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French Basque “New Found Land” Entrepreneurs and the Import of Codfish and Whale Oil to Northern Spain, c. 1580 to c. 1620: The Case of Adam de Chibau, Burgess of Saint-Jean-de-Luz and “Sieur de St. Julien”¹

MICHAEL M. BARKHAM

INTRODUCTION

FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST Spanish Basque voyages to *Terranova*² (around 1530 and primarily for cod fishing) and during the development in the following decades of Spanish Basque trans-Atlantic fishing into two essentially distinct types of ventures for cod fishing and whaling,³ the supply of codfish and whale oil to northern Spain (concentrated in the ports of the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa) was mainly in the hands of Spanish Basque entrepreneurs. But in the latter part of the sixteenth century this picture began to change as there are clear indications of large-scale imports of codfish (and of some whale oil) in foreign vessels. Eighty years ago, in his history of the *Consulado* of Bilbao — the city’s consortium of merchants and commercial tribunal — Guiard published evidence from the port books of Bilbao (capital of Vizcaya) of French Basque and other foreign ships entering that port city from *Terranova*. The earliest examples he gives are 14 French Basque ships that arrived, apparently with cod, between 19 September and 16 December 1598, the year in which Bilbao’s extant port books begin.⁴

Recent research, however, shows that the phenomenon of French Basque penetration of the northern Spanish market for codfish and whale oil from

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Terranova had already begun by the mid-1580s and that it was causing concern, if not resentment, among Spanish Basque entrepreneurs. In 1584, at a meeting of Guipúzcoa's Provincial Assembly the representative of the port town of Orío stated that in the French Basque ports of Ciboure and Saint-Jean-de-Luz there were more than 50 ships that went cod fishing and whaling annually and he claimed, perhaps exaggerating, that most unloaded their cargoes in Bilbao, Castro de Urdiales (an outport for Bilbao), San Sebastián (capital of Guipúzcoa) and in its outport at El Pasaje de San Sebastián.⁵ He complained that the value of the imports (which he placed at 140,000 ducats annually) was not being exported in merchandise as was meant to be the case and, therefore, petitioned that the imports be regulated. Two years later shipbuilders and shipowners in Guipúzcoa brought further attention to the fact that large quantities of cod were being imported to Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa by French Basques and that the latter were prospering considerably from the trade.⁶

Since the Middle Ages inhabitants of the French and Spanish Basque ports had traded and developed business associations with each other and, in the 1500s, there was a degree of collaboration between them for *Terranova* ventures; but the accelerated participation by the mid-1580s of French Basque entrepreneurs in the import of fish and whale oil from *Terranova* into Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa was an unprecedented development. Such a trend was partly made possible by problems that were affecting the Spanish Basque *Terranova* sector by 1580. Foremost among these was that ships fitted out in the ports of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa for cod fishing and whaling by local entrepreneurs were being intermittently prevented from sailing on their voyages by embargoes and requisitions of ships imposed by the Crown because of its naval defence requirements.⁷ For example, in 1574, at least three vessels from Deva, Motrico and Ondárroa were not able to carry out their cod fishing ventures after they were requisitioned for an armada being assembled in Santander.⁸ Similarly, Spanish Basque trans-Atlantic fishing was partially disrupted as a result of armadas in 1580, 1581, 1582 and 1583 for the conquest of Portugal, the expedition to the Strait of Magellan and the conquest of the Azores.⁹ As a result not only the entrepreneurs who fitted out ships for *Terranova* but also shipowners and crews lost their expected profits from the ventures, while among those who died in the armadas were entrepreneurs who had previously built ships and organised fishing expeditions to the New World. At the same time several hundred sailors, of whom there was no surplus, were pressed into the royal fleets.¹⁰ Perhaps because fishing ventures were being thwarted by requisitions of ships and levies of sailors, by 1584 some Spanish Basque sailors were serving on *Terranova* voyages organised in French Basque ports.¹¹

But if these negative factors were already undermining the economic workings of the Spanish Basque *Terranova* sector prior to the mid-1580s, the Crown's greater need for ships and men during the Anglo-Spanish war (1585-

1604) and the Franco-Spanish war (1595-1598), along with greatly increased corsair activity in the Atlantic, led to a severe contraction in the sector for much of those twenty years (a contraction also felt in merchant shipbuilding and shipowning).¹² For example, in 1586 a general shipping embargo imposed in Guipúzcoa and apparently in Vizcaya as well in preparation for the "*Felícísima Armada*" against England, stopped most of the ships that had been fitted out for cod fishing from sailing to Newfoundland and, in May, was preventing all ships from leaving port whether for whaling in *Terranova* or for other destinations. The province of Guipúzcoa complained to Philip II that the embargo was wreaking havoc within the maritime economy as a whole.

The damage that has been done in this province by the general embargo of all its ships and boats has impeded the navigation of *Terranova* and Andalucía... and if the embargo is not soon lifted the whale fishery will be lost just as the cod fishery has been lost, and the damages will total more than 200,000 ducats.¹³

The Provincial Assembly petitioned Philip to allow those ships not required by the Crown to set sail on their voyages "as with their retention great harm is done to this Republic"; that is those that could "find a crew" given the scarcity of sailors.¹⁴ The petition made clear that if the whale fishery did not take place not only would Guipúzcoa "be harmed" but so would the whole of Spain because of the shortage of whale oil that would ensue. Some ships were eventually given permission to go cod fishing and whaling but the embargo dealt a severe blow to the trans-Atlantic fishing sector that year as further embargoes and requisitions did in the following decades.¹⁵

Not surprisingly, as the number of Spanish Basque cod fishing and whaling voyages to *Terranova* declined during the war years 1586 to 1604, there was an increase of French Basque imports of codfish and whale oil to Bilbao and San Sebastián, the main port towns of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa.¹⁶ Indeed, in 1597 Charles Leigh, an English merchant who commanded two ships to the Magdalen Islands that year, wrote that Spain relied upon the French Basques for Newfoundland fish.¹⁷ Even after the signing of peace with England in 1604 the situation was not greatly reversed; rather this import trade became increasingly well established. A memorandum drawn up around 1607 apparently by the *Consulado* of Bilbao states that ships from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and nearby ports were supplying cod from *Terranova* to Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa "helped" by Spanish merchants and that the trade was giving the French Basques good "profit". The memorandum also notes that "the profit from *Terranova* cod fishing and whaling is so great that those from Saint-Jean-de-Luz have made themselves rich and have many ships and sailors".¹⁸ In 1612, no less than 30 French Basque ships arrived at Bilbao with cod, while a list of ships that unloaded cod and cod liver oil in Bilbao, in 1613, enumerates 12 vessels from Saint-Jean-de-Luz that were in El Pasaje having unloaded in Bilbao as well as a further nine French ships which had left Bilbao directly for France.¹⁹ According to Guiard, the

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number of foreign ships that arrived at the same port at the end of the 1620 fishery was close to 50, a number which was apparently maintained over the following years.²⁰

This ongoing penetration of the northern Spanish market for cod and whale oil by French Basque and other foreign entrepreneurs during the early seventeenth century reflects a continued low level of activity in the Spanish Basque *Terranova* sector. This was partly due to the unrelenting negative effects of old problems, namely royal requisitions, levies of men and corsair activity (particularly by Dutch, Rochelais and North African vessels). In 1606, for example, the 320 ton *Nuestra Señora de Azpilgoeta*, fitted out for cod fishing in Motrico, was detained by a royal official 'recruiting' sailors for the royal fleet and the ship was not able to sail to *Terranova*. In a declaration to the official the victuallers had complained that if their venture was thwarted not only would they incur "great losses" but also that "this town [of Motrico] would be ruined because all the sailors have indebted themselves heavily in order to get ready for the voyage".²¹ In the same year, a small ship from San Sebastián was captured by "Flemish enemies" on its way back from *Terranova*²² while, in both 1615 and 1616, another vessel from San Sebastián was attacked and damaged by corsairs from La Rochelle on its way over to Newfoundland. These attacks prompted the Guipuzcoan Assembly to state that "the *Terranova* navigation is in danger because of the many corsairs who inflict great losses".²³

But what is more important, the disruption of commercial activity in Spanish Basque ports during the Anglo-Spanish war and during hostilities with France and Holland had a severely detrimental effect on the general economy of Spanish Basque port and hinterland towns, as well as on the economic well being of their entrepreneurial communities which were the driving force behind cod fishing and whaling ventures. Already in September 1590 the bleakness of the panorama in the ports had been conveyed to Philip II in a letter from the town council of San Sebastián which complained that sailors, shipowners, merchants and outfitters were being "ruined" because royal officials were not allowing ships to sail to *Terranova* — "the only trade left [open to us] in the Ocean sea from which to derive profit because all the other outlets are closed as a result of the altercations of the neighbouring kingdoms". The council further dramatically remarked that because of the armadas:

both the principal and the common people are dying and being finished off and they are losing and consuming their ships, estates and patrimonies. Finally, everything and the few people left are being laid waste and destroyed.²⁴

However, in spite of the adverse situation, during the first decade of the seventeenth century a number of ships were fitted out annually in Spanish Basque ports for both cod fishing and whaling in *Terranova*, although at that time whaling was severely affected by the decline of whale stocks in the Strait of Belle Isle which had been the Spanish Basques' prime whaling ground for over

half a century. A memorandum sent by the province of Guipúzcoa to the King in 1613 specifically states that "the whale fishery of the Grand Bay of *Terranova* is very exhausted".²⁵ A number of documents, including a letter from the town of San Sebastián to Guipúzcoa's Provincial Assembly in the same year, attribute the scarcity of whales to over-exploitation and the "continuous navigation" during earlier decades. The result was that returns from *Terranova* whaling ventures were poor, prompting the King's superintendent of shipbuilding and forests in Guipúzcoa to write to Philip III soon after 1613: "things have gone so badly in the whale fishery for the last twelve years that the victualler-outfitters are in urgent need of help".²⁶ That year several Guipuzcoan ships and at least one French Basque vessel were fitted out for whaling in the new grounds at Spitsbergen but their forced expulsion from the archipelago by English ships of the Muscovy Company (which had obtained a charter from James I granting it exclusive whaling rights in Spitsbergen) seems to have marked the end of participation by Basque ships in this northern whale fishery.²⁷

Thereafter, along with a handful of ships fitted out for cod fishing in *Terranova*, a small number of Spanish Basque ships returned to the Strait of Belle Isle not for whaling alone but on mixed ventures for cod, whales and seals, the latter being a hitherto untapped resource. The fleet did not recover to its size of the 1560s and 1570s, during the heyday of Spanish Basque *Terranova* fishing, when up to approximately 40 ships (*circa* 9,500 tons) had sailed annually for the cod and whale fisheries.²⁸ But, in spite of the demographic downturn in Castile, there still was, after all, considerable demand in Spain for codfish and whale oil (as well as for baleen that by then was also being marketed) which enabled enticing profits to be made at least from the cod fishery.²⁹ Thus, the owners of the 150 ton *Nuestra Señora de Rosario*, chartered for cod fishing in 1615 and 1616 by captain Yturribalzaga of Motrico, declared that from those voyages "a good return had been obtained".³⁰ It is clear, however, that during those decades there were far more foreign ships than local ships bringing cod to northern Spain. Early in 1632, a wealthy lady from San Sebastián made 15 loans to the owners and victuallers of 13 or 14 ships being prepared for *Terranova* that year, all but one of which, captain Yturribalzaga's 345 ton *San Pedro* from Motrico, were French Basque.³¹ The imbalance reflected in these loan documents is indicative of the relatively minor role being played by Spanish Basques in *Terranova* cod fishing in the early 1600s.

Innis rightly noted that continuous requisitions of ships and levies of men for armadas were damaging to the Spanish Basque *Terranova* fisheries, but his statement that "the decline of the Spanish fishery had followed in part... from the difficulty of developing an adequate shipping industry" lacks validity. Furthermore, while foreign competition did affect Spanish Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs it cannot be said, as Innis does, that because "the fishery had apparently never taken sufficient root [in Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa] to weather the

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protests of hostile interests” its decline “proved certain with the growth of the neighbouring French Basque towns”.³² Rather, the evidence suggests that although the fishing industry had taken deep and efficient roots in the Spanish Basque economy foreign entrepreneurs, particularly French Basques, were able to make considerable inroads into the northern Spanish market for codfish and whale oil by taking advantage of the downturn in the Spanish Basque *Terranova* sector occasioned by other factors.

While there is firm evidence of considerable French Basque cod fishing activity in *Terranova* during the late 1500s and early 1600s, and of a considerable influx of French Basque codfish (and to a much lesser extent of whale oil and baleen) into Spain through the major commercial port cities of Bilbao and San Sebastián and their outports, up to now little has been written about the financing and organisation of this import trade, in other words about the merchant-entrepreneurs who lay behind the enterprise bringing together money, materials, ships and men, about the sources of capital supply for their commercial activities, the operation of their businesses, their socio-economic backgrounds and their economic and social associations with merchant groups both within and outside their region.

