1	Reconstruction of Atlantic herring ( <i>Clupea harengus</i> ) recruitment in the North						
2	Sea for the past 455 years based on the $\delta^{13}$ C from annual shell increments of the						
3	ocean quahog (Arctica islandica)						
4	Running title: Herring recruitment reconstruction						
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### 17 Abstract

Understanding the recruitment variability of the Atlantic herring North Sea stock remains 18 a key objective of stock assessment and management. Although many efforts have been 19 undertaken linking climatic and stock dynamic factors to herring recruitment, no major attempt 20 has been made to estimate recruitment levels before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Here we present a novel 21 annually-resolved, absolutely dated herring recruitment reconstruction, derived from stable 22 carbon isotope geochemistry ( $\delta^{13}$ C), from ocean quahog shells from the Fladen Ground (northern 23 24 North Sea). Our age model is based on a growth increment chronology obtained from fourteen shells. Ten of these were micromilled at annual resolution for  $\delta^{13}$ C analysis. Our results indicate 25 that the anthropogenically-driven relative depletion of <sup>13</sup>C, the oceanic Suess effect (oSE), 26 27 became evident in the northern North Sea in the 1850s. We calculated a regression line between the oSE-detrended  $\delta^{13}$ C results ( $\delta^{13}$ CS) and diatom abundance in the North Sea, the regression 28 being mediated by the effect of phytoplankton on the  $\delta^{13}$ C of the ambient dissolved inorganic 29 carbon. We used this regression to build an equation mediated by a nutritional link to reconstruct 30 herring recruitment using  $\delta^{13}$ CS. The reconstruction suggests that there were five extended 31 episodes of low recruitment levels before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These results are supported by 32 33 measured recruitment estimates and historical fish catch and export documentation. This work demonstrates that molluscan sclerochronological records can contribute to the investigation of 34 ecological baselines and ecosystem functioning impacted by anthropogenic activity with 35 36 implications for conservation and stock management.

37 Keywords

38 • Catch per unit effort

- Ecosystem functioning
- 40 Herring recruitment
- 41 Historical documentation
- 42 Sclerochronology
- 43 Stable carbon isotope geochemistry
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- 65 1 Introduction
- 66 The North Sea herring has been a source of wealth and nutritional stability for the countries
- 67 bordering the North Sea going at least as far back as the Middle Ages (Pitcher & Lam, 2014).
- Recruitment variability, i.e. the number of juvenile fish that survive from egg production to join

the stock, is known to be a crucial contributor to stock productivity (Pinnegar et al., 2016). The 69 70 socioeconomic impacts of extended low recruitment intervals were evidenced twice in the past 71 50 years. In the 1970s, herring recruitment failure led to a collapse of the fish stock and 72 temporary closure of the fishery. Later, in the 2000s, reduced recruitment levels caused the 73 fisheries management agencies to reduce the total allowable catch of the North Sea stock by half (Corten, 2013). While annual estimates of herring recruitment in the North Sea are available for 74 the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries (Burd, 1978; ICES, 2018), understanding the long-term variability, 75 76 magnitude and drivers of recruitment can inform management efforts to keep the stock at sustainable levels (Dickey-Collas et al., 2010; Simmonds, 2007). 77

In the classical view of the marine food-web in temperate seas, fisheries recruitment and production is linked to diatom blooms (in spring and autumn); particularly, the energy of the diatom bloom flows to fish, either directly (e.g. with large colonial diatoms; Chavez, Messié, & Pennington, 2011; Ryhter, 1969) or mediated through copepods (Cushing, 1989; Irigoien et al., 2002). In fact, the phytoplankton community biomass of the North Sea is dominated by diatoms during the spring bloom (e.g. (Halsband & Hirche, 2001; Nielsen & Richardson, 1989).

Other factors are also likely to contribute to fish recruitment and significant efforts have been undertaken to understand the drivers of recruitment variability in the North Sea. These include regression analyses between recruitment, stock densities and water temperature (Akimova, Núñez-Riboni, Kempf, & Taylor, 2016; Bogstad, Dingsør, Ingvaldsen, & Gjøsæter, 2013), and models based on the interaction of major climatic variability modes such as the North Atlantic Oscillation (NAO) and the Atlantic Multidecadal Oscillation (AMO) and stock densities (Axenrot & Hansson, 2003; Gröger, Kruse, & Rohlf, 2010). Of these, Akimova et al., (2016) and Bogstad et al. (2013) agree that water temperature is a poor herring recruitment predictor. On the other hand, Axenrot and Hansson (2003) and Gröger et al. (2010) successfully modelled herring recruitment in their studies but these were limited to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and neither was able to provide an adequate mechanism to explain the interaction between modes of climatic variability and recruitment.

The difficulty of defining a mechanism that associates climatic variability with fish recruitment was evidenced in a study by Capuzzo et al. (2018). Although these authors found a significant positive correlation between primary production and recruitment levels in different fish stocks in the North Sea, they did not find a link between the NAO and primary production, instead relating the latter to riverine nutrient inputs and sea surface temperature. Riverine runoff is in turn influenced by the combined effects of the NAO and AMO (Hurrell, 1995; O'Reilly, Woollings, & Zanna, 2017).

For periods before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, research has concentrated on fish landing 103 reconstructions from historical records. High quality records exist for Dutch, Scottish and Swedish 104 herring fisheries (Alheit & Hagen, 1996; Corten, 1999; Coull, 1986, 1990; Höglund, 1978; Jones, 105 Cathcart, & Speirs, 2016; B. Poulsen, 2008, 2010). While these records have been used to assess 106 the climatic impacts on herring migratory patterns (Alheit & Hagen, 1996; Corten, 1999), they 107 may not always be useful as a guide to estimate recruitment levels as this also requires 108 109 information about levels of natural and fishing mortality (Tester, 1955). To effectively address 110 this information gap, we require a set of reliably dated proxy data that are tightly coupled to ecosystem variability, which extend at least as far back in time as the historical catch 111 reconstructions, and that also cover the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. 112

