, D. & S., 2010), 61–65.
[492] "Hull Yorkshire's Maritime City Project," *Hull City Council,* 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://www.hcandl.co.uk/museums-and-galleries/hull-maritime-museum/hull-yorkshires-maritime-city-project. The full plans and description of the different changes that will be made to the different sites can be found fully outlined here: "Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City," *City Plan Hull,* 2018, accessed Jul 13, 2018, http://cityplanhull.co.uk/index.php/hull-yorkshires-maritime-city/.

whaling' came a lowly ninth in the survey, scoring just 15%, while 'The docks, their role and their history' came at the top with a score of 60%. Clearly, this suggests that whaling is not seen as an important part of Hull's history by its populace, but perhaps this can also be due to the visibility of the trade within the town and its difficult history, meaning that the whaling gallery may look very different in the future. It also allows scope for new topics to be covered in the museum, which have not been given space previously, including transmigration.[493]

The whaling gallery is reached via a small corridor. Here, hangs the small skeleton of a bottlenose whale. As the visitor walks underneath the skeletal form, it offers an experience akin to a tunnel in an aquarium in which fish typically dart overhead, an unnerving experience in itself, but here more so, as the exposed and static whale bones hint to the morbid reality of the trade which one is about to encounter further. Entering the main whaling gallery space, a rousing whaling sea shanty commences emitting from an unknown source, the wistful lyrics of which accompany the visitor around the exhibition space. The whaling gallery is a strange and claustrophobic space, occupying two levels. The bottom features a series of whaling paintings of successful whaling voyages and fleets, as well as some of the ice-bound disasters of the trade, that were covered in chapter two. Ship models, logbooks and journals are also on display and the space gives a comprehensive introduction to the trade from both the point of view of the artist and the whaler. Unlike Amsterdam, however, we do not have the view from inside a whale (Fig. 19).

[493] This was recently made more visible with an installation at the Princes Quay shopping centre, called "Elephant in the Room." This was an artwork by Claire Morgan. It consisted of 12,000 fragments of paper, arranged across 4,279 individual threads over 109 layers. Put together, this formed the shape of a Greenland Right Whale. For information on transmigration, see Nicholas Evans, "Migration from Northern Europe to America via the Port of Hull, 1848–1914," *To Hull,* 2016, accessed Jan 4, 2018, http://to-hull.com/the-trans-migrant-story/.

The centrepiece of the gallery is the skeleton of a North-Atlantic right whale (Fig. 20), stretched out along the floor. The upper gallery level lets you gaze down at the whale's remains viewing it alongside a series of harpoons, all pointing away from the whale skeleton, and a large trypot, which highlights the reality and brutality of the trade, and subverts our initial encounter with the whale in the corridor, which was hung above. This is the view of a harpooner or a contemporary traveller in a whale-watching vessel, highlighting the very similar sense of viewership that these experiences evoke.

The skeleton on display can again also be related to fossils. Edward Morris and Susannah Sayler compare fossils to a photograph, stating how:

> both are defined by a body of knowledge and yet both emit the trace of an existence that cannot be fully absorbed […]. In looking at a photograph we are looking at something that absolutely was but will absolutely never be again. We are looking at both presence – the literal shining forth of a person or object in the world […] and absence[,] the disappearance of that thing […]. The object is an extraction – something taken out of time. Whatever we know about it, we can never know it completely. It emulates an existence, a presence.[494]

The skeleton in Hull has a similar sense, as it is 'an extraction' of a former time, which still exists as a mimicry of its past. The stark exposure of its bones further

[494] Edward Morris and Susannah Sayler, "Objects in View, The Canary Project: Photographs and Fossils," in *Curating the Future: Museums, Communities, and Climate Change*, ed. Newell, Robin and Wehner, 206.

indicate this distance and loss, and creates what Baker describes as '[t]he thing seen is recognized as an animal; the nature of the experience may be less recognizable.'[495] In the museum space the skeleton is contextualised with a new narrative, and the bare bones offer a stark reminder of the new threats to marine life, especially if one contrasts them with the bleaching of the coral reefs, which possess a similar patina. This similarity holds further relevance as in Hull during 2017, artist Tania Kovats showed an artwork that encapsulates this idea, entitled "Bleached." This work used artificial coral from The Deep aquarium in Hull, that was bleached white.[496]

Towards the back of the gallery is a small section dedicated to Arctic communities, which demonstrates that it was not just whales and other fauna that were affected by British whaling, but also indigenous communities, whose interactions with the whale were based on more subsistence (Fig. 21). This section showcases some of the carved bone objects created by Inuit and Yupik communities, as well a series of toys, weapons and clothes fashioned out of animal skins and furs.[497] It is rather dark and hidden away at the back of the space, and could have been given greater prominence, as the Inuit and Yupik communities have a long history of whaling, both as a trade they carried out themselves, and through interaction with British whalers and explorers. This could be done in an overarching way as in New Bedford, where the focus is on different human interactions with whales.