This paper addresses these issues through an analysis of the major shipowning and *Terranova* fishing interests of Adam de Chibau, a prominent French Basque merchant at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. Chibau belonged to a family of maritime entrepreneurs from Saint-Jean-de-Luz who had been involved in trade and *Terranova* fishing from at least the 1560s and by the early 1600s he had achieved an important socio-economic position in Saint-Jean-de-Luz and its district.³³ He was “*sieur*” or lord of the noble house and estate of Saint Julien (Ahaxe),³⁴ he had held several important municipal offices in Saint-Jean-de-Luz and his estate was reportedly worth more than 30,000 ducats.³⁵ Chibau was also closely connected with members of the upper socio-economic echelons of other French Basque towns. Marie de Chibau (apparently one of Chibau’s daughters) was married to Petry de Naguille, son of David de Naguille who became “*jurat*” and “*échevin*” or alderman of Bayonne in 1583 and 1591 respectively, and grandson of Petrico de Naguille, who was consul of Bayonne’s “*bourse de marchands*” or merchants’ association in 1576, the city’s “first alderman” in 1577 and alderman for several terms during the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁶ It is no doubt indicative of the Chibau family’s important and long-standing participation in the Newfoundland cod fishery that an “*Ile de Chibau*” or “Chibau Island” appears off the north-eastern coast of Newfoundland on a chart of the North Atlantic drawn in Saint-Jean-de-Luz in 1674 by Denis de Rotis, who seems to have been related to Chibau (see below); connections not previously made (see Figure 1).

Adam de Chibau’s considerable involvement in *Terranova* fishing has been reconstructed from manuscript records housed in various Spanish archives:

a series of lawsuits from the *Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid* (the archives of what was Castile's northern court of appeal), legal records from the *Archivo General de Gipuzkoa* (Tolosa) and notarial records from the *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Gipuzkoa* (Oñate) and the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Bizkaia* (Bilbao).³⁷

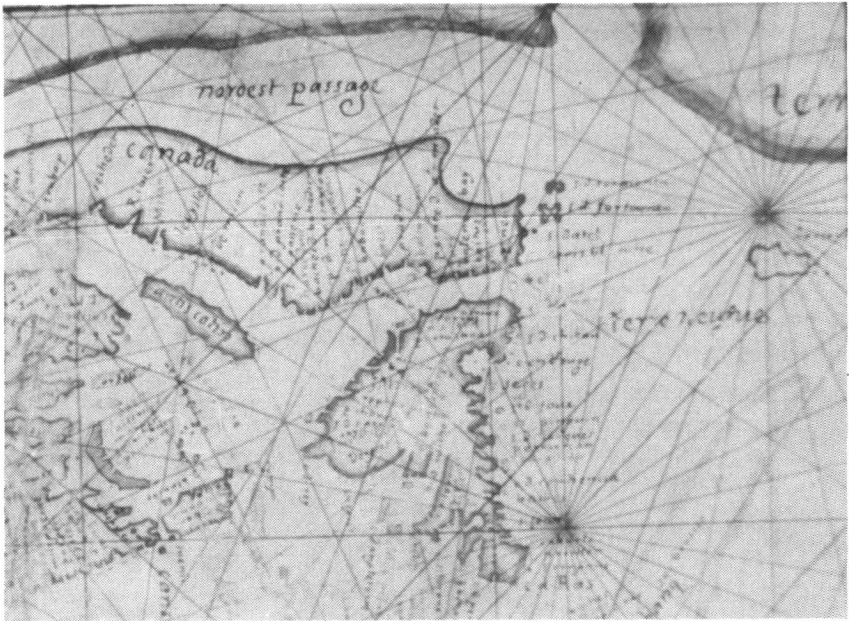


Figure 1. Part of a chart of the North Atlantic drawn in Saint-Jean-de-Luz in 1674 by Denis de Rotis, apparently a relative of Adam de Chibau, on which an “Ile de Chibau” is shown off the north-eastern coast of Newfoundland.(Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

CHIBAU’S PARTICIPATION IN THE *TERRANOVA* FISHERIES, 1602-1609

The earliest information known at present about Adam de Chibau does not relate to the import of cod to Bilbao or San Sebastián but it does demonstrate that already by 1601 Chibau was a well established shipowner and merchant-victualler in Saint-Jean-de-Luz with at least three ships involved in the *Terranova* fisheries, primarily in cod fishing.³⁸ On 11 November of that year,

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Chibau was in San Sebastián where he signed three separate contracts with Diego de Pereira, a prominent Portuguese merchant resident in that city, concerning cod fishing voyages to Newfoundland by three of Chibau's ships in the coming 1602 season.³⁹ By these agreements Chibau sold Pereira in advance the entire cargoes of dried and green codfish and cod liver oil that his three ships were to bring back specifically from St. Pierre and the port of Placentia in south-eastern Newfoundland where Basque cod fishermen had been fishing for over 80 years. However, the cargoes were not to be delivered to Bilbao or San Sebastián but were to be taken directly from Newfoundland to three Portuguese ports: Oporto, Aveiro and Lisbon. There they were to be handed over to Pereira's representatives who would pay the ships' masters half the value within ten days of delivery while the remaining half was to be paid to Chibau or his agent in Bilbao by the end of January 1603.⁴⁰

Pereira, one of many Portuguese and other foreign merchants engaged in trade and enterprise in Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa during the late 1500s and early 1600s,⁴¹ was heavily involved in the export of Spanish Basque iron manufactures to Portugal and he apparently managed to monopolise that trade.⁴² His involvement in Newfoundland cod fishing diversified and expanded his business interests and from the contract regarding the *Terranova* voyage of one of Chibau's three ships, the *Santa Engracia*, it would appear that in the same way as Pereira was monopolising the iron trade to Portugal he also tried to take over as much of the supply of cod to Lisbon as he could in 1602. The contract stipulated that:

Chibau bound himself not to send on his own account and risk any ship of his or in which he has a share to Lisbon in the coming year [1602] with the said cargo of codfish and oil... and if by chance he should send some such cargo... the said Diego Pereyra and Gracia Gomez may choose to take or leave it at the same price.⁴³

Chibau's three ships duly carried out their voyages and delivered their cargoes to Portugal, in October or November 1602, but early in 1603 litigation arose between Chibau and Pereira because the latter still owed Chibau half the value of the cargo (70,320 *reales*) which the *Santa Engracia* had delivered to Lisbon (Pereira did not recognise that the delivery had taken place).⁴⁴ A first verdict delivered in Chibau's favour by the *corregidor* or chief magistrate of Vizcaya was overturned following an appeal by Pereira to the Royal Chancellery in the inland Castilian city of Valladolid (also the location of the royal court during the early 1600s). However, in August 1603, after an appeal by Chibau and counter appeal by Pereira in Valladolid to the *alcalde de corte* and to the king's supreme council (both litigants having travelled to that city for the proceedings), Pereira accepted that the delivery of the *Santa Engracia*'s cargo had actually taken place and agreed to pay Chibau the outstanding debt.⁴⁵ The Chibau-Pereira litigation clearly illustrates the fact that by 1603 Chibau, like other foreign merchants, was not only familiar with the Spanish Basque coast and its principal

port cities of Bilbao and San Sebastián but also with inland Spain. To reach Valladolid Chibau would have travelled through the cities of Vitoria and Burgos (75 kms. and 125 kms. respectively from the north coast), important commercial centres on the main overland route between the north coast and the interior, and during the legal proceedings in Valladolid he had established contacts in that important administrative centre (see Figure 2). Over the next decade, both because of his business activities and because of further litigation, Chibau would become further acquainted with inland Castile.

The agreements between Chibau and Pereira regarding cod fishing in Newfoundland in 1602 were somewhat of a departure from the usual manner in which such cod fishing voyages were organised in Spanish Basque ports. Normally several local entrepreneurs (known in the fishing world as *armadores* or victuallers) chartered a ship from its owner or owners and provided most of the victuals, fishing gear and salt for the venture (referred to collectively as the *armazón*).⁴⁶ In return for their investment these *armadores* usually received 5/12ths of the catch whatever its size (sometimes only a third), the shipowner almost always received a quarter⁴⁷ while the remaining third of the cargo was divided amongst the crew. According to the Chibau-Pereira contracts Chibau did not receive any money in advance from Pereira. However, given the relatively high cost of victualling ships for the close to seven month long *Terranova* dry cod fishery (approximately 800 ducats at that time for a ship of 100 tons) it is more than likely that in order to outfit and provision the three ships for *Terranova* in 1602 Chibau borrowed capital and he may also have had partners in the ventures.⁴⁸

At present no other details are available concerning the financial organisation of these three 1602 ventures or about Chibau's other shipping or *Terranova* interests that year. It is known, however, that early in the following year, as his litigation with Pereira was getting under way, Chibau was far more heavily involved in shipowning, in victualling ships for *Terranova* and in the import of cod to Bilbao and San Sebastián. Indeed, by then he owned no less than seven ships (totalling *circa* 1,250 tons) which were destined for *Terranova* (apparently all for cod fishing)⁴⁹ and which appear to have returned to *Terranova* in 1604 and 1605 (see Table 1).⁵⁰ This was a major investment in shipping given that during that period only a minority of entrepreneurs in the important shipbuilding and shipowning provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa owned this volume of tonnage at any one time.⁵¹ Furthermore, Chibau also furnished at least part of the approximately 10,000 ducats needed to victual his seven ships for *Terranova* (not counting the cost of preparing the ships themselves), borrowing extensively for that purpose. Early in 1603 Chibau gave a power of attorney to Pedro de Bolivar, a young merchant in Bilbao married to one of his daughters (María Sanz),⁵² to raise money for him in that city and Bolivar took out loans worth at least 1,650 ducats from four moneylenders at an interest of 27.5 per cent

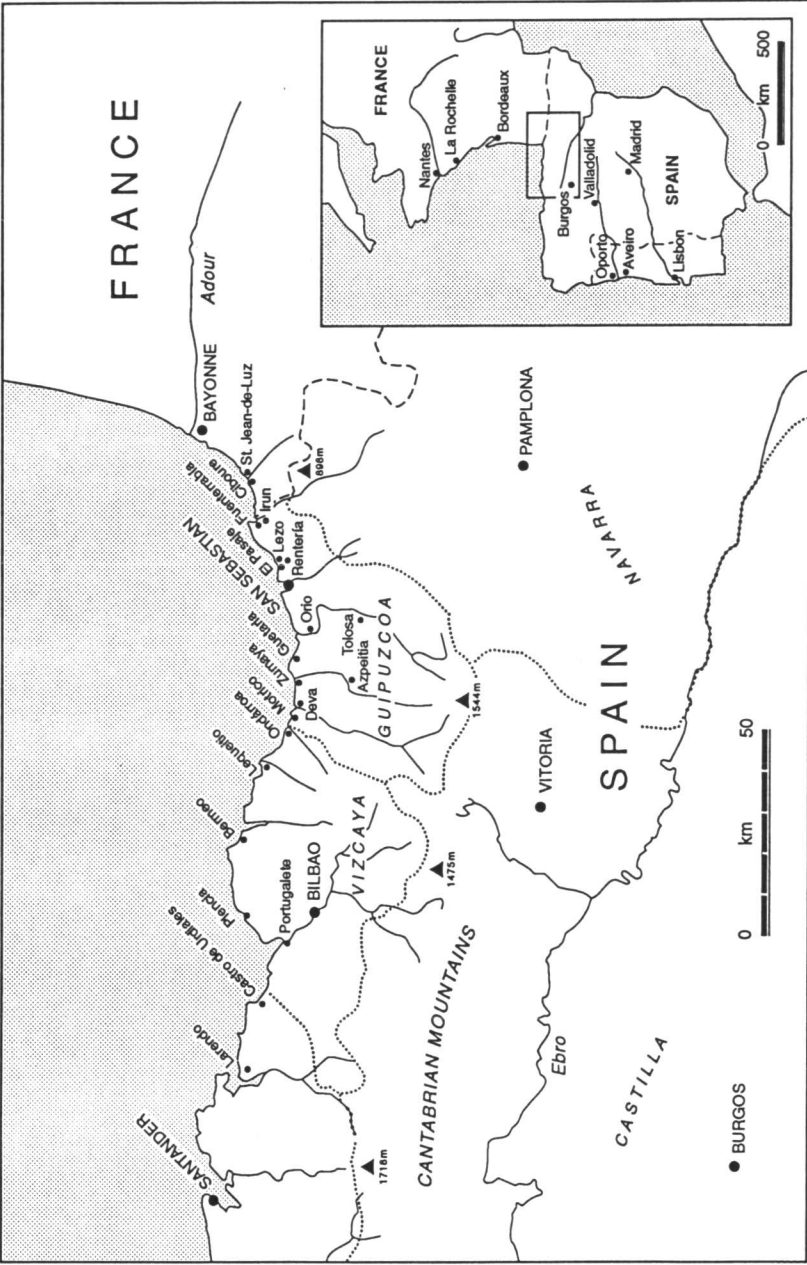


Figure 2 : Places named in relation to Adam de Chibau's involvement in the *Terranova* fisheries (circa 1600).