In this study we present an annual reconstruction of North Sea herring recruitment for the 113 114 time interval 1551 to 2005 CE (hereafter all references to dates assume years CE) based on the stable carbon isotopes of shells of the ocean quahog from the Fladen Ground in the northern 115 North Sea. The stable carbon isotope values (deviations of the <sup>13</sup>C:<sup>12</sup>C ratio of a substance when 116 compared to the <sup>13</sup>C:<sup>12</sup>C ratio of a standard,  $\delta^{13}$ C) from the ocean guahog's shell have been shown 117 to be proportional to the  $\delta^{13}$ C of the dissolved inorganic carbon ( $\delta^{13}C_{DIC}$ ) in the water column 118 (Beirne, Wanamaker Jr., & Feindel, 2012) and to not be affected by ontogeny or growth-rates 119 120 (Schöne, Pfeiffer, Pohlmann, & Siegismund, 2005; Schöne, Wanamaker Jr., Fiebig, Thébault, & Kreutz, 2011).  $\delta^{13}C_{DIC}$  and DIC concentration in the North Sea are largely controlled by primary 121 production and respiration (Bozec et al., 2006; Burt et al., 2016). Robust growth increment 122 chronologies can be built from the annual increments in the ocean quahog's shell (Butler et al., 123 2010; Butler, Wanamaker Jr., Scourse, Richardson, & Reynolds, 2013; Butler, Richardson, et al., 124 125 2009; Schöne et al., 2003; Scourse et al., 2006; Thompson, Jones, & Dreibelbis, 1980; Witbaard, 1996) which provide an accurate age model for stable isotopic results. The work presented here 126 reconstructs herring fish recruitment through the interpretation of temporally aligned  $\delta^{13}C$ 127 values of the ocean quahog's shell, through the relation between  $\delta^{13}C_{DIC}$  and the wider ecosystem 128 in the North Sea. 129

130 In presenting this reconstruction we will (a) determine the timing of the anthropogenic-131 driven relative <sup>13</sup>C depletion in the North Sea (oceanic Suess effect) and determine a time-132 dependent mathematical formulation for it, (b) explore the relationship between the  $\delta^{13}$ C from 133 the shell of the ocean quahog and diatom abundance, and (c) associate this relationship with 134 patterns of herring recruitment in the North Sea. As the first attempt to link molluscan sclerochronological data to wider ecosystem functioning, this work constitutes a novelapplication of ocean quahog sclerochronology.

### 137 2 Materials and methods

To reconstruct and test herring recruitment for the North Sea we adopted techniques used in different fields. First, we established our age model by applying crossdating techniques first developed by the tree-ring community and later adapted in the study of long-lived bivalves. We did this by extending an existing northern North Sea ocean quahog increment chronology (Butler, Richardson, et al., 2009) to be used solely as an age model.

143 We then obtained geochemistry of stable carbon isotopes from the shells comprising this 144 chronology and used it to build a continuous  $\delta^{13}$ C time series covering the 1551-2005 interval. As 145 modern marine  $\delta^{13}$ C records show a characteristic negative trend related to the burning of fossil 146 fuels (oceanic Suess effect, see below), we applied a modified technique routinely used in the 147 tree-ring and bivalve-increment communities, i.e. detrending.

We calibrated the detrended  $\delta^{13}$ C time series against 20<sup>th</sup> century measurements of diatom abundance and age-0 herring recruitment and used this calibration to reconstruct herring recruitment during the 1551-2005 interval. Finally, we tested our reconstruction with various independent historical records of catch per unit of effort.

# 152 2.1 Shell collection and processing

153 The ocean quahog shells used in this research were collected from the Fladen Ground in 154 the northern North Sea at coordinates 58.994° N, 0.291° E. The collection was acquired by the RV *Prince Madog* in 2004. Figure 1 shows the approximate location of the collection site, together with average annual herring landings from 2012 to 2016 by the UK-registered fishing fleet. Given that the majority of herring spawning in the North Sea occurs in the vicinity of Orkney and Shetland in northern Scotland, near the Fladen Ground (Heath & Richardson, 1989; Lusseau, Gallego, Rasmussen, Hatfield, & Heath, 2014), and the tendency of juvenile herring to stay in shallow waters before recruitment, it is not unreasonable to assume that an important part of recruitment would also occur in or nearby the Fladen Ground.

We used a total of 16 shells, being a combination of live-collected specimens (five adults originally described in Butler, Richardson, et al., 2009, and two juveniles), articulated valves and single valves. Once cleaned, the shells were embedded in resin and sectioned using a standard procedure (Butler, Richardson, et al., 2009; Scourse et al., 2006) to produce acetate peel replicas (Ropes, 1984). Annual growth increments were identified and their widths measured in both the shell hinge and ventral margin.

# 168 2.2 Accelerator mass spectrometry radiocarbon dating and chronology construction

Radiocarbon dating was carried out on the umbonal shell portion (deposited in early ontogeny) of nine of the previously mentioned sixteen specimens (Scourse et al., 2006). Typically, the juvenile section in the ocean quahog's shell contains the broadest increments and, therefore, umbonal shell samples incorporate less than five years of growth (Helama, Schöne, Black, & Dunca, 2006; Scourse et al., 2006). The material was submitted to the Natural Environment Research Council Radiocarbon Laboratory (East Kilbride, United Kingdom) or the Accelerator Mass Spectrometry <sup>14</sup>C Dating Centre (University of Aarhus, Denmark).

Our results are based on an extension of the Fladen Ground, Site B increment-width 176 177 chronology (FGB) described by Butler, Richardson, et al. (2009). FGB was selected as its extended 178 version (1755-2003) is the longest of the five Fladen Ground chronologies described by Butler, Richardson, et al. (2009), and because a substantial number of shells from that site have been 179 180 radiocarbon-dated. The nine radiocarbon-dated specimens described above were put in relative stratigraphic order and then crossdated with the five specimens in FGB and among each other 181 following the crossdating methods described by Butler, Richardson, et al. (2009) and Scourse et 182 183 al. (2006). The final increment-width chronology was built using the standard dendrochronology software package ARSTAN (Cook & Krusic, 2014) by applying the methods described by Butler, 184 Richardson, et al. (2009) and Cook & Peters (1997). Two juvenile (age <30 yr) live collected 185 186 specimens were not crossmatched to FGB, but were independently dated by counting increments. 187

The strength of the chronology was analysed with the standard dendrochronology and sclerochronology statistics  $\bar{r}$  (the average correlation between pairs of shells with overlapping lifespans) and the expressed population signal (EPS; variance explained by a finite subsample of a population chronology, see Wigley et al., 1984). Their interpretation and estimation of increment counting error are presented in the Supplementary Materials.