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[495] Steve Baker, in Rachel Poliquin, "The Matter and Meaning of Museum Taxidermy," *Museum and Society* 6, no. 2, (2008): 123–134.
[496] "Look Up: Bleached – Tania Kovats," *Summary,* Hull UK City of Culture, 2017, accessed Nov 24, 2018, https://www.visithull.org/whatson/events/bleached/.
[497] For more on these objects see: Meg Boulton, "Exploring Frozen Worlds: Inuit Art in the Hull Maritime Museum," Edwards, *Turner and the Whale,* 2017, pp. 122-144.

Adjoining the main whaling space is the natural history gallery and, in contrast to the whaling shanty in the previous room, it is now the voice of whales and not whalers that provide the accompanying soundtrack (Fig. 22). This alteration in sound is of great significance, as the first recording of the so-called 'whale song', made in 1958 by navy engineer Frank Watlington, changed many people's attitude towards whales. Their musicality humanised them: 'they had become singing beings,' and their plight, as Hal Whitehead and Luke Rendell imply, allowed people to sympathise with them more, driving a greater impetus for environmental change through the aesthetics of their voice.[498] Aside from the whale song, this gallery gives a biological overview of the different whale types, and the attempts of modern conservation to preserve and protect the species. A dated box television set plays loop scenes of whales swimming naturally in their habitat, which much like the transition of sound between the galleries highlights the move of static visualisation to this more kinetic style.

Juxtaposed to these biological elements are a large industrial-sized harpoon and two glass cabinets, which display a small proportion of the museum's extensive scrimshaw collection. The pieces range vastly in levels of skill and subject matter, with some featuring the now familiar form of fashionable women and others heroic scenes taken from contemporary prints. Some examples were created with specific intended use, where the bone has been carved into the form of busks, or into beads or brushes. This room perfectly highlights the oppositional interactions often surrounding the relationship between whale and human.

[498] Whitehead and Rendell, *The Cultural Lives of Whales and Dolphins*.

As the visitor leaves the gallery, on the left there is a small section exploring the role of preservation of whale species, which is an interesting indicator for the animals and their right to exist/survive as a species, and features a poster from Greenpeace alongside information on current preservation techniques. Although largely framed in the context of social history, the various objects on display demonstrate the visual and material culture of a trade, which was otherwise largely invisible to the vast majority of the population, since it occurred far offshore.

Aside from the physical whaling space, a number of other interventions have been made within the museum. For example, during 2017, a number of installations were placed within the whaling gallery related to the whaling heritage of the city that offered a chance to engage with the museum in a new way.[499] One of these was "Bowhead" (2017). The installation featured an animation of a series of bowhead whales, swimming below the surface of the ocean (Fig. 23).[500] The brief of the project was to 'create an audio-visual installation of the mighty bowhead whale, highlighting Hull's whaling heritage and offering an insight into the life of the species at the centre of Hull's whaling industry.'[501] With the event information describing it as a 'lifelike audio-visual installation, commemorating the city's whaling heritage',[502] it was created by then final-year student Louise Dempsey on the BA (Hons) Games Design course at the Hull School of Art and Design (HSAD). Music was added afterwards in collaboration with the Music Department at Hull

[499] It is interesting to consider the high percentage of projects focusing on whales and whaling during the year of culture at the Maritime Museum in Hull. These themes turned out to be one of the main focuses of the Year of Culture for the Hull Maritime museum, rather than, for example, the Dockers.
[500] "Bowhead," *Hull 2017 City of Culture*, 2017, accessed April 5, 2017, https://www.hull2017.co.uk/whatson/events/bowhead/ and Angus Young, "Bowhead at Hull Maritime Museum Brings Family of Whales to Life for Stunning City of Culture," *Hull Daily Mail*, Jan 5, 2017, accessed April 5, 2017, http://bit.ly/2nJY2nX.
[501] Bethany Watson, "Q & A: Louise Dempsey, Lead Designer of Bowhead," *Discover,* Hull 2017 City of Culture, Feb 7, 2017, accessed July 13, 2018, https://www.visithull.org/discover/article/qa-louise-dempsey-lead-designer-bowhead/.
[502] "Bowhead."