TABLE 1
Ships owned by Adam de Chibau de Saint-Jean-de-Luz which sailed to Terranova on fishing voyages between 1602 and 1611.*

	1602 ¹ (All cod fishing)	1603 ²	1606 ³ (All cod fishing)	1607 ⁴ (One whaling)	1608 ⁵	1609 ⁶ (All cod fishing)	1610 ⁷ (All cod fishing)	1611 ⁸ (All cod fishing)
I-STA. ENGRACIA (300 t.)	I-STA. ENGRACIA (300 t.)	I-STA. ENGRACIA (300 t.)	I-STA. ENGRACIA (300 t.)	I-STA. ENGRACIA (300 t.)	I-STA. ENGRACIA (300 t.)	I-LA CATALINA (200 t.)	I-EL ANGEL (Lost)	I-LA ESPERANZA
Master: Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Liçaundi	Juanes de Agorreta	(100 t.) Martin de Echeverri
II- NAME UNKNOWN	II-STA. CLARA (200 t.)	II-STA. CLARA (200 t.)	Est. de Ingoyen	?	II-STA. CLARA (200 t.)	II-EL ANGEL (80 t.)	II-LA ESPERANZA	(100 t.) Martin de Echeverri
III- NAME UNKNOWN	III-LA CATALINA (200 t.)	III-LA CATALINA (200 t.)	III-LA CATALINA (200 t.)	II-LA CATALINA (200 t.)	III-LA CATALINA (200 t.)	Juanes de Agorreta	III-LA ESPERANZA	III-STA. ENGRACIA
	Pelen de Lason	Pelen de Lason	Pelen de Lason	Pelen de Lason	Pelen de Lason	(100 t.) Martin de Echeverri	IV-STA. CLARA	Juanes de Liçaundi
	IV-STA. BARBARA OR	IV-STA. BARBARA OR	IV-STA. BARBARA OR	III-STA. BARBARA OR	IV-STA. BARBARA OR	IV-STA. CLARA	Martin de Irigoyen	(300 t.)
	STA. MARIA	STA. MARIA	STA. MARIA	STA. MARIA (Whaling)	STA. MARIA	Martin de Irigoyen	V-BUENAVENTURA	Min. de Peyrelongue
	Marticot de Echavarni	Marticot de Echavarni	Marticot de Echavarni	Marticot de Echavarni	Marticot de Echavarni	Pelen de Lason		
	V-STA. LUCIA	V-STA. LUCIA	V-STA. LUCIA	IV-STA. LUCIA	V-STA. LUCIA	(Lost)		
	Juanes de Amezqueta	Juanes de Amezqueta	Juanes de Amezqueta	Juanes de Amezqueta	Juanes de Amezqueta	[STA. ENGRACIA		
	VI-EL ANGEL (80 t.)	VI-EL ANGEL (80 t.)	VI-EL ANGEL (80 t.)	V-EL ANGEL (80 t.)	VI-EL ANGEL (80 t.)	Whaling in Brazil]		
	Juanes de Agorreta	Juanes de Agorreta	Juanes de Agorreta	Juanes de Agorreta	Juanes de Agorreta	[STA. CLARA		
	VII-LA MARIA	VII-LA ESPERANZA (100 t.)	VII-LA ESPERANZA (100 t.)	VII-LA ESPERANZA (100 t.)	VII-LA ESPERANZA (100 t.)	Whaling in Brazil]		
	Juanes de Zuazu	Martin de Echeverri	Martin de Echeverri	Martin de Echeverri	Martin de Echeverri			
		VII-DOMENINA	VII-DOMENINA	VIII-DOMENINA	VIII-DOMENINA			
		Juanes de Echeverri	Juanes de Echeverri	Juanes de Echeverri	Juanes de Echeverri			

*Most of the ships' masters were from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and the ships apparently all French Basque. The *Santa Engracia*, for example, was built near Ascain several kms. upriver from Saint-Jean-de-Luz.

1 El Pasaje-Terranova-Portugal-El Pasaje. Juanes de Liçaundi's name appears spelt in various ways including: Juanescot de Elçaundi.

2 Apparently all for cod fishing.

3 El Pasaje-Terranova (6 via La Rochelle). Chibau was "owner after God" of the ships, equipment and victuals.

4 The *Santa Bárbara* returned with 320 barricas or hogheads (casks) of whale oil.

5 Apparently all for cod fishing. Two via La Rochelle. The *Domenjina* may have been the same ship as the *Santa Clara* (1609-11).

6 El Pasaje-Terranova. Owner of the ships, equipment and victuals. See text for details concerning the *Catalina* and *Buenaventura*.

7 El Pasaje-Terranova-El Pasaje. Owner of the ships, equipment and victuals.

8 El Pasaje-Terranova-El Pasaje.

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(see below); money destined to “victual and equip” Chibau’s ships and probably also — as was customary — to make small loans to individual crew members.⁵³

This was not the first time a French Basque merchant had borrowed money in this way or sought insurance in Bilbao or San Sebastián for *Terranova* ventures. Such practice was already taking place in the 1580s when imports of *Terranova* codfish and whale oil by these entrepreneurs reached a significant scale.⁵⁴ A 75-year old notary of Bilbao, Juan Ochoa de Legorburu, declared in 1612 that he had been drawing up such loan agreements for some 30 years.⁵⁵ Thus, at the same time as French Basque shipowners and victuallers were able to borrow monies within their own region and from merchants in Bordeaux and La Rochelle, with whom they had well established business associations regarding *Terranova* ventures and other enterprises (as well as family ties), they also drew heavily on reserves of Spanish Basque capital.⁵⁶ Clearly, by the late 1500s and early 1600s these Spanish Basque loans were common and Chibau, like many other French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs,⁵⁷ took advantage of the available credit, mortgaging his ships, real estate and other capital investments to the moneylenders. Among the many moneylenders of Bilbao were merchants and other members of the city’s upper socio-economic echelons such as Doña María Ruiz de Bergara (widow of Belarro), Joan de Zubiaur “the elder” (*Fiel* or President of the merchants’ *Consulado* or consortium in 1596 and 1600 and brother of the well known naval commander general Pedro de Zubiaur) and his wife Doña Agustina de Aperribay, the notary Juan Pérez de Múxica Landaguren (syndic for Bilbao in 1610 and *Fiel* of the *Consulado* in 1614, 1618 and 1626), Juan de Belarro (*Diputado* of the *Consulado* in 1612, 1620, 1622, and 1624 and *Fiel* in 1627), and Simón Díaz de Lecea (mayor of Bilbao in 1621).⁵⁸

As with the loans taken out in Bilbao by other French Basque shipowners and victuallers, the 1603 loans to Chibau were made “*a la gruesa ventura*” or “*a la grosse aventure*” (bottomry loans), meaning that if the ship for which the money had been given was lost the lender lost his capital and the expected interest.⁵⁹ If the ship returned safely to port the borrower repaid the sum lent plus the interest, in this case the standard 27.5 per cent for the return voyage to *Terranova* or 30 per cent if the ship stopped over at La Rochelle to pick up supplies on the outward leg of the journey.⁶⁰ This form of loan provided entrepreneurs with much needed monies while protecting them against a major risk (though not against poor profits). By the early 1600s, the relatively high interest rates were accepted as normal given the risk to the lender and because credit for *Terranova* voyages could apparently not be easily obtained at lower rates.⁶¹ In 1614, the attorney representing several Bilbao merchants in a lawsuit with Chibau, over the repayment of money they had lent him for his *Terranova* ventures, declared:

For the *Terranova* voyage these rates are moderate and fair and approved by general use and custom in these and nearby kingdoms because of the great risk and

danger taken by the lenders, and because no one will be found willing to lend money for the said voyage for a lower quantity and interest, and the voyages for cod and whale would cease.⁶²

Moneylenders could also demand these rates because the returns on *Terranova* voyages could be very high. In 1612, a number of witnesses presented by the above Bilbao moneylenders in their lawsuit against Chibau declared that although in some years the cod fishery and therefore the returns from it were poor, in others Chibau and similar *Terranova* entrepreneurs obtained "very considerable returns" (sometimes up to 100 per cent on their investment). They agreed that even when loans had been repaid average earnings were substantial.⁶³ The witnesses further testified that Chibau gained not only from the sale of his cargoes but also from loans he himself made to his crews prior to departure at rates of 27.5 and 30 per cent. This was common practice in Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa as well as in French Basque ports, as noted by Sascot de Rotis of Saint-Jean-de-Luz (a relative of Chibau's and no doubt a relative of the above mentioned cartographer Denis de Rotis), who during the previous 30 years had been to *Terranova* as a sailor and had also invested in trans-Atlantic fishing ventures as a victualler, borrowing money in Bilbao and elsewhere. He stated:

this witness knows this because he has received money from different shipowners, master mariners and victuallers of ships and has paid the interest; also because he has lent money to sailors as a victualler.⁶⁴

Evidently, shipowners and victuallers could borrow extensively in this manner and still realise a good profit as long as their ships brought back reasonably full cargoes. In this way Chibau's investments in ships and in *Terranova* fishing, although heavily reliant on loans, seem to have paid off and by 1606 he owned an expanded fleet of eight ships all of which he himself provisioned for cod fishing that year (these included six of the seven ships he had fitted out in 1603) (see Table 1).⁶⁵ Such a major level of investment in shipping and trans-Atlantic fishing — which he apparently only matched again in 1608 — along with the amount of credit extended to him suggests that Adam de Chibau was among the principal French Basque, and for that matter Spanish Basque, shipowners and *Terranova* entrepreneurs of the early seventeenth century.

As in previous years, a substantial part of the capital required by Chibau to finance these business interests was raised in Bilbao. In February 1606, Chibau, who was at the time staying in San Sebastián, issued a power of attorney to Doña María Ruiz de Bergara of Bilbao, who had lent him money in 1603, entrusting her to raise up to 4,000 ducats in that city, more than twice the amount known to have been borrowed by Chibau in Bilbao in 1603.⁶⁶ The loans which Doña María eventually took out for Chibau included 700 or 800 ducats from Iñigo de Labeaga (a notary in Bilbao) and 1,100 ducats on all eight ships from Joan de Zubiaur "the elder" and his wife Doña Agustina de Aperribay who had also lent Chibau money in 1603.⁶⁷ Besides her dealings on Chibau's behalf Doña María,

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a wealthy widow, was involved together with her sons in the marketing from Bilbao of codfish and whale oil to inland Spain.⁶⁸ She received and stored cargoes in her warehouse from Chibau's and other French Basque *Terranova* ships as did other merchants such as Don Andrés de Asurduy, Iñigo de Trauco, Pedro de Aguilar, Juan de Çancoeta, Don Andrés de Orueta and Pedro de Bolivar.⁶⁹

In subsequent years Doña María continued to lend money to Chibau but her role as guarantor and coordinator of loans was taken over by Pedro de Bolivar whom Chibau referred to as "my son-in-law merchant".⁷⁰ Bolivar acted as Chibau's "*huesped*" or host in Bilbao, apparently not administering the sale of Chibau's cargoes but assisting the masters of his ships as well as the agents he sent from Saint-Jean-de-Luz to unload, store and sell them.⁷¹ One witness, the prominent Bilbao merchant Alejandro de Echavarri, described Bolivar's role as "helping the said factors and agents sell the fish at good prices as such *huéspedes* usually do in this town".⁷² Bolivar kept in constant touch with Chibau by letter and also bought casks of cider (a staple beverage on Basque *Terranova* ventures) for Chibau as did the agents in Bilbao of other French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs such as "Yturbide, Gasteluçar and Sopite".⁷³ Chibau received the cider either in Saint-Jean-de-Luz or El Pasaje, the best harbour on the French and Spanish Basque coasts, where many French Basque ships including Chibau's were fitted out for *Terranova*.⁷⁴ While Chibau does not appear to have made frequent visits to Bilbao where his son-in-law and others took care of his interests, he was regularly in San Sebastián and El Pasaje (only 30 kilometers from his home port of Saint-Jean-de-Luz) where he would arrange loans and see to other business matters. However, even if Chibau's main area of activity was the coastal region between Saint-Jean-de-Luz and San Sebastián he and Bolivar kept up a good business information network by corresponding with individuals in the ports of Castro de Urdiales and Laredo west of Bilbao, in Vitoria, Burgos and even in Madrid.⁷⁵ It is evident from the documentation relating to the activities of Chibau and other French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs that there were well developed business and personal links between French and Spanish Basque merchants. Some burgesses of Bilbao and San Sebastián actually owned shares in French Basque ships. For example, Doña María San Joan de Salinas (widow of Diego de Guinea of Bilbao), who in 1603 was guarantor to Michel de Arestegui of Saint-Jean-de-Luz in loans he raised to fit out his *María* for a *Terranova* voyage,⁷⁶ co-owned a ship with Joanes de Arrazu of Saint-Jean-de-Luz during the first decade of the century.⁷⁷