# 193 2.3 Micromilling and stable isotope analysis

Eight of the shells contained in the newly extended FGB were selected for isotopic analysis at annual resolution on the time interval from 1551 to 1980. The selection was based on temporal coverage of the individual shells and their taphonomic state, with preference given to the shells that showed the least erosion, the broadest increments and those that provided at least 10 years of temporal overlap between shell pairs. Two live-collected juvenile specimens were selected for micromilling at annual resolution for the time interval 1976-2005. These specimens came from the same site as the FGB shells but they were not incorporated into the chronology.

201 Milling was carried out on polished shell sections at the School of Ocean Sciences, Bangor University, using a computerised New Wave/Elemental Scientific micromill system fitted with a 202 203 spherical tungsten carbide dental burr with a diameter of 300 µm at the tip. To minimise aragonite to calcite transformation due to heating and stress (Foster et al., 2008), the rotation 204 205 speed was limited to 10-12 %, equivalent to 3,710-4,450 rpm. The milling for every resin-206 embedded shell was performed on the ventral margin section on the outer shell layer after the 207 increments had been internally crossmatched (i.e. the increments found on the ventral margin of a given shell were crossmatched with those found in the hinge of the same shell) and after the 208 209 outermost surface of the shells was physically removed to avoid contamination with remnants of 210 the periostracum and resin (Schöne, Schmitt, & Maus, 2017). Figure 2 shows a schematic of the 211 micromilling process. To avoid chipping, the milling direction was from the surface of the outer 212 shell towards the inner part of the shell, taking care not to incorporate material from the inner 213 shell layer in the samples. The entirety of the outer layer in each annual increment was milled 214 between the growth lines to an average depth of  $100 \,\mu m$ .

All the powder extracted from a given increment was thoroughly homogenized before an aliquot of the sample was isotopically characterised with a Thermo Fisher MAT 253 continuousflow isotope ratio mass spectrometer equipped with a GasBench II at the Institute of

Geosciences, University of Mainz (Germany). Samples were reacted with water-free H<sub>3</sub>PO<sub>4</sub> at 72 218 °C for 2 hours. Isotope data were calibrated against an NBS-19-calibrated Carrara marble 219 standard ( $\delta^{18}$ O = -1.91 ‰,  $\delta^{13}$ C = +2.01 ‰) with 1 $\sigma$  external reproducibility (accuracy based on 220 421 blindly measured NBS-19 samples) better than 0.04 ‰ for  $\delta^{18}$ O and 0.03 ‰ for  $\delta^{13}$ C and 221 internal precision better than 0.06 ‰ for  $\delta^{18}$ O and 0.04 ‰ for  $\delta^{13}$ C. Both isotope values were 222 reported relative to the Vienna Pee Dee Belemnite standard. Note that we did not apply a 223 correction for different acid fractionation factors of the shell samples (aragonite) and the 224 225 reference material (calcite). For more detailed description and reasoning see Füllenbach, Schöne, & Mertz-Kraus (2015). 226

We inspected the results against the average peak intensity given by the mass spectrometer and rejected those that showed abnormally high/low isotope values and those with intensities falling significantly outside the range of the reference materials. Lower-thanaverage peak intensities are related to insufficient mass in the carbonate powder sample.

# 231 2.4 Adjustment for the oceanic Suess effect

We approximated the oceanic Suess effect (oSE), i.e., the relative depletion of <sup>13</sup>C in carbonate material due to fossil fuel burning since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, using a weighted Fourier regression consisting of the two largest coefficients (Supplementary Material). The weights were given by  $1/\sigma^2$  where  $\sigma$  represents the internal  $\delta^{13}$ C precision for each sample. The purpose of this approximation is not to capture the entire variability of the oSE but, rather, determine its onset in the northern North Sea.

238	To emphasise the high frequency variability, we subtracted the oSE as given by our
239	regression from the raw $\delta^{13}$ C data ( $\delta^{13}$ CS, " $\delta^{13}$ C Sdot"). The $\delta^{13}$ CS was weight-averaged into a
240	single series before comparison with diatom assemblages or herring recruitment data.

# 241 2.5 Modern diatom and recruitment data

We used diatom abundance data as a proxy of diatom biomass at our site (Leblanc et al., 2012). Diatom abundance data was obtained from the Continuous Plankton Recorder (CPR) Survey, operated by the Sir Alister Hardy Foundation for Ocean Science. The CPR is a near-surface (10 m) plankton sampler voluntarily towed each month behind merchant ships on their normal routes of passage. We used the annual maximum diatom count from the CPR standard area B2 (Figure 1) for the years 1958 to 2005 (Johns, 2016).

Annual age-0 herring recruitment data for the years 1947 to 2005 was obtained from the 248 International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (ICES) 2017 fish stock assessment for the 249 250 North Sea, Skagerrak, Kattegat, and east English Channel, the so called "North Sea autumn 251 spawners" (ICES, 2018). Annual age-2 recruitment for the years 1919 to 1973 was obtained from Burd (1978) for central and northern North Sea. The recruitment for the two areas was averaged 252 253 into a single annual series. The Burd (1978) and ICES (2018) data overlap between the years 1953 and 1973 and, in general, show that the age-2 recruitment reported by Burd (1978) is ten times 254 smaller than the age-0 recruitment (ICES, 2018). However, herring catch statistics from ICES 255 256 (2017) show an approximate age-2:age-0 catch ratio of 5 to 1 in the overlapping time interval 257 which suggests that the recruitment reported by Burd (1978) may be an underestimation. We 258 thus scaled the Burd (1978) recruitment data by a factor of 10 before comparing to our analysis.

# 259 2.6 $\delta^{13}$ CS calibration

The  $\delta^{13}$ CS data were compared to the *log-transformed* maximum diatom count (Johns, 261 2016) and *log-transformed* age-0 herring recruitment (ICES, 2018) (see Supplementary Material 262 for detailed description and reasoning). The latter two were also compared against each other.