University, composed by George Marshall (PhD, Composition), Sarah Dew (MMus, Composition) and Adam Courtney (BA, Creative Music Technology).[503] Information boards were located at the back of the installation space, one talking about the 'animation', one about the 'music', and the last one offering information about bowhead whales, giving context about how they were hunted during the height of Hull's whaling industry, as well as the 'critically endangered' status of the animals in the current climate. The panel states that 'hunting is not currently a significant threat to bowhead whales, yet increased toxins and pollutants in Arctic waters along with increased levels of shipping and activity' remain.[504]

"Bowhead" consisted of a nine-minute looped video projected onto a large cinema-size screen in a darkened room. Whales swam in every direction, left to right, towards, away, over and beneath the viewer, who was located as if suspended within the watery scene. The advertising campaign for the installation featured a zoomed-in eye of a whale, and both this and the video itself can be seen as an attempt to create a work from what Jacques Derrida calls the 'vantage of the animal', and to give prominence to 'the seeing and not just seen eye of the other' (Fig. 24) [505] "Bowhead" was an attempt in the contemporary world to create through an installation something that tries to move beyond an anthropocentric viewpoint in relation to whales, and one that is more sympathetic to their current plight.

Around the same time as "Bowhead," two interactive games created by local college students also formed part of the installation. The first allowed visitors to be a whale, controlling the animal by moving the hand over a sensor (Fig. 25). 'Breath' level was listed along the bottom, as well as 'Health,' with both initially starting at

[503] Ibid.
[504] "Information Board," *Bowhead,* Hull Maritime Museum, Feb 12, 2017.
[505] Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 381, 390.

100. A timer counted down at the top from 60 seconds. Initially, the player as the whale was on a plain sea, but a whaleboat emerged from the left with two people on board with harpoons; a second one appeared, before a rather imposing whaleship glided into view. As the whale, the player acquires some form of empathy for the animal, with an added sense of panic as they try to escape the whalers. In another example more recently (not within the Hull Maritime Museum), technology has been used to try and give people a realistic encounter with animal suffering, such as the VR headsets called 'ianimal,' created by Animal Equality, which offer 'a unique immersive experience into the lives of farmed animals.'[506] Through VR, people are taken inside factory farms and slaughterhouses, experiencing first-hand how farmed animals live and die. Obviously, this does not have a place within the family environment of the museum, but it offers an interesting suggestion for how technology is being used to highlight the reality of animal death within a commercial setting.

Back in Hull another game was created on a similar interactive screen. This time, viewers were asked to select from three headings: 'Searching' allowed one to 'discover the location of the whale,' 'Hunting' allowed them to 'hunt a whale of your own,' and lastly 'Crafting' allowed one to 'create things with whalebone' (Fig. 26). Starting with 'Searching' and upon 'discover[ing] the location of whales,' the player is instructed to 'help the whalers find the correct whale! Use the interactive map to find the perfect location.' Upon selecting 'Hunting,' the player is taken to a screen that indicates how they can 'hunt a whale of your own' and where 'it's time to catch a whale!' At the end of the game, if the player has managed to get 3/5 questions right, they are greeted with a large 'Congratulations' and the statement that

[506] "ianimal," *Animal Equality*, 2018, accessed Aug 30, 2018, https://ianimal360.com.

'You have captured a whale successfully!' This certainly raises some ethically questionable ideas and forms of interaction, but it does challenge people to see if they remember what they may (or may not) have read in the previous whaling gallery and offers a form of technological interaction for young people, that is often expected to be found in contemporary museums, but not currently represented in Hull.[507] Also, the presence of such installations in the museum places young voices within the space which is highly important, and creates a showcase for local and notably young talent, who may not have had an alternate platform for their animated work to be shown; thus, there is often a negotiation at play between such issues.

According to Susan Pearce, '[m]useums are established institutions, but they exist in a changing world.'[508] When it comes to whaling, which is now highly controversial, it is about recording and presenting its past, and using it as a starter to discuss current environmental issues of which whales are a highly significant part. The Hull Maritime Museum, especially in its current time of transition, offers the perfect opportunity for this.

[507] As mentioned Hull Maritime Museum, is currently in a point of transition so it is likely that more interactive elements will be included in the future.
[508] Susan M. Pearce, *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London: Routledge, 1994), x.