Having completed their fishery in *Terranova* Chibau's and other French Basque ships importing cod to north-eastern Spain usually returned to Bilbao or San Sebastián (and their outports). In some cases, rather than risk the dangers posed by the sand bar which had to be crossed at the mouth of Bilbao's river,⁷⁸ ships destined for Bilbao transferred their cargoes into smaller vessels in the

nearby port of Castro de Urdiales for the ten kilometre distance upriver to the capital city.⁷⁹ Other ships, such as Chibau's *Santa Bárbara* in 1606, put into San Sebastián/El Pasaje and then had their cargoes sent on to Bilbao, again in smaller boats.⁸⁰ From Bilbao and San Sebastián/El Pasaje French Basque imports from *Terranova* were taken into central Spain alongside Spanish Basque *Terranova* imports (which were also unloaded in a number of Vizcaya's and Guipúzcoa's smaller ports). Some of the fish and whale oil was purchased by local merchants who then sent the goods to their associates in inland towns,⁸¹ some was bought as soon as unloading began by muleteer-traders who came to the coast from the interior,⁸² while some was purchased by merchants from the inland city of Vitoria (on the main overland route to Burgos and Madrid) who had long dealt in fish and other commodities in many of the Spanish Basque ports.⁸³ For example, in October 1607, Miguel de Echavarri of Vitoria travelled to Bilbao where he examined cod from two of Chibau's ships and bought a consignment of fish from Sascot de Rotis, the above mentioned Saint-Jean-de-Luz entrepreneur.⁸⁴ Given their involvement in the fish trade and the attractive interest rates on loans for trans-Atlantic fishing it is not surprising that merchants from Vitoria were also involved in moneylending for *Terranova* ventures to coastal entrepreneurs, whether French or Spanish Basque, via their agents in San Sebastián, Bilbao and some of the smaller ports.⁸⁵ Thus, in 1606 besides the loans he took out in Bilbao for his *Terranova* ventures through Doña María Ruiz de Bergara, Chibau also borrowed from moneylenders of Vitoria.⁸⁶

Chibau's intense participation in trans-Atlantic fishing continued in the following years. In 1607, Bolivar raised a total of 3,600 ducats at the usual rate, 27.5 per cent, from five Bilbao merchants on at least six of Chibau's ships, five of which went cod fishing and one whaling (see Table 1).⁸⁷ The latter, the *Santa Bárbara* or *Santa María*, master Marticot "Belza" de Echavarri, returned with 320 *barricas* or hogsheads (casks) of whale oil which Chibau intended to sell in Bilbao to Doña María Ruiz de Bergara.⁸⁸ But it is clear from several personal letters Chibau wrote to Bolivar from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and El Pasaje at the end of that season that Chibau was then suffering severe financial difficulties.⁸⁹ On 27 January 1608 Chibau wrote: "I can well say that never in my life have I seen myself in such financial straits as now" while a few days later, on 4 February, he stated: "I promise you that never in my life have I found myself so cut off".⁹⁰ Chibau described himself as being financially "so naked" that he asked his son-in-law to send him money by the middle of the month "so that they [the moneylenders] do not see my weakness". He followed this up with the remark that "for all that I have seen in this world I would not want anyone to notice this lack of mine".⁹¹ Then, on 15 February, having heard from Bolivar that he could not send him the money he had asked for, Chibau stated: "blessed be God, it appears that the doors are completely closed this year; may God remedy it all".⁹² It would seem that Chibau's financial problems were related to his strategy of

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borrowing heavily "*a la grosse aventure*" to equip and victual his own ships rather than finding partners to share the expenses and risks. If all went well such a strategy concentrated the returns in Chibau's hands but at the same time in the event of a poor fishery or of difficulties in selling the season's catch it left him exposed to not being able to repay the loans. Indeed, three months earlier Chibau's agents in Bilbao had had trouble selling the fish from the 1607 season. On 27 October Bolivar wrote to Chibau: "the prices of the fish go down daily, the best [dried cod] is selling at 24 silver *reales* [each quintal of 100 pounds]"⁹³, while two days later he informed him that: "it is something frightening to see how badly the fish is selling".⁹⁴ Evidently, market conditions were such that suppliers of cod could not always command the price they wanted and while lower prices would certainly have attracted buyers they would have eaten into Chibau's profits.

Nevertheless, in spite of Chibau's alarming statement of 15 February and even though on 7 March 1608 he had still not repaid more than half the money he had borrowed a year earlier from the five Bilbao moneylenders, two or three weeks later eight of his ships set sail for *Terranova*.⁹⁵ The details of how all these eight ventures were financed are not known but Chibau's lack of funds in March, along with the fact that four months earlier he had written to Bolivar enquiring about the possibility of raising 4,000 ducats in Bilbao, suggest that for the 1608 season Chibau fitted out his ships either with the backing of associates or by further extensive borrowing (or by combining the two methods).⁹⁶ Whichever the case, in the following year (1609), perhaps because of continuing problems with his finances, the size of Chibau's *Terranova* fleet was reduced to five ships, far less than the eight ships he had sent in 1606 and 1608 (see Table 1).⁹⁷ There is no trace that year or thereafter of either his *Santa Bárbara* or *Santa Lucía*, which by then may have reached the end of their serviceable lives. This was the opinion, already two years earlier, of several Bilbao moneylenders who told Bolivar that his father-in-law's ships were "very old so that no seaman wants to sail in them".⁹⁸

As with his previous *Terranova* ventures, these 1609 voyages were at least partly financed with borrowed Spanish Basque capital. On 13 January 1609, while in the town of Irún on the French-Spanish border, Chibau gave Bolivar a power of attorney to find up to 2,000 ducats in Bilbao to outfit and victual four of his ships then moored in El Pasaje,⁹⁹ some of which was raised from the same people who had lent capital to Chibau in preceding years.¹⁰⁰ However, in the meantime Chibau himself went about borrowing elsewhere. On 6 April 1609, Chibau signed a contract in San Sebastián acknowledging receipt of a loan of 1,000 ducats (at 27.5 per cent) to fit out the above four ships (which had already left for *Terranova*) from Sebastián Vitoriano of Vitoria and he apparently borrowed from other Vitoria merchants as well.¹⁰¹ Therefore, Chibau at least

borrowed enough to cover more than half the cost of the victuals and salt for the vessels.

ADAM DE CHIBAU AND WHALING IN BRAZIL (1609)

Although his direct involvement in trans-Atlantic fishing in 1609 was limited to the five ships he owned and victualled, Chibau chartered two other ships of his own that year to Julian Dureo, a young merchant resident in Bilbao but referred to as a native of Nantes,¹⁰² who was to fit them out for whaling in the Bay of Todos los Santos in north-eastern Brazil, a completely new aspect of New World resource exploitation.¹⁰³ The charter-party for the two ships was first signed in Saint-Jean-de-Luz on 6 December 1608, only weeks after his eight ships had returned from *Terranova*, but several months later this agreement was annulled and superseded by a second charter-party signed in Chibau's house in Saint-Jean-de-Luz on 25 April 1609.¹⁰⁴ According to this new document Chibau's only obligations were to appoint a master for each of the two ships and hand the vessels over to Dureo in good sailing order (in return for which Chibau was to receive from Dureo a net fifth of the cargoes of whale oil and baleen) while the latter was to provide the crew and all the victuals and whaling equipment.

Dureo was acting on behalf of two merchants of Bilbao, Captain Pedro de Urrecha and Julian Michel, who were residing in San Salvador on the Bay of Todos los Santos where, eight months earlier, they had given Dureo their power of attorney to return to the Basque country to charter and fit out two ships for whaling in Brazil.¹⁰⁵ Such instructions were fully in keeping with a royal licence the two merchants had obtained in 1602 to catch and process whales in Brazil with up to three ships for a total of ten years. This royal concession, which apparently marked the beginning of European commercial whaling in Brazil,¹⁰⁶ must be seen in the context of the attempts made by Spanish Basque whaling entrepreneurs to find new whaling grounds at a time of declining whale stocks in the Strait of Belle Isle (Labrador).

Urrecha's and Michel's power of attorney also gave Dureo the authority to borrow money on their behalf to finance the ventures and, in April and May 1609, Chibau — who was already known to the moneylenders in question — crucially both arranged and stood as Dureo's guarantor in loans worth 23,950 *reales* from nine merchants: four from Bilbao, four from Vitoria and one (Juan de Zabaleta)¹⁰⁷ from the small inland town of Villareal (in Guipúzcoa) (see Table 2).¹⁰⁸ That the interest rates of 40 and 60 per cent charged for the loans were much higher than the going rates for *Terranova* ventures seems to have been a reflection of the greater distance to Brazil and of the relative novelty of the enterprise.

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TABLE 2

Loans made to Julian Dureo of Bilbao and Nantes by merchants of Bilbao, Vitoria and Villareal to fit out the *Santa Engracia* (300 tons) and the *Santa Clara* (200 tons) for whaling in Brazil in 1609

Name of Lender	Capital Lent	Interest Rate	Capital + Interest
Miguel de Echavarri (Vitoria)	8,000 rs.	60 %	12,800 rs.
Bartolomé de Galarreta (Vitoria)	3,300 rs.	60 %	5,280 rs.
Julián González de Troconiz (Vitoria)	2,200 rs.	60 %	3,520 rs.
Juan Díaz de Garayo (Vitoria)	2,200 rs.	60 %	3,520 rs.
Enrique Petiesens, Flemish (Bilbao)	1,650 rs.	40 %	2,310 rs.
Juan Pérez de Ocariz (Bilbao)	1,650 rs.	40 %	2,310 rs.
Alejandro de Echavarri (Bilbao)	1,650 rs.	40 %	2,310 rs.
San Pedro de Adaro (Bilbao)	1,100 rs.	40 %	1,540 rs.
Juan de Zabaleta (Villareal)	<u>12,200 rs.</u>	[40 %]	<u>3,080 rs.</u>
	23,950 reales		36,670 reales

[Source: ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 1467-5, part 2, ff. 39-40 v.]

CHIBAU'S FINAL *TERRANOVA* SEASONS: 1610 AND 1611

It is possible that Chibau chose to charter two of his ships to Dureo rather than fit them out himself for *Terranova* as he had done in previous years because his financial resources were not as great as they had been. If so, the move did not have a positive outcome as, unfortunately for Chibau, at the end of 1609 and during the course of 1610 his shipping and trans-Atlantic fishing interests suffered a number of setbacks which left him worse off than before. To begin with, upon the return of only four of his five ships from *Terranova* in October/November 1609 differences arose between Chibau and the moneylenders of Bilbao and Vitoria because of the loss in north-western Spain of his *Buenaventura* (commanded by Pelen de Lason who originally was to have sailed as master of the *Santa Catalina*). Two independent judges were appointed to settle the dispute and on 15 February 1610, while Chibau was in Bilbao, they concluded that he had to repay any money he had borrowed on the *Santa Catalina*, though not the 27.5 per cent interest, "because the ship which appears to have been lost is the *Buenaventura*, the said Pelen de Lason master [and not the *Santa Catalina*]"'.¹⁰⁹ This was confirmed by the *corregidor* of Vizcaya in July but after an appeal by Chibau the lawsuit was still going in 1626!¹¹⁰

In spite of this incident Chibau undertook to fit out as sole victualler three of his four remaining ships for the coming 1610 cod fishing season. Three days after the 15 February judgement he gave his son-in-law power of attorney to

borrow up to 2,300 ducats in Bilbao on the three ships (slightly more than Bolívar had raised in the preceding year) part of which was lent by Doña Agustina de Aperribay, Iñigo de Labeaga, Juan Pérez de Múxica, Doña Agustina de Zubiaur and Miguel de Salinas (see Table 3).¹¹¹ But what stands out from the data is that at the same time, through a series of loan contracts he signed in San Sebastián between 15 February and 21 May, Chibau himself raised almost three times as much money (about 71,360 *reales* or 6,487 ducats at 27.5 per cent) from 15 moneylenders: one woman and 12 men from inland Vitoria (four of whom had made loans to Dureo a year earlier for whaling in Brazil) and two residents of cities further inland (Burgos and Segovia) both of whom lent their money through one of the 13 Vitoria moneylenders (see Table 4). Unusually, in the light of what is presently known about the financing of *Terranova* ventures, the total borrowed by Chibau in Bilbao and Vitoria seems to have been sufficient to fully equip his three ships, pay for their victuals and salt, and also cover the cost of loans to the crew members.¹¹² Yet, even though Chibau entirely financed the fishing ventures with borrowed capital, if the ships returned with full cargoes which then sold well he stood to realise a net profit in the region of 50 per cent of the capital invested but, as noted, this massive borrowing left him exposed to certain risks.