A cross calibration/verification (CCV) using reduced major axis (RMA) regressions was 263 performed after removal of outliers in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}\dot{S}$  and herring recruitment and diatom count for 264 the interval 1947-2015. The outliers were identified graphically in a modified box and whisker 265 plot where the extent of the first and fourth quartiles (represented by the whiskers) is 266 constrained to be less than 1.5 times the combined height of the second and third quartiles 267 (represented by the box). Data outside this constraint is considered an outlier. Three outliers 268 were identified in MD and HR (1969, 1970, 1972, and 1975-1977, respectively) and one was 269 identified in  $\delta^{13}$ CS (1979). 270

Six equations were generated from the CCV procedure: two equations relate  $\delta^{13}$ CS to maximum diatom count (MD), two relate MD to herring recruitment (HR) and two relate  $\delta^{13}$ CS to HR. The  $\delta^{13}$ CS/MD and MD/HR equations that produced the residuals with the lowest heteroscedasticity were combined to generate an additional  $\delta^{13}$ CS/HR equation which was compared with those generated from the regression procedure. We applied the  $\delta^{13}$ CS/HR equation with the most significant statistics to the rest of the  $\delta^{13}$ CS series and further verified the results against the scaled version of the Burd (1978) record.

#### 278 2.7 Comparison to historical data

As a mean to verify our reconstruction prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the recruitment was also compared to historical catch per unit effort (CPUE, Garstang, 1900). CPUE is defined as

$$\frac{C}{E} = qN$$

281 where C represents the catch, E represents the effort, N is the fish density and q is the catchability 282 coefficient (Arreguín-Sánchez, 1996; R. T. Poulsen & Holm, 2007). The effort can be defined in 283 different ways, ranging from the number of ships in a given year's fishing fleet, the total area of 284 fishing net, or the ships' dimensions and power. For the purpose of this study, we worked with 285 the left-hand side of the CPUE equation only.

286 The CPUE calculations come from Dutch, Scottish, and English fisheries (Figure 1). The Dutch record (1604-1856) was compiled and calculated by B. Poulsen (2008) from the archives 287 288 of the College van de Grote Visserij (CGV) which held a monopoly on the salted herring landings in the Netherlands from the late 1500s until the 1850s. The catch data compiled by B. Poulsen 289 290 (2008) was registered in the southern towns of Schiedam and Vlaardingen. B. Poulsen (2008) used the fishing ships' dimensions and power as his unit of effort which remain consistent 291 292 throughout the entire time series. The fishing vessels associated with the CGV carried hemp driftnets until 1859 (B. Poulsen, 2008) so the adoption of lighter cotton nets does not factor into 293 the Dutch CPUE record. 294

The English record (1750-1789) was compiled by Cushing (1968) from "An historical account of the ancient town of Lowestoft" by Edmund Gillingwater in 1790. In his book, Gillingwater provides the "total average of each owner's boat" which is the total catch by that owner divided by the number of boats. Cushing (1968) calculated the CPUE representing allfishermen and suggests that their nets were made of hemp.

Two Scottish CPUE records are presented. The first one is from southeast Scotland (1845-1889), compiled and calculated by Jones et al. (2016) from the archives of the United Kingdom Fishery Board (UKFB). Jones et al. (2016) used the total area of driftnet in a given year as their unit of effort. Using the total area of driftnet considers the adoption of lighter cotton nets introduced c.1860 (Coull, 1986).

The second Scottish CPUE record is from the Peterhead district in the north of Scotland (1835-1914). Herring cure records and number of fishing vessels were compiled by Coull (1986), presumably from the UKFB archives which covered all of Scotland for the interval of interest and recorded the landings of fish intended for cure (Jones et al., 2016). We calculated the Peterhead CPUE by assuming that the cured herring represented the great majority of the catch and divided it by the number of fishing vessels in a given year. Of all four CPUE used, this one is the weakest as it fails to consider technological developments.

The CPUE data used in this study were standardised into dimensionless indices to account for differences in definition of effort. We did this by subtracting the series average from every data point and dividing the result by the series standard deviation. This harmonisation only scales the CPUE data, so it can be plotted in a common axis. Correlation analyses are not affected by standardisation.

#### 317 **3 Results**

# 318 3.1 Chronology

We extended FGB from its original start point of 1755 back to 1545 (Figure 3a). In general, the interval from 1545-1755 is represented by fewer shells than the interval from 1755-2003 (Figure 3b), with the average number of shells being 2.66 for the former and 6.49 for the latter. The interval from 1545 to 1588 is represented by only one shell.

We observed a decreased  $\bar{r}$  and EPS (Figure 3c) in the 1545-1751 interval (average for the complete segment:  $\bar{r} = 0.41$ , EPS = 0.67) when compared to 1764-2003 (average for the complete segment:  $\bar{r} = 0.63$ , EPS = 0.91). These intervals are separated by an interval (1752-1763) of nearzero average values (average:  $\bar{r} = 0.03$ , EPS = 0.02) which is represented by six shells, four of which settled during that time, showing biological ages between 3 and 15 years in 1763.

An F-test on the year-to-year differences of the new segment of the chronology and that originally constructed by Butler, Richardson, et al. (2009) suggests that our newly extended chronology has an increment counting error lower than 5% (Supplementary Material), which allows us to confidently base our stable isotopic results on the age model provided by FGB.

# 332 3.2 Annual stable carbon isotope values

We obtained annual  $\delta^{13}$ C results from 1551 to 1980 from eight shells in FGB, while results for 1975 to 2005 were obtained from two additional juvenile shells not contained in FGB. We were not able to achieve the target temporal overlap of ten years between shell pairs as singleincrement sampling becomes increasingly difficult in later ontogeny as the increments get compressed into a smaller area. The average temporal overlap between specimens was nineyears with a minimum of one year and a maximum of 26 years.

Following our sample-rejection convention in combination with samples that were under the detection limit of the machine and powder samples that were lost in the milling process, resulted in data being available for 422 out of the 455 years of temporal coverage. The longest hiatuses occur in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the intervals between 1939-1944 and 1955-1959.