CONCLUSION

In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I mentioned 'Hope', the 25.2-metre-long blue whale skeleton suspended from the ceiling of the Natural History Museum, London. Its position renders it the centrepiece of the museum. Its presence is seen as fostering efforts to 'shape a future that is sustainable.' Recently, it has been the catalyst of a staged 'die-in' by 100 protestors from the movement Extinction Rebellion (Fig. 1). The activists lay on the floor motionless underneath the blue whale skeleton, in order to 'raise awareness of a sixth mass extinction,' in a location that one protestor called the 'cathedral to the natural world.'[509] The stage for the die-in underneath the whale skeleton clearly brings the animal and the museum setting within the contemporary climate debate, suggesting the continuing importance of the visual literacy of whales, and how they are now being used to facilitate climate protest and debate: a shared awareness towards which my research hopes to contribute.

Each chapter of this thesis has offered a separate study of a central hypothesis about whaling representations. Chapter One, "A 'Fish' Out of Water: Representing Whales in Nineteenth–Century Print," looked at whaling representations on the materiality of prints in three categories: strandings, natural history representations, and whaling narratives. Based on the works represented, and offering an example of W.J.T. Mitchell's 'image/texts,' it argued that the text and image do not offer a coherent whole in most cases, instead containing a sense of fictionality, that further

[509] Extinction Rebellion Bath, Twitter post, Apr 22, 2019, 11:34 am, https://twitter.com/XRBath/status/1120395390254223360. Extinction Rebellion 'is an international movement that uses non-violent civil disobedience to achieve radical change in order to minimise the risk of human extinction and ecological collapse.' For more information, see "About Us," *The Truth,* Extinction Rebellion, 2019, accessed April 24, 2019, https://rebellion.earth/the-truth/about-us/.

confused the already speculative ideas and thoughts around whales during the period of the prints' production. The second chapter, "A View to a Kill: Representing Animal Death in Hull's Whaling Marine Paintings," used whaling paintings created by the Hull school of artists, to highlight firstly how they have largely been overlooked in academic circles, to emphasise how the images again show a false narrative, through a sense of idealisation, which sanitised the reality of the whaling scenes depicted, to legitimise and encourage future trade. The third chapter, "Scrimshaw Afterlives," considered the 'post-narratives' of a number of scrimshaw objects, and how their afterlives emphasised a range of complex social and emotional contexts. Finally, the last chapter, concentrated on the display of such whaling objects within museum settings, employing three case studies, the Amsterdam Maritime Museum, the New Bedford Whaling Museum, and Hull Maritime Museum, in order to explore how whaling is now represented in museum spaces, the ethics surrounding this, and the role of the audience in the settings. Taken as a whole, this thesis then, has considered the role of visual and material representations of whaling, largely focusing on the long nineteenth century. Each chapter has considered different media including prints, paintings and scrimshaw, whilst the fourth chapter examined the museological curation of such objects. The thesis is an attempt to emphasise the range of representations, and to interrogate their function within contemporary art historical and environmental rhetoric.

Since starting this research, public exposure to whaling and its representations has increased through the use of whaling imagery in contemporary art, such as John Afokabah's, "Vertigo Sea (2015)," which offers a 'meditation on whaling, the environment and our relationship with the sea' and saw a number of screenings in 2016–18, as well as the better known "Blue Planet" BBC series, whose

dead baby whale encouraged a widespread debate about plastics as we have seen.[510] Building on this interest, I have also contributed to a number of projects alongside my thesis, which have opened up the discussion on whaling representations to a broader public. This primarily manifested in a co-curated exhibition entitled "Turner and the Whale," (2017), and an accompanying catalogue of the same name. These coincided with Hull's year as UK City of Culture, and the exhibition brought together different manifestations of whaling representations from across so-called art historical hierarchies. The exhibition included three of the four Turner whaling canvases – "Whalers" (c.1845), "Hurrah! For the Whaler Erebus! Another Fish!" (1846) and "Whalers (Boiling Blubber) Entangled in Flaw Ice, Endeavouring to Extricate Themselves" (c.1846), along with a copy of the Met's "Whalers" (1845). The exhibition juxtaposed Turner's paradigmatic paintings with canvases from local nineteenth-century painters such as John Ward, James Wheldon and Richard Dodd Widdas, alongside various examples of scrimshaw, wooden boat models, prints of stranded whales, Inuit art, and raw pieces of whale bone and baleen. In addition, visitors were shown footage of living whales on a small screen as they exited the exhibition.

The exhibition was accompanied by an interdisciplinary conference (of the same name) that brought together people of varied specialisms to think about the topic of whaling visual culture through new lenses. Talks at the conference ranged from Emelia Jane Quinn's "Notes on Vegan Camp," which offered a new reading of the male imagery on scrimshaw, and Meg Boulton's "Touching Distance: Spatial Conceptualisations in Circum-Polar Object Works," which presented research on

[510] "John Akomfrah Vertigo Sea," *Exhibitions,* Turner Contemporary, Oct 6, 2017, accessed Apr 21, 2019, https://www.turnercontemporary.org/exhibitions/john-akomfrah-vertigo-sea.