Just as his three ships were preparing to leave for *Terranova* in March 1610 Chibau was faced with two other setbacks, this time arising from the involvement of his two ships, the *Santa Engracia* and the *Santa Clara*, in Brazilian whaling in 1609. On 16 March, the *Santa Engracia* put into El Pasaje from South America with only about 60 per cent of a full cargo, not because of a poor fishery but because of differences in Brazil between Julian Dureo, who had chartered the ship, and the ship's master. Dureo and his associates claimed to have lost 500 *barricas* of whale oil stored on land because the master refused to lend them canvas with which to protect the casks from the elements. Besides resulting in less cargo than expected for Chibau the differences led to a lengthy and costly lawsuit between Dureo and Chibau which began immediately after the ship had dropped anchor.¹¹³ The second Brazilian setback was that Chibau's other ship, the *Santa Clara*, was seized by the authorities in Brazil and its crew imprisoned when the master attempted to load contraband cargo for the voyage back to Europe, and apparently the vessel was never released.¹¹⁴

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TABLE 3

Loans made to Adam de Chibau of Saint-Jean-de-Luz by merchants of Bilbao to fit out the *Santa Clara*, *La Esperanza* and *El Angel* for cod fishing in *Terranova* in 1610

Name of Lender	Capital Lent (+ interest @ 27.5 %) in ducats			
	<i>Santa Clara</i> (250 tons)	<i>La Esperanza</i> (100 tons)	<i>El Angel</i> (80 tons)	Total capital (+ interest)
<i>Doña María de Avendaño</i>	100 (127.5)	100 (127.5)		200 (255 ds.)
<i>Doña Agustina de Zubiaur</i>	100 (127.5)	100 (127.5)		200 (255 ds.)
<i>Doña Agustina de Aperribay</i>		100 (127.5)		100 (127.5 ds.)
Iñigo de Labeaga	150 (191.25)	150 (191.25)		300 (382.5 ds.)
Juan Pérez de Múxica	100 (127.5)	150 (191.25)		250 (318.75 ds.)
Miguel de Salinas	<u>66.65 (85)</u>	<u>66.65 (85)</u>		<u>133.3 (170 ds.)</u>
	516.65 (658.75)	666.65 (850)		1,183.3 (1,508.75 ds)

[Source: ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 9.]

TABLE 4

Loans made to Adam de Chibau of Saint-Jean-de-Luz by merchants of Vitoria, Burgos and Segovia to fit out the *Santa Clara*, *La Esperanza* and *El Angel* for cod fishing in *Terranova* in 1610

Name of Lender	Capital Lent (+ interest @ 27.5 %) in reales			
	<i>Santa Clara</i> (250 tons)	<i>La Esperanza</i> (100 tons)	<i>El Angel</i> (80 tons)	Total capital (+ interest)
Julián González de Troconiz (Vitoria) for himself:	1,500	1,000	500	3,000 rs. (3,825 rs.)
for Diego de Torres (Burgos):	1,500	1,000	500	3,000 rs. (3,825 rs.)
for Joan Gz. de Arcaute (Segovia):	1,500	1,500	1,500	4,500 rs. (5,737.5 rs.)
Juan Díaz de Garayo (Vitoria)	2,900	4,000	2,900	9,800 rs. (12,495 rs.)
Bartolomé de Galarreta (Vitoria)	2,200	2,200	2,200	6,600 rs. (8,415 rs.)
Francisco de Eguiluz (Vitoria)	2,200	2,200	2,200	6,600 rs. (8,415 rs.)
Joan de Ugarte (notary, Vitoria)	2,200	2,200	2,200	6,600 rs. (8,415 rs.)
Antonio de Maturana (Vitoria)	2,200	2,200	2,200	6,600 rs. (8,415 rs.)
Miguel de Echavarri (Vitoria)	3,000	3,000	3,000	9,000 rs. (11,475 rs.)
Joan de Aberasturi (Vitoria)	1,540	1,430	1,430	4,400 rs. (5,610 rs.)
Joan de Castillo (Vitoria)	1,100	1,100	1,100	3,300 rs. (4,207.5 rs.)
Francisco Gz. de Legarda (Vitoria)	1,100	1,100	1,100	3,300 rs. (4,207.5 rs.)
Pedro de Aguirre (Vitoria)	733.3	733.3	733.3	2,200 rs. (2,805 rs.)
<i>Joana de Calleja</i> (widow of Antonio de Garibay) (Vitoria)	550	550	550	1,650rs. (2,103.75 rs.)
Sebastián Vitoriano (Vitoria)	<u>1270]</u>	<u>1270]</u>	<u>1270]</u>	<u>lc. 810 rs.] 11,032.75 rs.]</u>
	24,493.3	24,483.3	22,383.3	c. 71,360 (90,984 reales)

[Source: ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 8.]

Evidently, as a result of these events Chibau suffered substantial financial losses and he must have hoped that the three ships he was then seeing off to *Terranova* and on which he had so extensively borrowed would fare much better. This, however, was not to be the case and in the autumn of 1610 Chibau faced two further major setbacks. One of the three ships he had sent to *Terranova*, the 80 ton *El Angel*, failed to return. Of course, with the sinking of the ship the moneylenders of Vitoria, Burgos, Segovia and Bilbao who had lent Chibau money on the vessel lost their capital and their expected interest but Chibau lost his vessel as well as his share of the returns. Secondly, the other two ships returned to El Pasaje from their cod fishing ventures "without much cargo" as a result of which Chibau found himself in financial straits.¹¹⁵ With little profit from the ventures he was unable to repay most of the money he had borrowed. Soon thereafter, his two ships were detained by the authorities, a first step in the process of reimbursing his creditors. Then, just as events were taking a turn for the worse, a solution to the problem was found. Through the mediation of "honourable" members of San Sebastián's business community the moneylenders of Vitoria (and their associates in Burgos and Segovia) were persuaded to postpone calling in the 60,585 *reales* (5,507.7 ducats) that Chibau owed them for one year so that his ships could return to *Terranova* in 1611 and with any luck bring back full cargoes, which Chibau could then use to pay off his debts.¹¹⁶ This agreement was formalised in San Sebastián on 16 December 1610 when Joanes de Goyeche "the elder" of Saint-Jean-de-Luz (acting on Chibau's behalf) and two prominent maritime entrepreneurs from San Sebastián, captains Joanes de Gayangus and Joanes de Amézqueta (standing as Chibau's guarantors), signed two contracts by which they bound themselves to repay the 60,585 *reales* within a year (see Table 5).¹¹⁷

TABLE 5
Loans made to Adam de Chibau of Saint-Jean-de-Luz by French and Spanish merchants to fit out the *Santa Clara*, *La Esperanza* and the *Santa Engracia* for cod fishing in *Terranova* in 1611

Name of Lender	Capital (+ Interest)
i) <i>Merchants of Vitoria, Burgos and Segovia</i>	
Julían González de Troconiz (Vitoria)	
for himself: 3,187.5 <i>reales</i>	
for Diego de Torres (Burgos): 3,187.5 rs.	
for Joan González de Arcaute (Segovia): 3,825 rs.	10,200 rs.
Juan Díaz de Garayo (Vitoria)	9,052 rs.
Bartolomé de Galarreta (Vitoria)	5,610 rs.
Francisco de Eguiluz (Vitoria)	5,610 rs.
Joan de Ugarte (notary, Vitoria)	5,610 rs.
Antonio de Maturana (Vitoria)	5,610 rs.

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Name of Lender	Capital (+ Interest)
Miguel de Echavarri (Vitoria)	5,538 rs.
Joan de Aberasturi (Vitoria)	3,785 rs.
Joan de Castillo (Vitoria)	2,805 rs.
Francisco González de Legarda (Vitoria)	2,805 rs.
Pedro de Aguirre (Vitoria)	1,870 rs.
Joana de Calleja (widow of Antonio de Garibay) (Vitoria)	1,402.5 rs.
Sebastián Vitoriano (Vitoria)	<u>687 rs.</u>
	60,584.5 <i>reales</i>
	(60,585 rs. in the litigation)
ii) <i>Merchants of Bayonne (France)</i>	
Ojer de Arizmendi	65,070 rs.
Joan Geneau	+
Bernard de Agorreta	<u>27.5 % (17,894.25 rs.)</u>
	82,964.25 <i>reales</i>
iii) <i>Merchants of Bilbao</i>	
<i>Doña María Ruiz de Bergara</i>	
Juan Pérez de Múxica	
Iñigo de Labeaga	
Simón Díaz de Lecea	
Juan Pérez de Ocáriz	19,800 rs.
Baltasar de Arechaga	+
Pedro de la Peña	<u>27.5 % (5,445 rs.)</u>
	25,245 <i>reales</i>
Total:	168,794.25 <i>reales</i> (15,344.9 ducats)

[Source: ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, parts 3 and 5; Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, parts 1, 2 and 5.]

The agreement was undoubtedly crucial for Chibau but it still left him with the problem of financing the fitting out and victualling of the three ships he planned to send to *Terranova*: the *Esperanza* (or *Runberja*) and *Santa Clara*, which weeks earlier had arrived from Newfoundland, and the *Santa Engracia*.¹¹⁸ This issue was largely solved by three French Basque merchants from Bayonne: Ojer de Arizmendi, Joan Geneau and Bernard de Agorreta, who became the main people involved in Chibau's 1611 cod fishing ventures. During February and March 1611, this "company" lent Chibau in Saint-Jean-de-Luz and San Sebastián a total of 16,267 *livres* and 16 *sueldos* (65,070 *reales* or 5,915.45 ducats) to equip the ships, as well as to advance to the sailors, in the form of a substantial loan "*a la grosse aventure*" at the usual interest rate of 27.5 per cent (see Table 5).¹¹⁹ They also lent him four bundles of cloth which they sent to Joan

de Gayangus in San Sebastián and 1,279 *reales* sent to one of the moneylenders in Vitoria, Bartolomé de Galarreta, in order to have the detention order on Chibau's ships lifted. Moreover, besides providing Chibau with this very considerable sum the Bayonne company also decided to fully provision the three ships, then moored in El Pasaje, with the requisite salt and victuals for the dry cod fishery in *Terranova*.¹²⁰ In return for this direct participation in the ventures the company was to receive one third of the ships' cargoes while the crew would be given one quarter of the cargoes and Chibau 5/12ths for the use of his ships. The above was set out and confirmed in three agreements: two signed on 8 April 1611¹²¹ in Chibau's house in Saint-Jean-de-Luz and the other on 29 April in the nearby parish of Anglet between Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Bayonne.¹²² The agreements also specified that upon the return of the ships the Bayonne company was entitled to take possession of Chibau's 5/12ths share of the cargoes "as security for the payment of the great sums lent by the victuallers to the shipowner to equip his ships and lend to the sailors".

In the meantime, while in the border town of Irun on 22 January, at the time he was arranging the major loan from the Bayonne company, Chibau issued Pedro de Bolivar a power of attorney enabling him to borrow 1,200 ducats on his behalf in Bilbao.¹²³ On 6 and 8 February, Bolivar duly signed 15 loan agreements totalling that amount with five merchants of Bilbao destined for "preparing the ships, purchasing victuals and fishing gear and to paying the people who are to go in the vessels", while on 11 March and 27 May (after Chibau's ships had left) Bolivar borrowed a further 600 ducats which Chibau requested from two other residents of Bilbao, Baltasar de Arechaga and Pedro de la Peña (see Table 6).¹²⁴ That same year some of these moneylenders made loans to other French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs including captain Sabat de Yturbide of Saint-Jean-de-Luz who lost two ships that season on the *Terranova* run.¹²⁵

Thus, Chibau was able to finance his 1611 ventures by combining direct participation in the voyages on a "profit or loss basis" by the Bayonne merchants who fully paid for the provisioning of his three ships, with loans "*a la grosse aventure*" from the Bayonne merchants and from seven moneylenders of Bilbao. The loans (totalling 7,715.45 ducats) covered the cost of making the ships ready and the necessary advances to the crews. But in those loans Chibau gave as collateral to both the Bilbao and Bayonne merchants all his possessions and specifically his three ships and his share of their cargoes from which he had already promised to pay his debts of 60,585 *reales* (outstanding from 1610) to the 15 moneylenders of Vitoria and their associates. Chibau's total debts to the three parties waiting to collect their capital and interest in the autumn of 1611 stood at an extremely high 15,344.9 ducats and it is clear that, because of the loans he had had to take out, Chibau was placed in a perilous financial position (see Table 5). Only if his three ships returned with full cargoes — which was far from certain — did he stand a chance of settling his accounts.¹²⁶ Events were

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beyond Chibau's control.