The composite  $\delta^{13}$ C results fall within the range 3.38 ‰ to 0.13 ‰ (Figure 4), the former 343 occurring in 1655 and the latter in 1979. The results from the 19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> century show a depletion 344 of <sup>13</sup>C relative to times before the 19th century, reflecting the introduction of isotopically light 345 carbon from the burning of fossil fuels into the oceanic dissolved inorganic carbon (DIC) pool and 346 biogenic carbonate material (Butler, Scourse, et al., 2009; Moore, Charles, Rubenstone, & 347 Fairbanks, 2000; Schloesser, Rooker, Louchuoarn, Neilson, & Secor, 2009; Schöne et al., 2011; 348 Swart et al., 2010), the so-called  $\delta^{13}$ C oceanic Suess effect (oSE). Our Fourier approximation of 349 the oSE was highly significant, with a coefficient of determination of 0.71 (p < 0.0001). The first 350 derivative of our approximation shows that consistent <sup>13</sup>C depletion began in c.1820. The second 351 derivative shows that there was an increase in the rate of depletion in c.1850 from -0.0025 ‰ yr<sup>-</sup> 352 <sup>1</sup> (1817-1848) to -0.0104 % yr<sup>-1</sup> (1848-1914). We take this sudden change in depletion rate as 353 the onset of the oSE at our location. The maximum rate of <sup>13</sup>C depletion occurs in 1914 (-0.0131 354 % yr<sup>-1</sup>). After that, the depletion slows down until it stops in 1986 after which we observe an 355 average increase in  $\delta^{13}$ C at a rate of 0.0028 ‰ yr<sup>-1</sup> until 2005. 356

After subtraction of the Fourier regression from the individual shell  $\delta^{13}$ C, the residuals ( $\delta^{13}$ CS) were weight-averaged (Figure 5). The resulting  $\delta^{13}$ CS series shows an average value of -0.04 ‰ with a standard deviation of 0.35 ‰.

# 360 3.3 $\delta^{13}$ CŚ-based maximum diatom abundance and herring recruitment estimates

We undertook two RMA linear regressions on the  $\delta^{13}$ CS/MD data using the temporal intervals of 1962-1988 and 1988-2005 as cross calibration/verification (CCV) intervals. The same was done for the MD/HR and  $\delta^{13}$ CS/HR pairs for the CCV intervals of 1959-1990/1991-2015 and 1960-1985/1985-2005, respectively. To obtain the highest correlations, MD was lagged by one year (i.e.,  $\delta^{13}$ CS<sub>t = 2000 CE</sub> was compared with MD<sub>t = 1999 CE</sub>). We obtained the following equations:

$$MD_{\tau-1} = (0.4969 \pm 0.1021) \,\delta^{13}CS + (5.540 \pm 0.0016) \tag{1}$$

$$MD_{\tau-1} = (0.5727 \pm 0.1024) \,\delta^{13}C\dot{S} + (5.546 \pm 0.0008) \tag{2}$$

$$HR = (1.253 \pm 0.2221) MD_{\tau-1} + (0.4119 \pm 1.565)$$
(3)

$$HR = (0.8934 \pm 0.1717) MD_{\tau-1} + (2.551 \pm 0.9031)$$
(4)

$$HR = (1.133 \pm 0.2228) \,\delta^{13}C\dot{S} + (7.386 \pm 0.0040) \tag{5}$$

$$HR = (0.6237 \pm 0.1193) \,\delta^{13}C\dot{S} + (7.493 \pm 0.0016) \tag{6}$$

366 HR and MD are log-transformed and all uncertainties in Equations 1-6 represent the standard 367 error in slope and intercept. Table 1 summarises the equations' statistics and calibration 368 intervals.

When applied to their respective verification intervals, Equations 1, 3 and 6 perform better than their counterparts, the linear-space standard deviation of residuals being 82.09 x  $10^3$ diatoms for Equation 1 and 183.62 x  $10^3$  diatoms for Equation 2, 16.85 x  $10^9$  recruits for Equation 3 and 17.65 x  $10^9$  recruits for Equation 4, and 19.34 x  $10^9$  recruits for Equation 5 and 16.50 x  $10^9$  recruits for Equation 6. The residuals from Equations 1, 3 and 6 also show the lowest levels of heteroscedasticity, given by the Breusch-Pagan score, meaning that they maintain a stable variability within their predictive range. However, by combining Equations 1 and 3 we derive an equation with lower residual heteroscedasticity, higher coefficient of determination and higher significance than those obtained from the equations derived from the RMA regressions:

 $HR = (0.6228 \pm 0.1690) \delta^{13}C\dot{S} + (7.356 \pm 1.991)$ (7) Equation 7 has a standard error of prediction of 11.60 x 10<sup>9</sup> recruits (equivalent to the standard deviation of residuals), the lowest of all the HR equations, calculated for the same calibration interval as for Equation 6 (Figure 6a, 6b). In the verification interval of 1960-1985, predictions made by Equation 7 fall within 24 x 10<sup>9</sup> recruits of the real value 62% of the time, compared to 57% for Equation 6.

As an independent verification of Equation 7, we used the scaled age-2 recruitment data from Burd (1978) for the northern North Sea (1919-1973). This comparison shows that Equation 7 overestimates the scaled recruitment by an average of 7.16 x  $10^9$  recruits (Figure 6b). The residuals, however, are normally distributed (W = 0.9865, p = 0.9135, JB = 0.0592, p = 0.9709) with a standard deviation of 5.80 x  $10^9$  recruits, well within the standard error of prediction.

In addition to the low recruitment levels during the early 2000s and the late 1970s, our reconstruction shows that there were five extended episodes ( $\geq 4$  yr, interrupted by  $\leq 2$  yr) of low herring recruitment levels prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1589-1607, 1629-1638, 1759-1762, 1799-1802, and 1885-1893). These were defined as values lower than the average 1551-2005 annual reconstructed recruitment (24.79 x 10<sup>9</sup> recruits) minus one standard deviation (13.02 x10<sup>9</sup> recruits). Similarly defined episodes of extended high recruitment levels occurred between 15521564, 1653-1665, 1681-1700, 1840-1847, 1901-1904, and 1982-1988. The average duration of
the extended low recruitment episodes is 8.5 years and occur with an average periodicity of 69.2
years (this calculation includes the 1976-1980 episode). The average duration of extended high
recruitment episodes is 10.8 years and occur with an average periodicity of 75.4 years.