Inuit and Yupik objects and their use of space and place, to Amy Concannon's "Whalers, Burning, Blubber: Material, Marks and Meaning in Turner's Whalers Sketchbook," which gave a thoughtful exploration that encouraged a greater focus on the materiality of artworks, mirroring or enhancing the subject they are depicting.[511] These papers are now available open access online, along with a walkthrough of the exhibition, a soundscape, a 3-D piece of scrimshaw, ensuring that the exhibition itself and its context have a longevity, and a wider accessibility to those unable to attend or who may want to refer to them for academic purposes in the future. The exhibition, conference and publication sought to offer a key turning point in the literature on whaling, showing it to be a highly topical and current subject, engaging with wider contemporary and theoretical debates, as-well as diverse public audiences, ultimately offering a point of growth for future studies, including this thesis.

Another important contribution since writing this PhD was the exhibition "Here Be Whales," which I co-curated with Hondartza Fraga and Sophia Nicolov. It was held in two venues: Left Bank Leeds (Feb 4, 2019 – Mar 29, 2019) and Hull Maritime Museum (Feb 5, 2019 – Apr 22, 2019). The aim of the exhibition was to 'bring together artists who explore and question the authenticity of whale representations. Considering the past and current "traditions" and multiplicity of whale depictions, the exhibition sought to offer alternative ways to interrogate the process of myth-making and animal representation.'[512] The artists were all women, which challenged the typically male-led representations that have dominated this

[511] "Turner and the Whale: Position Papers," *History of Art Research Portal,* History of Art Department, University of York, 2017, accessed Feb 1, 2019, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssays.jsp.
[512] Martha Cattell, Hondartza Fraga and Sophia Nicolov, "Abstract," *Here Be Whales,* Oct 2018, accessed Apr 24, 2019, https://herebewhales.wordpress.com.

thesis. Also, as a concurrent two-venue exhibition, the works were able to reach a more diverse audience and engender different contexts at each site.

I believe that public engagement, such as the examples listed above, is an important aspect of any research project, and especially vital for topics such as environmental issues or animal representations in the current age of ecological uncertainty. Obviously, there is still a lot more work to do, especially in moving the focus away from the global North. Further, it can contribute to the creation of more community-driven engagement in such topics, with participation moving away from the typical "artist" or "academic" accessing/working on a subject, whose research results are often then consumed within an echo chamber.

Overall, this PhD has intervened in a topic that has long been dominated by male economists and historians, and has demonstrated the rich resources that can be offered in relation to whaling representations and how they can be used as case-studies to reflect on the marine cultures of the long nineteenth century, the ecological present of whale species, and the opening up of questions about their speculative futures.

GLOSSARY

Amidships: In the middle of a ship

Baleen: Long keratinous strips, found hanging from the roofs of the mouths of baleen whales, which they use to strain out their food from water.

Barque/Bark: A ship, usually with three masts, the foremast and mainmast are square-rigged and the mizzenmast is rigged fore and aft.

Bow: The front end of a boat or ship.

Cetaceans: A collective term used to describe whales, dolphins and porpoises.

Clean: Coming back from a whaling trip with no catches.

Crow's Nest: Originally a barrel strapped to the top-gallant mast where a crew member was stationed to look for whales or ice, invented by Scoresby Sr..

Flensing: Removal of the blubber from whales.

Harpoon: An implement used by whalers to kill the whales during a hunt.

Jack-knife: A knife owned by more seamen used for various tasks including scrimshadering.

Making Off: Putting the blubber into barrels during the process of whaling.

Nantucket Sleigh Ride: A term used when a whalebone is being pulled along at speed by a harpooned whale.

Portside: Side of the vessel which is on the left when facing towards the bow.

Ship: Type of vessel that has three masts with topmasts, topgallant mast and is square-rigged on all three masts.

Spermaceti: A liquid wax, found in the heads of sperm whales.

Starboard: Side of the vessel which is on the right when facing towards the bow.

Stern: The rear of a ship.

Trying Out: Boiling down pieces of whale blubber in the tryworks to make oil.

Tryworks: Large iron pots set in a brick stove and found on the deck of whaling ships, only really used in South Sea Whaling.

Waif: A long-poled flag used to indicate ownership of a dead whale, so other whaleships will not claim it.

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