When the first of Chibau's three ships to arrive back from *Terranova*, the *Esperanza* (or *Runberja*¹²⁷), put into San Sebastián on 22 October with less fish than expected, Joan de Gayangus and Martín de Amézqueta (the sons of captains Joanes de Gayangus and Joanes de Amézqueta who had stood as Chibau's guarantors in his debt to the moneylenders of Vitoria and who had both died in the previous months) claimed Chibau's share of the cargo with which they were obliged to pay the creditors in Vitoria. However, the ship's master denied them access to the cargo, saying that he was obliged by contract to hand Chibau's share to the company of Bayonne merchants. Three days later, on 25 October, Gayangus and Amézqueta took their case to the city's mayor who ordered the *Esperanza*'s master to hand over the share even though that was bound to draw a reaction from the Bayonne company.¹²⁸ Matters took a further turn for the worse when, with the arrival about ten days later of the *Santa Clara* and *Santa Engracia*, also with less than full cargoes, it became clear that Chibau would not be able to repay his debts from the proceeds of the three ventures, and not surprisingly, as described in the ensuing lawsuits, at this point late in 1611 "the said Adame [de Chibau] defaulted".¹²⁹

TABLE 6

Loans made to Adam de Chibau of Saint-Jean-de-Luz by merchants of Bilbao to fit out the *Santa Clara*, *La Esperanza* and the *Santa Engracia* for cod fishing in *Terranova* in 1611

Name of Lender	Capital Lent (+ Interest @ 27.5 %) in ducats			
	<i>Santa Engracia</i> (300 tons)	<i>Santa Clara</i> (250 tons)	<i>Esperanza</i> (100 tons)	Total capital (+ interest)
<i>Doña María Ruiz de Bergara</i>	50 (63.75)	50 (63.75)	50 (63.75)	150 (191.25)
Juan Pérez de Múxica	150 (191.25)	100 (127.5)	150 (191.25)	400 (510)
Iñigo de Labeaga	100 (127.5)	100 (127.5)	100 (127.5)	300 (382.5)
Simón Díaz de Lecea	100 (127.5)	50 (63.75)	100 (127.5)	250 (318.75)
Juan Pérez de Ocáriz	33.3 (42.5)	33.3 (42.5)	33.3 (42.5)	100 (127.5)
Baltasar de Arechaga	50 (63.75)	50 (63.75)	50 (63.75)	150 (191.25)
Pedro de la Peña	150 (191.25)	150 (191.25)	150 (191.25)	450 (573.75)
	633.3 (807.5)	533.3 (680)	633.3 (807.5)	1,800 (2,295 ds.)

[Source: ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, parts 1 and 5; Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 3.]

CHIBAU'S "DEFAULT" AND THE ENSUING LITIGATION

On 14 November Chibau was being held in San Sebastián's municipal jail and one of the merchants from Bayonne, Bernard de Agorreta, was in the city demanding that the money Chibau owed his company be the first of Chibau's

debts to be repaid.¹³⁰ By 22 November both the Bayonne company and Gayangus and Amézqueta (for the Vitoria moneylenders) had filed suits against Chibau before San Sebastián's mayor, suits which at the same time brought them into conflict against each other.¹³¹ Soon thereafter, the mayor passed a sentence which found against Chibau and decreed the repayment of his Vitoria and Bayonne creditors, in that order. Furthermore, on 12 December, upon the creditors' insistence, the mayor confirmed that Chibau was to be kept in prison.¹³² The Bayonne merchants claimed that if he were set free they would never be able to recover their debts in Saint-Jean-de-Luz for, in their words, Chibau was "a relative of the justices of the town as he is married to a noble woman".¹³³ On the same day, Chibau gave a power of attorney to his solicitor to appeal both the mayor's sentence and his detention order in the Chancellery at Valladolid, and within two weeks Chibau had obtained a judgement from the Chancellery instructing him to get a copy of all the legal proceedings to date and summoning all the interested parties or their attorneys to Valladolid.¹³⁴ This did not prevent Chibau's three ships from being embargoed in accordance with the mayor's sentence: the *Esperanza* in San Sebastián on 13 December (sold two months later for 9,900 *reales*) and the other two in El Pasaje de San Sebastián on 19 December,¹³⁵ and between 13 December and 30 February 1612 Gayangus and Amézqueta used the money from the sale of Chibau's share of the ships' cargoes and from several cannon and cannonballs (41,893 *reales*) to repay part of the 60,585 *reales* owed to the Vitoria moneylenders.¹³⁶

In the meantime, Pedro de Bolivar and the seven moneylenders from Bilbao who had lent Chibau money for the 1611 ventures were made aware of the events taking place in San Sebastián and at the Chancellery in Valladolid and themselves put in claims for reimbursement. On 30 January 1612, the seven moneylenders issued their power of attorney for suits against Chibau and his other creditors while, shortly after, Bolivar arrived in San Sebastián to claim 34,828.75 *reales* he said he had paid on Chibau's behalf for 14 outstanding loans dating from 1606 to 1610.¹³⁷ The scene was set for what was to be protracted litigation involving not two but four parties. Bolivar contested the fact that the mayor of San Sebastián's ruling had ordered that Chibau's assets be used to first of all pay the Vitoria creditors and then the Bayonne company and that the judgement made no mention of the loans Chibau owed him even though they predated those of the Vitoria and Bayonne moneylenders (this was seen as favouring the interests of those in San Sebastián). On the 13th of February, the mayor ordered that copies of the 14 loan contracts be sent to the other creditors so that they could "state their rights and justice" but at the same time, following accusations by Chibau that Bolivar owed him money, the mayor decreed that Bolivar also be imprisoned!¹³⁸ Three days later, Bolivar and Chibau signed a document in prison agreeing to set aside their differences while they settled their accounts. Bolivar was released and two weeks later, back in Bilbao, he appealed

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to the Chancellery in Valladolid which ordered that a copy of their litigation be brought to the court.¹³⁹

Chibau himself might have been freed at that time as a sentence passed by the Chancellery on 24 February ordered his release on account of his "nobility and *hidalguía*" but the verdict was contested by his creditors and he remained in prison.¹⁴⁰ Ever since his detention Chibau had maintained that he should be freed because of his noble status and because *hidalgos* were not subject to imprisonment for civil debts but his attorney's arguments were successfully countered.¹⁴¹ For instance, the attorney acting for the Bayonne merchants held that Chibau was a foreigner and that he had not proven his *hidalguía* in Spanish courts and he added that in France *hidalgos* could be imprisoned for such debts. What was more, according to the attorney Chibau was "not a noble or *hidalgo*... but a trading merchant as were his father, grandfather and ancestors".¹⁴² Chibau's attorney also tried to secure his client's release by arguing with the backing of several witnesses that Chibau had sufficient capital with which to "satisfy and pay his creditors". On this point one of the witnesses, Juan de Arbelaiz, a royal courier in Guipúzcoa, declared that he had known Chibau for many years and offered the following character reference for him:

he is a very principal person, a well known noble *hijodalgo* and he is commonly held and reputed as such in the said kingdom of France and place of Saint-Jean-de-Luz from where he comes, and he has held several offices of government in the said town and in the land of Labourd;... he has much real estate: houses, mills, apple orchards and is *sieur* of San Julian — which is a noble house — and lord of vassals, all of which is worth a large amount... more than 20,000 ducats.¹⁴³

At the same time Chibau's attorney claimed that Chibau's ships had returned with less than a third of their full cargoes and as a result it was only a "fortuitous case" that at the end of 1611 he did not have the necessary money to pay his debts. The lawyer also stated that Chibau had not defrauded anyone by putting up as security to the three groups of moneylenders the same share of the cargoes, for had the ships returned with full cargoes, he argued, Chibau would not have been in the considerable financial trouble he was now in.¹⁴⁴ "Fortuitous" or not, Chibau's "default" following difficult *Terranova* seasons in 1610 and 1611 was a reality. It was not until after more legal proceedings and the presentation of further testimony from witnesses that the Chancellery passed a sentence, on 13 July 1612, which finally ensured Chibau's release.¹⁴⁵ He then left for France making it much harder to proceed against him.

Back in Guipúzcoa the litigation continued. On 28 July 1612, shortly after Chibau's release from jail, a second verdict by the mayor of San Sebastián decreed that Chibau's two unsold ships be auctioned and, furthermore, that the claims of Chibau's creditors be dealt with in the following order.¹⁴⁶ Priority was given to Gayangus and Amézqueta who were to be repaid 10,004.5 *reales* of their own which they had put towards the 60,585 *reales* owed to the merchants of

Vitoria; second place went to Doña María de Avendaño, a widow from Bilbao, who was to receive 255 ducats Chibau owed her for two loans dated 2 April 1610; thirdly, the remaining 8,688 *reales* owed to the Vitoria moneylenders were to be given to them via Gayangus and Amézqueta; fourthly, Doña María Ruiz de Bergara and Juan Pérez de Múxica were to be repaid the loans they made to Chibau in 1611; fifth place was adjudicated to three of the other moneylenders from Bilbao who had lent Chibau money for the 1611 ventures (Ocáriz, Lecea and Labeaga) who were to be repaid only part of their money; while the last claim to be addressed was that of the Bayonne merchants (who had meanwhile lodged a suit against Chibau at the *parlement* of Bordeaux) for the 16,267 livres they had lent Chibau. The sentence also found that Ocáriz, Lecea and Labeaga were to continue their legal fight for the remainder of their claim, as was Bolivar for all the money he said he was owed by Chibau.

The sentence clearly did not solve matters, partly because there were insufficient assets of Chibau's to go around, and from mid-1612 through mid-1614 the litigation continued in Valladolid with claims and counterclaims from all four parties. Bolivar appealed the fact that his interests had been ignored; Gayangus and Amézqueta defended the mayor of San Sebastián's judgement in their favour as representatives of the Vitoria moneylenders; the seven inhabitants of Bilbao who had lent money to Chibau in 1611 demanded that their loans be fully repaid prior to the claims of the merchants of Vitoria, San Sebastián and Bayonne; while Chibau himself went as far as saying that all the loans were usurious and therefore "illicit and damned".¹⁴⁷ In such circumstances during the early 1600s it was not unusual for shipowners and victuallers who borrowed money "*a la grosse aventure*" to argue along these lines; however, the usual counter-argument was that the loans did not amount to usury and that by then they were generally accepted on Spain's north coast as well as in France. The attorney for the seven Bilbao moneylenders aptly summed up this often encountered counter-argument as follows:

the said interest rates are moderate and fair because those who lend money to victual and equip the ships run the risk and danger on the ships' keels, and because the said ships ordinarily run a lot of risk on the *Terranova* voyage which is very long and dangerous. Furthermore, no one would lend money if they did not receive the said interest in return for the risk, danger and loan of the money, and the ships would cease sailing to the said *Terranova* from where they bring the codfish and whale used in these kingdoms, which would be of notable inconvenience and damage... If such loans did not exist there would be no *Terranova* voyages... which for many reasons would be of great concern as is obvious and can easily be understood.¹⁴⁸

Nonetheless, Chibau's petition contesting the validity of the loans was accepted and as a result the moneylenders from Vitoria became directly involved in the litigation.¹⁴⁹

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Eventually, on 9 June 1614 (confirmed on 18 July), two and a half years after the first appeal had been made to its judges, the Chancellery reached a verdict. It confirmed the mayor of San Sebastián's sentence of July 1612, but made some significant changes. The seven moneylenders from Bilbao and not those of Vitoria were to be the first of Chibau's creditors repaid from the proceeds of his share of the 1611 cargoes, but if the 14 loans Bolivar claimed he had paid for Chibau were found to be true then those which pre-dated the loans made to Chibau by other creditors were given priority in repayment over and above all other claims. The sentence also added that the interest owed by Chibau on the loans he had taken out was only to be repaid at 20 per cent and not at the 27.5 per cent or 30 per cent stipulated in the original loan agreements.¹⁵⁰ Finally, neither side was awarded costs. However, matters did not end there as the four main parties concerned appealed the judgement. Bolivar wanted repayment of all 14 loan contracts he had presented (not just of the earliest contracts) before any other claims were settled, while the moneylenders of Bilbao opposed the fact that the Chancellery had lowered the interest rate, reiterating that the rate of 27.5 per cent was "just and moderate and approved by general use and custom in these and neighbouring kingdoms". Their lawyer added that they needed the money "because they are businessmen and they have earmarked the said money for business, and because every day opportunities to use the money can be found in the sea ports".¹⁵¹ With regard to Chibau, his attorney at that point introduced the new yet doubtful claim that because of the high interest rates he had been charged in preceding years Chibau had suffered huge losses which had left him "destroyed and poor" whereas the moneylenders had become "very rich".¹⁵²