# 398 3.4 Relationship to historical catch per unit effort

Our HR reconstruction shows positive correlations with the Dutch, English and Scottish 399 CPUE standardised indices. When compared to the CPUE reconstruction of the Dutch herring 400 fishing fleet, we find the strongest HR:CPUE correlation when the fishing occurs between one 401 and three years after the herring recruitment (Figure 6d, Figure 7a). During the 17<sup>th</sup> century 402 (1604-1698) the Dutch CPUE reconstruction has an average temporal resolution of 2.35 years 403 and shows the weakest overall HR:CPUE correlation when analysed within ±5 years of 404 recruitment (i.e., correlation analysis done by lagging the CPUE series five years before and five 405 years after recruitment). The strongest correlation after recruitment occurs at a one year lag but 406 does not show significance (r = 0.23, p = 0.14) while a significant HR:CPUE correlation is present 407 when the fishing precedes the recruitment by 3 years (r = 0.35, p = 0.03). The  $18^{th}$  century CPUE 408 data (1700-1781) has an average temporal resolution of 1.25 years and shows significant 409 correlations with HR at lags between one year preceding recruitment and four years after, the 410 most significant occurring two years after recruitment (r = 0.47, p =  $7.8 \times 10^{-5}$ ). The 19<sup>th</sup> century 411 Dutch CPUE data, representing the years 1820-1855 at a two-year resolution, shows the 412 413 strongest correlation to our HR reconstruction when fishing occurs one and three years after recruitment (r = 0.47, p = 0.04 and r = 0.48, p = 0.04). 414

A similar pattern arises when comparing our reconstruction to the English CPUE from Lowestoft (Figure 6d, Figure 7b). The Lowestoft CPUE has annual resolution from 1750-1789 and does not show significant correlation with HR within ±5 years of recruitment. If we expand the window to include year 6 after recruitment, however, we find a significant HR:CPUE correlation of 0.31 (p = 0.049).

The pattern of positive HR:CPUE correlations is also present in the Scottish fisheries (Figure 420 6c, Figure 7b). We found significant positive correlations with the southeast Scotland CPUE (Jones 421 et al., 2016) for the years 1845-1871 (annual resolution) and our reconstruction at lags between 422 423 one and four years after recruitment has taken place, the most significant occurring two years 424 after recruitment (r = 0.50, p = 0.0008). The relationship is weaker but still significant when 425 comparing against the CPUE derived from the Peterhead District for the years 1835-1914 (annual resolution, Coull, 1986), where we find significant correlations to our HR reconstruction when 426 427 fishing occurs three and four years after recruitment (r = 0.29, p = 0.009 and r = 0.24, p = 0.03). 428 If the Peterhead data are divided into two segments (1835-1870 and 1871-1914) and the 429 correlation analysis is repeated, we find a significant correlation with our HR reconstruction when fishing occurs three years after recruitment (r = 0.36, p = 0.04) for the first segment. Similarly, a 430 431 significant correlation when fishing occurs between two and five years after recruitment has taken place in the second segment, the most significant occurring three years after recruitment 432 433 (r = 0.57, p = 0.0001).

# 434 4 Discussion

#### 435 4.1 Nutritional link between stable isotopic signal and abundance estimates

In 2012 Beirne et al. showed that  $\delta^{13}$ C variability in the shell of the ocean guahog is 436 controlled by  $\delta^{13}C_{DIC}$  variability in the water column, itself being partly controlled by primary 437 production. Equation 1 is used to reconstruct the maximum diatom abundance because, as 438 primary production increases (during the spring diatom bloom, for example), <sup>12</sup>C is preferentially 439 incorporated into the blooming biomass, leaving the ambient water enriched in <sup>13</sup>C (Gruber et 440 al., 1999). The likely reason for the one-year lag in the maximum  $\delta^{13}$ CS:MD correlation is the 441 442 timing of the phytoplankton bloom and the onset of the water column stratification at the Fladen Ground. CPR data from the northern North Sea (Johns, 2016) indicates that the MD occurs on 443 average (1958-2015) late in April and is closely followed by the onset of thermal stratification 444 (van Leeuwen, Tett, Mills, & van der Molen, 2015; Warrach, 1998). The ocean quahog community 445 at the Fladen Ground is, therefore, disconnected from the phytoplankton bloom for most of its 446 growing season (February to August, see Schöne, Pfeiffer, et al., 2005) and only has access to the 447 <sup>12</sup>C-depleted DIC from the previous year. 448

Similarly, the reconstruction of herring recruitment using Equation 3 depends on how well it can represent food availability for the fish. Capuzzo et al. (2018) showed that a decline in primary production in the North Sea for the years 1988-2013 produced a knock-on effect on higher trophic levels, indicating a bottom-up control of the local ecosystem. In their study, Capuzzo et al. (2018) found that the 25-year decline in primary production caused a decline in small copepod abundances which, in turn, caused a decline in fish recruitment in seven commercially-important fish stocks in the North Sea. The correlation (r = 0.45) between primary
production and fish recruitment index observed by Capuzzo et al. (2018) is similar to that which
we found between MD and HR (r = 0.50, Equation 3). The slightly stronger covariance is not
surprising as small copepods show a preference for consuming diatoms (Frederiksen, Edwards,
Richardson, Halliday, & Wanless, 2006; Irigoien et al., 2002, 2000) while constituting a staple of
North Sea herring diet (Last, 1989; Segers, Dickey-Collas, & Rijnsdorp, 2007).

The HR: $\delta^{13}$ CS relationship shown in Equation 6 is more subtle. According to Kürten et al. 461 462 (2013), North Sea copepods from the North Dogger Bank occupy higher relative trophic levels in 463 February than during the rest of the year. The higher trophic position of the copepods corresponds to higher overall somatic  $\delta^{13}$ C as they consume <sup>12</sup>C-depleted phospholipid-derived 464 fatty acids. The small copepods are then preyed upon by juvenile herring (Last, 1989), also in 465 February (Segers et al., 2007). As the food is being digested, high-magnesium carbonates with 466 relatively high  $\delta^{13}$ C values are precipitated within the fish intestine, later to be excreted in mucus-467 468 coated tubes and faecal pellets (Jennings & Wilson, 2009). These excretions fall though the water column while being rapidly degraded by zooplankton and bacteria (Hansen & Bech, 1996; 469 Lampitt, Noji, & von Bodungen, 1990) and the high-Mg CaCO<sub>3</sub> precipitates contained within the 470 excretions dissolves as they reach the benthos (Viitasalo, Rosenberg, Heiskanen, & Koski, 1999; 471 Woosley, Millero, & Grosell, 2012). This dissolved carbonate would change the overall local 472  $\delta^{13}C_{DIC}$  which would, in turn, be reflected in the ocean quahog's shell (Beirne et al., 2012). Most 473 474 of this heavy high-Mg CaCO<sub>3</sub> will be precipitated in the intestines of age-0 to age-1 recruits when the fishing mortality rates are ~6% or higher, assuming a constant natural mortality rate of ~27% 475 476 (Jennings & Wilson, 2009; Ricker, 1975).

By combining Equations 1 and 3 into Equation 7 we are explicitly including the diatommediated nutritional link between HR and  $\delta^{13}$ CS. Equation 7 is therefore to be preferred over Equation 6, which expresses a purely statistical relationship.

# 480 4.2 Dutch, English and Scottish herring industry in the context of recruitment variability

Our herring recruitment reconstruction (Figure 6a) is supported by a variety of historical 481 records derived from different sources that cover different geographical extensions. The decline 482 in recruitment observed from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> 483 century coincides with a decline in salted herring exports from east Scotland that began in 1541 484 at an average rate of  $-7.6 \times 10^3$  kg yr<sup>-1</sup> (Rorke, 2001, 2005). An apparent recruitment failure in the 485 early 17<sup>th</sup> century is reflected in the Scottish herring exports to Sweden as the export per ship 486 declined from 19.0 x 10<sup>3</sup> kg in 1592 to 5.8 x 10<sup>3</sup> kg in 1604 (Dow, 1969). No Scottish fish exports 487 to Sweden were made in 1605-06 and the exports remained infrequent until 1616 (Dow, 1969), 488 the year which, according to our reconstruction, the recruitment is fully stabilised and on a 489 positive trend. 490

ICES (2018) data shows that, for the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is a strong and significant correlation between recruitment and catch, especially when the catch occurs four years after recruitment has taken place (r = 0.68, p << 0.01). Thus, a general positive correlation between historical CPUE and reconstructed HR was expected. However, using the CPUE model defined in section 2.7 assumes a linear relation between catch and fish abundance which may not always be correct (Erisman et al., 2011; Harley, Myers, & Dunn, 2001). This is due to hyperstability, the tendency of CPUE remaining elevated as stock declines due to the schooling behaviour of fish. Hyperstability can be observed in overexploited stocks. Nevertheless, the
historical data presented here comes from intervals when overexploitation of the complete
North Sea herring stock was unlikely, and it is the only assessment tool available.

The change in the strength and significance of the Dutch CPUE:HR correlation is revealing 501 when examining the historical catches within the biological context. For example, the Dutch 502 CPUE:HR correlation is at its lowest during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During this time, the Dutch fishing 503 season started in June and lasted until January and the fishing fleet distributed its effort between 504 505 Shetland, Scotland and Northern England from June to September while the rest of the season 506 the fleet went south to the Dogger Bank, East Anglia and the English Channel (B. Poulsen, 2008). The apparent early 17<sup>th</sup> century recruitment failure, combined with the Anglo-Dutch wars in the 507 second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, might have forced the Dutch fleet to spend more time fishing 508 509 further south which would have caused a decoupling between recruitment in the northern North 510 Sea and the fisheries records.

511 We observe a stronger CPUE:HR coupling in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the fishing occurs two 512 years after recruitment. As the Dutch fleet regained access to the Fladen Ground, the fishing 513 season lasted from June to November and the Dutch spent the first two-thirds of the season in 514 the northern North Sea between Shetland, Scotland and northern England when they would land 515 the majority of the fish for the season (B. Poulsen, 2008).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century we observe the highest CPUE:HR correlation for our record for the Dutch fishing fleet (B. Poulsen, 2008). The strengthening of the correlation with the Dutch CPUE is likely related to the fishing patterns adopted in the 1800s. As was the case in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the 519 fishing season lasted from June to November and the fleet would spend its time between 520 Shetland, Scotland and northern England and would not head much further south than the 521 Dogger Bank. The fleet would dedicate the second half of the season to fishing in Scottish waters, 522 with the months of October and November being spent in the Fladen Ground (B. Poulsen, 2008).

The case of the Lowestoft herring fishery CPUE stands out as the only one without a 523 significant correlation with HR within ±5years of recruitment. As with the case of the Dutch 524 fishery, this can be explained by the fishing practices adopted in Lowestoft. Here the fishing 525 season was shorter than in the Dutch Republic, going from the 29<sup>th</sup> of September (Michelmas 526 Day) to the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November (Martinmas Day) and the fishermen would stay within 70 km of 527 528 the coast (Cushing, 1968). Cushing (1968) suggest that if the fish behaved in the 1700s as they did in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century then the average age of capture was between five and 529 eight years. The 6-year lag after recruitment required to obtain significance between our HR 530 531 reconstruction and CPUE is in good agreement with this assumption.

The weaker Peterhead CPUE:HR correlation is most likely due to the definition of "effort" 532 533 as the number of fishing boats at a given time when we calculated the Peterhead CPUE. This definition fails to consider the improvements in technology through time, such as the 534 introduction of the decked fifie ships in the 1870s (Smylie, 1999) which were capable of going 535 into open waters (Jenkins, 1913) and the adoption of cotton nets in the 1860s (Coull, 1986). 536 537 Having to divide the record in segments before and after these technological improvements to obtain stronger correlations highlights the importance of the "effort" definition when working 538 with CPUE data. 539

540 Jones et al. (2016) argues that the observed significant decline in standardised CPUE for the SE Scottish fleet at a rate of -0.057 yr<sup>-1</sup> ( $p = 5.30 \times 10^{-7}$ ) in the years 1845-86 was due to over-541 exploitation of the fishery. Overexploitation by the SE Scottish fleet is rather unlikely, as the 542 localised nature of fishing activities in Scotland (Harris, 2000; Jones et al., 2016) would have a 543 544 limited effect on the herring stock as a whole. The similar significant decline in standardised CPUE observed in Peterhead (Coull, 1986) from 1835-70 (-0.051 yr<sup>-1</sup>,  $p = 1.52 \times 10^{-3}$ ) strongly indicates 545 a common cause rather than two local phenomena, especially because the North Sea herring are 546 547 considered a unit-stock (Mariani et al., 2005). Our reconstruction, which shows a decline in recruitment that lasted most of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, provides a plausible 548 explanation for these two local negative trends. These results further suggest that declines in 549 550 recruitment are not caused by fishing mortality in an under-exploited fish stock.

# 551 5 Conclusions

552 In this study we developed an absolutely-dated 455-year long carbon stable isotope series from the shells of the ocean quahog. This series is currently the longest in temporal extension for 553 554 the region and it suggests that the onset of the oSE occurred in the early 1850s. By subtracting the oSE from the series we emphasised the high frequency variability in  $\delta^{13}$ C ( $\delta^{13}$ CS) and 555 calculated a significant regression line between  $\delta^{13}$ CS and diatom abundance in the North Sea. 556 The two quantities in this regression line are linked by the effect of phytoplankton primary 557 production on  $\delta^{13}C_{DIC}$ . We used this regression to build an equation mediated by a nutritional link 558 (diatom abundance) that allowed us to reconstruct herring recruitment in the North Sea using 559

560  $\delta^{13}$ CS. Our reconstruction is supported by independent recruitment estimates, by historical CPUE 561 documentation from the Netherlands, England and Scotland and by east Scotland fish exports.