A year and a half later, on 9 January 1616, the Chancellery passed its definitive judgement on the case. This new sentence appears to have satisfied Bolivar's demands as it specified that if Chibau did not agree to settle accounts with him within two months, Bolivar would be entitled to present the 14 loan contracts he claimed he was owed to the appropriate officials for approval and acceptance. As far as the other creditors are concerned the verdict confirmed that the moneylenders from Bilbao were to be repaid prior to the Vitoria merchants. However, although the new sentence favoured Bolivar and the moneylenders of Bilbao it fell well short of meeting their demands as, instead of increasing the interest rate to be paid on the loans from the 20 per cent decreed in the 1614 verdict to the original 27.5 per cent, the court further reduced the rate to 16 per cent.¹⁵³

With the litigation in Valladolid over, the various parties were issued their copies of the final sentence and the process of having it carried out began. As it transpired, however, this process proved to be more protracted than the lawsuit itself! Immediately after the Chancellery's final judgement, Bolivar and the Bilbao moneylenders objected to the sentence being carried out by the authorities in San Sebastián whom they claimed were favourable to Chibau, Gayangus and

Amézqueta, and the Vitoria moneylenders. Bolivar's attorney wrote that justice could not be obtained in San Sebastián because Chibau had "a lot of influence with the authorities there and because the people who have the assets from which my party is to be paid are very powerful". Evidently, his petition was taken into account as four months later, in May 1616, the Chancellery appointed Pedro de Bibanco as "executing judge".¹⁵⁴ In October 1616, the 14 loans presented by Bolivar were confirmed in Bilbao and Bibanco then tried at length to carry out the sentence in San Sebastián. This entailed retrieving the money which had been paid almost five years earlier to the Vitoria moneylenders from Chibau's 1611 cargoes, obtaining the 9,900 *reales* from the sale of the *Esperanza* which the authorities had deposited with Joan de Amézqueta in San Sebastián, and disposing of Chibau's two other ships which were then lying underwater in El Pasaje.¹⁵⁵

However, Bibanco ran into continuous hurdles and delaying tactics and by September 1617, after Gayangus and Amézqueta had refused to accept Bibanco as "executing judge", another judge (*licenciado* Morquecho) had been appointed. In a similar move the moneylenders of Vitoria, who had earlier had some of their belongings put up for auction by Bibanco, in turn rejected *licenciado* Morquecho. When a third judge, Doctor Colmenares, was put on the case it was Bolivar, who had earlier protested against Bibanco's dismissal, who objected to the new appointment stating that Doctor Colmenares was not only an "intimate friend" of the Vitoria moneylenders but also their lawyer's brother-in-law and that this group was simply "prolonging the proceedings".¹⁵⁶ By January 1618, a new judge, Pedro de Maruri, had been appointed but due to further complications the execution of the sentence dragged on for at least another three years.¹⁵⁷

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Adam de Chibau's financial problems and default in 1611, and the ensuing litigation in France and Spain that lasted for over a decade, apparently brought his considerable business activities to a close, even though they may not have marked the end of the Chibau family's participation in *Terranova* fishing during the seventeenth century — an inference which could be drawn from the place name "Chibau Island" found off Newfoundland on the 1674 de Rotis chart of the North Atlantic. However, the documentation — and particularly the lawsuits — regarding the shipwrecking and trans-Atlantic fishing interests of Adam de Chibau between 1601 and 1611, which at the same time relate to the activities of other French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs during the late 1500s and early 1600s, is a significant legacy left by Chibau which sheds much light not only on the large-scale entrepreneurial activities of Chibau himself, but also on the organisational and financial structures behind many French Basque *Terranova* voyages of those decades and on the substantial import trade of codfish (and to a lesser extent of whale oil) into northern Spain — principally into the port cities

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of Bilbao and San Sebastián — in French Basque ships for distribution to central Spain.

From this new data it is now clear that while some of those French Basque ventures were organised by one or several entrepreneurs (not necessarily of the same economic rank) who chartered ships from their owners and then provisioned them for *Terranova*, other such ventures were wholly organised and financed by individual wealthy merchant-entrepreneurs, for instance Chibau and perhaps Yturbide and Araneder, who equipped and victualled their own ships for the trans-Atlantic fishery. Indeed, Chibau was sole owner-victualler not only of one but of up to eight ships for the same *Terranova* season. This points to the existence of an outstandingly strong entrepreneurial spirit and to a concerted effort to increase investment in — and therefore returns from — what was evidently considered to be a financially very attractive industry.

To finance their *Terranova* ventures entrepreneurs from the French Basque ports used their own funds and those of partners who invested in the voyages on a "profit or loss" basis. However, the evidence presented above suggests that many of these *Terranova* entrepreneurs combined these funds with credit raised in the form of loans "*a la grosse aventure*" at a standard rate of around 27.5 per cent. Some, like Chibau, apparently in an attempt to maximise profits for themselves, went as far as funding their ventures extensively, sometimes entirely, with such loans instead of with capital from partners who would have shared both the expenses and risks. As the rate of interest was, generally speaking, well below the returns made on the voyages it was worthwhile for shipowners and victuallers to borrow in this way, but borrowers ran the risk of becoming deeply indebted, as occurred with Chibau, if the ship or ships fitted out returned with much smaller cargoes than expected (especially in two or more consecutive seasons) or if the cargoes brought back did not sell well.

The French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs took out some of the loans they required from merchants within the French Basque region itself but their ventures were not solely paid for with local capital or with funding from business associates in Bordeaux and La Rochelle; the financing of the French Basque *Terranova* sector was geographically far more complex. Shipowners and victuallers from Ciboure, Saint-Jean-de-Luz and other French Basque coastal towns who were involved in *Terranova* fishing also borrowed substantial amounts in the Spanish Basque country where they sold many of their cargoes of fish and whale oil. Foremost among their Spanish Basque creditors appear to have been merchants in Bilbao and San Sebastián, both important financial and insurance centres which had played a significant role in European maritime trade since the Middle Ages. However, among these moneylenders were also merchants from the inland city of Vitoria who were directly involved in the marketing of *Terranova* products and in the import-export trade generally in Spanish Basque ports, and who occasionally lent money belonging to residents

of cities further inland such as the important Castilian centres of Burgos and Segovia. As a result of their considerable imports from *Terranova* to Bilbao and San Sebastián and of their capital requirements, French Basque entrepreneurs further developed long established business and kinship ties with their Spanish Basque counterparts.

Furthermore, it is important to see the considerable loans given by business men and women of Bilbao, San Sebastián and inland Vitoria to French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs from the late 1500s onwards in the context of the crisis — brought about by other factors — which was taking place in Spanish Basque cod fishing and whaling. With fewer such ventures being organised in the ports of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa and therefore a concomitant decline in the demand for money locally, Spanish Basque moneylenders were in a position to increase the volume of money lent to entrepreneurs in the nearby towns across the border. Clearly, Spanish Basque capital played an important part in the success of French Basque *Terranova* enterprise. At the same time as merchants in the three main Spanish Basque commercial centres provided loans “*a la gruesa ventura*” to French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs they also gave commercial credit in this way — as did inhabitants of smaller Spanish Basque coastal and inland towns — to those local entrepreneurs still fitting out ships for *Terranova* cod fishing and for those seeking to whale in *Terranova*, Iceland, Spitsbergen or Brazil. The unreferenced claim by a recent writer that:

At the end of the 16th century, capital [for Basque whaling] came mainly from the large centres such as Bordeaux and La Rochelle where people were more sophisticated about business matters and more likely to contemplate far-flung expeditions¹⁵⁸

is both ludicrous and invalid.

Notes

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²The term used in Spanish manuscript records to denote what is now the Canadian Atlantic seaboard between approximately 45° and 52° 30' North.

³At present, the earliest known documentary reference to a *Terranova* voyage by Spanish Basques is for 1532. S. Huxley (Barkham), “Los vascos y las pesquerías transatlánticas, 1517-1713”, in S. Huxley (Barkham), ed., *Itsasoa 3. Los vascos en el marco Atlántico Norte. Siglos XVI y XVII* (San Sebastián: Editorial Etor, 1987), pp. 28-36 (published under that author’s maiden name as in Spain married women keep their original surname). See this volume for the relevant documents transcribed verbatim and

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for a discussion of the development of Spanish Basque cod fishing and whaling in *Terranova* in the sixteenth century.

⁴Guiard only lists the date of entry and the names of the masters. T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado y casa de contratación de la villa de Bilbao* (Bilbao: José de Astuy, 1913-14; facsimile edition, 3 vols., Editorial "La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca", 1972), vol. I, pp. 144, 165. Since the closure of the *Archivo Histórico Municipal de Bilbao* after severe floods, in 1983, there has been no public access to these records.

⁵*Archivo General de la Marina* (Madrid) (hereafter AGM), *Colección Vargas Ponce* (hereafter CVP), vol. III, doc. 10. This number of ships concurs well with the "threescore and odder" French and Spanish Basque cod fishing ships (of which only eight were "Spaniards") reported by Sylvester Wyet as being in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, in 1594. R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow: Hakluyt Society, extra ser. I-XII, 1903-5), vol. 8, p. 165.

⁶M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing in Spanish Basque Ports, 1560-1630: a Case Study of Motrico and Zumaya", PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1990, p. 252.

⁷An embargo was a prohibition on the departure of vessels by the authorities who might then requisition a ship or ships for royal service.

⁸Two of the ships, and perhaps the third, were detained by the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, whence they had sailed to pick up salt, and ordered to go to Santander. *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Gipuzkoa* (Oñate) (hereafter AHGO), partido de Vergara, 2583, (7) f. 11, f. 23 v., (9) f. 19; 2591, (2) f. 99, (3) f. 64, f. 123 v.

⁹In 1581, the 300 ton *San Nicolás* fitted out for cod fishing, owned by Nicolás de la Torre and Martín de Callaba of El Pasaje, was prevented from sailing to *Terranova*. It was requisitioned to carry wheat from Santander to Seville and then to serve in the expedition to the Strait of Magellan. AHGO, partido de San Sebastián, 447, ff. 353-5. More than a dozen ships from Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa were requisitioned for the 1582 and 1583 Azores campaigns.

¹⁰In 1583, the Guipuzcoan Assembly declared "the Province is lacking men" because more than 600 sailors had died in the 1574, 1581 and 1582 fleets. For the 1583 campaign royal officials wanted the crews of the requisitioned ships as well as a further 400 men. AGM, CVP, vol. I, docs. 13, 23.

¹¹Fishermen from Lequeitio were engaged for two French Basque cod fishing ships from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure in 1584. J. J. Mugartegui, "Como se reclutaba en el siglo XVI en nuestras costas una tripulación para la pesca del bacalao", *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos*, XIX (1928), pp. 632-6; F. Elejalde and J. Erenchun, *Pasaia* (San Sebastián: 1971), p. 275. In the same year, at a meeting of Guipúzcoa's Provincial Assembly, representatives of some ports voted to prohibit this practice. AGM, CVP, vol. III, doc. 10.

¹²The 1585 *Terranova* season was not particularly affected as tension only escalated from mid-year onwards. The evolution of the Spanish Basque *Terranova* fisheries between c. 1560 and c. 1630 is the subject of a forthcoming article by this author.

¹³AGM, CVP, vol. I, doc. 35. Translations of quotes are by the author.

¹⁴In February 1589, Guipúzcoa's captain-general informed Philip II of the "great lack" of sailors in the province and that without them entrepreneurs "can not fit out [ships] for *Terranova* or other places". *Archivo General de Simancas* (hereafter AGS), GA, 245

(51).

¹⁵M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", pp. 133-4.

¹⁶It is not coincidental that loans by merchants of Bilbao and San Sebastián to French Basque *Terranova* entrepreneurs appear in the documentation in growing numbers after the mid-1580s. See below note 54.

¹⁷Cited in G. T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 25, 50-1.

¹⁸E. J. de Labayru y Goicoechea, *Historia General del Señorío de Bizcaya* (Bilbao: Andrés P.-Cardenal, 1895-1903, 6 vols.; facsimile edition, Editorial "La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca", 1967-71), v, pp. 51-2.

¹⁹For 1612: T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado...*, vol. 1, pp. 452-3, who also lists arrivals in Bilbao from *Terranova* from 1608 onwards of English ships and of vessels from other French ports. For 1613: AGM, CVP, vol. III, doc. 43. The list mentions that "some English" ships also came to Bilbao with fish. On English exports of Newfoundland fish to Spain see G. T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland...*, passim.