562 Our work provides the longer time scale needed to understand the interaction between 563 climatic parameters and stock densities. It also demonstrates that molluscan sclerochronological 564 records can contribute to the study of the ecosystem functioning to which the socioeconomical 565 stability of the countries surrounding the North Sea is ultimately tied.

# 566 Acknowledgments

567 We would like to thank the Captain and crew of the RV *Prince Madog* for the collection of

shell material. We would also like to thank Dr. Jessica Vaughan, Dr. Martyn Roberts and Mr. Guy

569 Walker-Springett for their technical support at the School of Ocean Sciences at Bangor University.

570 Finally, we would like to thank Mr. Michael Maus for his technical support at the Institute of

571 Geosciences at the Johannes Guttenberg University in Mainz. We further thank Ms. Caroline Coch

572 for her helpful comments and suggestions to improve the manuscript. This work was funded by

the EU Framework Programme 7 (FP7) and carried out as part of the Marie Curie International

574 Training Network ARAMACC (604802).

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845 Table 1. Summary statistics of Equations 1-7. Equation 7 is the result of substituting Equation 1 into Equation 3 and 846

shows the highest coefficient of determination for herring recruitment, the smallest standard error of estimate and

	Equation	Calibration	n	r <sup>2</sup>	$\mathbf{p}_{Eq}$	Standard error	Breusch-Pagan	<b>p</b> <sub>BP</sub>			
_		interval	11			of estimate	test on residuals				
	1	1962-1988	18	0.3248	0.0135	163.0 x 10 <sup>3†</sup>	0.4703	0.4928			
	2	1988-2005	18	0.4888	0.0012	90.50 x 10 <sup>3 †</sup>	1.044	0.3068			
	3	1959-1990	26	0.2461	0.0010	20.22 x 10 <sup>9‡</sup>	5.007	0.0252			
	4	1991-2015	26	0.0993	0.1168	15.02 x 10 <sup>9‡</sup>	12.86	0.0003			
	5	1960-1985	21	0.2650	0.0170	24.08 x 10 <sup>9‡</sup>	9.855	0.0017			
	6	1985-2005	21	0.3045	0.0095	12.62 x 10 <sup>9‡</sup>	0.6415	0.4232			
	7	-	41 <sup>§</sup>	0.6242 <sup>§</sup>	0.0013 <sup>§</sup>	11.60 x 10 <sup>9‡</sup>	0.3486 <sup>§</sup>	0.5550			

847 the residuals with the lowest heteroscedasticity.

<sup>†</sup> Units: diatoms 848 <sup>‡</sup> Units: recruits 849

§ Calculated for 1960-2005 850

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Figure 1. Approximate location of sites mentioned in the text along with annual average herring landings by UK-registered ships between the years 2012-2016 (Richardson, 2017) per ICES standard rectangle and the CPR standard area B2. Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com.

Figure 2. Schematic of the micromilling process. All the powder extracted from an increment was thoroughly homogenized before an aliquot of the sample was isotopically characterised. Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com.

Figure 3. Newly extended chronology from Site B at the Fladen Ground (a). The extension of FGB (1545-1754) is composed of fewer shells (b) than its original iteration (1755-2001) and shows lower  $\bar{r}$  and EPS scores (c). The dotted line in c represents the commonly used threshold value for EPS, 0.85. Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com.

Figure 4.  $\delta^{13}$ C results for every shell analysed. The results show the relative depletion of  $\delta^{13}$ C starting in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., the oceanic  $\delta^{13}$ C Suess effect. The superimposed dashed line shows our weighted 2-term Fourier regression which suggests that the onset of the oceanic Suess effect at the Fladen Ground occurs c.1850. Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com.

Figure 5. Weight-averaged  $\delta^{13}$ C residuals from the oceanic Suess effect ( $\delta^{13}$ CŠ). The great majority of the uncertainties are smaller than the thickness of the line (not shown).  $\delta^{13}$ CŠ shows an average value of -0.04 ‰ with a standard deviation of 0.35 ‰. Extended intervals (≥ 4 yrs) with negative deviations greater than 1 $\sigma$  occur in the late 1500s to early 1600s, 1630s, and early and late 1800s. Extended intervals with positive deviations greater than 1 $\sigma$  occur in the 1550s, 873 1650s, late 1600s, 1840s, early 1900s and in the 1980s. Colour figure can be viewed at
874 wileyonlinelibrary.com.

875 Figure 6. (a) Reconstructed herring recruitment based on Equation 7. Our reconstruction shows extended intervals of low recruitment from 1600-1650, most of the 1700s, 1860-1900 and most 876 of the 1900s. (b) Reconstructed recruitment compared to instrumental recruitment for the 20<sup>th</sup> 877 century. Measured recruitment data for time intervals when predicted data are not available has 878 been omitted. The predictions made by Equation 7 lie within 24 x 10<sup>9</sup> recruits of the ICES, (2018) 879 value 62% of the time. (c and d) Reconstructed recruitment compared to historical CPUE from 880 881 the Scottish, English and Dutch fishing fleets. Colour figure can be viewed at 882 wileyonlinelibrary.com.

Figure 7. Relation between the reconstructed herring recruitment and CPUE from the Dutch (a), 883 east English and east Scottish fishing fleets (b) at different lags before and after the year of 884 885 recruitment. There is a general indication that the strongest HR:CPUE correlation occurs between one and three years after recruitment. The strength of the HR and Dutch CPUE relationship varies 886 according to the century, the weakest being in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, coincident with the Anglo-Dutch 887 wars in the second part of the century (filled circles in c). HR is more strongly related to the SE 888 Scottish CPUE (1845-1871) two years after recruitment has occurred while the relationship is 889 stronger with the English CPUE six years after recruitment. The relationship is not as strong with 890 891 the Peterhead District CPUE. This may be due to the amalgamation of the data before and after the introduction of cotton nets in the 1860s and decked fifie ships in 1870 (see text for details). 892 The scatter plots in c and d show the CPUE data that has the strongest correlation after lagging. 893 Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com. 894