²⁰T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado...*, vol. 1, pp. 458-62.

²¹AHPGO, partido de Vergara, 2598 (1606), f. 53, f. 59.

²²AHPGO, partido de Vergara, 2608, f. 123 v. The ship was perhaps one of "three ships from San Sebastián and their cargo of whale products" captured that year "in the Gulf of St. Lawrence" by a Rotterdammer. J. Kupp and S. Hart, "The Dutch in the Strait of Davis and Labrador during the 17th and 18th centuries", *Man in the Northeast*, vol. 11 (1976), p. 4.

²³AGM, CVP, vol. II, doc. 67.

²⁴AGM, CVP, vol. 7, doc. 3, no. 3, f. 22 v., f. 24. Also M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", p. 183.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 253. The term "Grand Bay" was used by Spanish Basques and others for what is now the Strait of Belle Isle. At times the geographical area covered by the term included the western extension of the Strait into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. See the section "The first descriptions of the Grand Bay" in S. Huxley (Barkham), "Los vascos y las pesquerías transatlánticas, 1517-1713", in S. Huxley (Barkham), ed., *Itsasoa 3. Los vascos en el marco Atlántico Norte...*, pp. 58-60. Also by the same author "The Identification of Labrador Ports in Spanish 16th-Century Documents", *The Canadian Cartographer*, vol. 14 (no. 1, June 1977), pp. 1-9.

²⁶This draft petition apparently dates from 1616 but refers to a same or similar petition from two years earlier, following events in 1613. AGM, CVP, vol. 29, docs. 18, 21, 22. Also M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", pp. 253-4.

²⁷The French Basque ship belonged to Sebastián de Yturbe, of Ciboure. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-7.

²⁸M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", p. 12. In 1571 around 29 Spanish Basque ships (7,600 tons) went to *Terranova*. S. Barkham, "Guipuzcoan Shipping in 1571 with Particular Reference to the Decline of the Trans-Atlantic Fishing Industry", in W. A. Douglass, ed., *Anglo-American Contributions to Basque Studies: Essays in Honor of Jon Bilbao* (Reno, Nevada: Desert Research Institute

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Publications on the Social Sciences, no. 13, 1978), pp. 76-9.

²⁹Nadal estimates that Spain's population grew from 7.5 to 8.5 million between 1541 and 1591 but that it fell to 6.5 million by 1650. J. Nadal Oller, *La población española: siglos XVI a XX* (Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel, 1966), p. 20. See among others: A. Molinié-Bertrand, *Au Siècle d'Or. L'Espagne et ses hommes. La population du royaume de Castille au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Economica, 1985).

³⁰AHPGO, partido de Azpeitia, 3348, (2) f. 7 v.

³¹Doña Mariana de Rober y Salinas. AGM, CVP, vol. 29, doc. 37, f. 169.

³²Contrary to Innis' claim that "the abundance of salt made it possible for Spain to engage in the more inefficient type of wet fishing" and that the Spanish fished for cod on the banks, the Spanish Basques had to obtain salt from Portugal, southern Spain or France and they were engaged primarily in a shore-based dry fishery. Innis also made the misleading statement that "in 1625 an estimate of the number of ships at San Sebastian interested in the Newfoundland fishery gave 41 ships". The document from the *Colección Vargas Ponce* (AGM, Madrid) that he cites (given to him by H. P. Biggar) does not refer to 41 ships moored in San Sebastián but in its outpost at El Pasaje. What is more important, however, is that there are no indications to suggest — as Innis does — that the vessels were Spanish Basque. On the contrary, the evidence points to them being mostly French Basque ships, which winter after winter were fitted out in El Pasaje for their *Terranova* ventures by their owners and victuallers. H. A. Innis, "The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Fishery in Newfoundland", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, section II, vol. 25 (1931), pp. 52, 58, 62.

³³In 1562, Esteban de Chibau, a mariner and pilot from Saint-Jean-de-Luz, chartered a ship from the Guipuzcoan port of Motrico for cod fishing in *Terranova* and in 1564 went to *Terranova* as the pilot and one of the fish cutters on another ship from Motrico. In 1560, a Juanisto de Chibau also from Saint-Jean-de-Luz supplied 19,479 lbs. of pitch to Juan de Vallecilla Ugarte of Portugalete, while during a stay in La Rochelle in 1565 he commissioned two Breton men to take a vessel full of wheat to Motrico. AHPGO, partido de Vergara, 2578, (2) f. 46 v., (9) f. 30-32; 2579, (1) f. 43, (8) f. 11.

³⁴"*Sieur de Saint Jullian voisin et habitan de... Saint Johan de Luz*". *Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid* (hereafter ARCHV), pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 1, f. 72. In the early 1400s, Loup de Saint Julien (*seigneur* of Saint Julien and of Sault) was *bailli* of Labourd. H. Lamant, *Armorial de Bayonne, Pays Basque et Sud-Gascogne* (Bayonne: Editions Limarc, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 332-3.

³⁵Adam was the son of Oxier de Chibau and Marie de Lazon and grandson of Michel de Chibau and Catalina de Garros. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 2, ff. 60 and following; part 4, s.f.

³⁶H. Lamant and J. M. Regnier, *Armorial de Bayonne, Pays Basque et Sud-Gascogne* (Bidart: Ekaina, 1984), vol. 2, p. 193. Two of Petry de Naguille's brothers held the posts of "first alderman" and mayor of Bayonne in the mid-1600s.

³⁷Guipuzkoa and Bizkaia are the modern Basque equivalents of the Spanish names Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya. For the Spanish Basque place names mentioned in this article I use the Spanish spelling found in the archival documentation.

³⁸It is possible that a ship, with Marticot de Echavarri as master, which arrived at Bilbao from *Terranova* in November 1598 belonged to Chibau as in 1603 the same Marticot de Echavarri was master of Chibau's *Santa María* or *Santa Barbara* (see below).

³⁹One of the three ships was the two year old *Santa Engracia* of 300 tons burden ("300 toneladas su caber"). Contracts drawn up by notary Juan de Echevarría of San Sebastián (date also given as 3 Nov.). ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Masas (olv.), 1802-1, ff. 11-23 v., 26 v.-32.

⁴⁰Delivered in Oporto, Aveiro and Lisbon to Bras López de Vitoria, Domingo López de Vitoria and Gracia Gómez de Vitoria respectively.

⁴¹In February 1599, Pereira was resident in Bilbao while in November 1601 he was in San Sebastián. In August 1603 he was described as "staying at this [royal] court in Valladolid" and as "administrator of the salt works of the kingdom of Galicia". ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Masas (olv.), 1802-1, f. 11. Many Portuguese merchants established themselves throughout Spain as well as in Europe's leading commercial centres during the late 16th and early 17th century. See among others: J. Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Ediciones Arion, 3 vols., 1961), A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Editorial de Derecho Financiero, 1960), and F. Ruiz Martín, "La banca en España hasta 1782" in *El Banco de España. Una historia económica* (Madrid: Banco de España), pp. 1-196.

⁴²In 1611 the Provincial Assembly of Vizcaya discussed complaints that Pereira and his family had cornered the iron trade to Portugal and stated: "whereas previously many Portuguese used to come here, now he is the sole supplier for Portugal and he buys all the iron in advance". F. de Sagarminaga, *El gobierno y régimen foral del Señorío de Vizcaya*, 2nd edition, D. de Areitio (ed.) (Bilbao: Imprenta de la Diputación de Vizcaya, 1928-76), vol. 5, pp. 200-1.

⁴³The master of the *Santa Engracia* (delivering to Lisbon) was to accept up to 20 quintals of cargo belonging to Pereira, free of freight charge, for the return voyage to the Guipuzcoan port of El Pasaje from which it had set sail for Newfoundland.

⁴⁴In Lisbon, on 10 December 1602 Gracia Gómez de Vitoria signed a bill of receipt for 4,208 Portuguese quintals (128 lbs. each) of dried cod, 320 quintals of green cod and 55 *barricas* or hogheads (casks) ("from the city of Bayonne or the said town of San Sebastián") of cod liver oil, all of which was worth 140,640 *reales*. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Masas (olv.), 1802-1, ff. 11-23 v.

⁴⁵The payment was made in the form of six bills of exchange all dated 23 August and drawn on two residents of San Sebastián, Juanes de Aguirre (Pereira's "agent" in San Sebastián) and Fernando de Acosta, a Portuguese merchant living in that city. On August 27, while still in Valladolid Chibau gave his power of attorney to claim the debt to the French ambassador in Spain, Emeri de Barraut, who in turn on the same day gave a power of attorney to Miguel de Beroiz, a merchant and royal official in San Sebastián, to receive the money in that city. This led to litigation between Beroiz and Aguirre because the latter wanted to pay part of the debt in copper rather than silver coins. *Ibid.*, ff. 3, 7 v., 10, 10 v., 18-22, 35 and following.

⁴⁶It was customary for the shipowner to supply one quarter of the *armazón* or just a quarter of the fishing gear. See M. M. Barkham, *Aspects of Life Aboard Spanish Basque Ships during the 16th Century with Special Reference to Terranova Whaling Voyages* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, Microfiche Report Series no. 75, 1981).

⁴⁷From which he had to make a contribution to certain costs or he received one fifth of the catch net.

⁴⁸M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", p.

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⁴⁹In November 1611, Chibau was described in a lawsuit by an acquaintance, Pedro Dubuc of Bayonne but resident in San Sebastián, as "a merchant who has dealt and deals with sailors and the fitting out of ships for the cod fishery in the province of *Tierranoba*". ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 2, ff. 77 and following.

⁵⁰ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 3, f. 50.

⁵¹Also M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", pp. 27-36. See also by the same author, *Spanish Basque Shipbuilding: the Port of Zumaya, 1560-1600; an Historical Economic Geography of a Merchant Capitalist Industry* (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985) partly published as "La construcción naval en Zumaia: estructura y organización de una industria capitalista mercantil" in S. Huxley (Barkham), ed., *Itsasoa 3. Los vascos en el marco Atlántico Norte...*, pp. 211-76.

⁵²They had a son, Joan, born *circa* 1594. Bolivar, born *circa* 1572, was the son of Juan de Bolivar and María Saenz de Olarte. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, f. 49 v., ff. 59-60.

⁵³*Archivo Histórico Provincial de Bizkaia* (Bilbao) (hereafter AHPB), 3297 and 2519, cited in J. P. Priotti, "Des financiers de la mer: les marchands de Bilbao au xvie et au début du xviiie siècle", forthcoming in the proceedings of the *118e Congrès National des Sociétés Historiques et Scientifiques*, Pau (France), October 1993, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁴In 1587, a merchant from San Sebastián insured 150 ducats for Joanes de Farguearz or Fagayrd of Hendaye on the provisions he had aboard a French Basque ship fitted out for cod fishing. Farguearz also borrowed 200 ducats at over 27 per cent. A year later several merchants of Bilbao insured 450 ducats on another French Basque cod fishing ship. J. A. Azpiazu Elorza, *Sociedad y vida social vasca en el siglo xvi: mercaderes guipuzcoanos* (San Sebastián: Ediciones de la Fundación Cultural "Caja de Guipúzcoa", 2 vols., 1990), vol. 1, pp. 357-9. In 1591, merchants in Bilbao lent approximately 2,700 ducats (mostly at 27.5 per cent) to several French Basque shipowners from Hendaye, Ciboure and Saint-Jean-de-Luz for *Terranova* ventures. Some 1,450 ducats of that money was lent by nine merchants to Juan de Echavari and Martín de Olaso, of Ciboure and Hendaye respectively, owners of the *Juana de San Vicente*. J. P. Priotti, "Des financiers de la mer...", p. 14.

⁵⁵ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, f. 61 v.

⁵⁶Following a study of the contracts relating to *Terranova* in the notarial archives of Bordeaux for seven years between 1555 and 1614, L. Turgeon and E. Picot-Bermond found that the considerable movement of *Terranova* ships in the port of Bordeaux was dominated by French Basque vessels from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure and that much of the capital required for those ventures was provided by merchants from Bordeaux and La Rochelle. For example, the cost of victualling the 50 ton *La Marie de St. Vincent*, owned by Micheau de Oyarsabal of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, for a 1585 *Terranova* /Canada venture (for whaling, salmon fishing and trading with "the savages") was financed by Pierre Dacquerrete of Bordeaux (Oyarsabal's brother-in-law), Marie Rousseau and Pierre Bizet (her son-in-law) both from La Rochelle. L. Turgeon and E. Picot-Bermond, "Pêcheurs basques et la traite de la fourrure dans le Saint-Laurent au xvie siècle" in B. G. Trigger, T. Morantz and L. Dechène, eds., *Le Castor fait tout. Selected papers of the fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985* (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical

Society, 1987), pp. 15, 24.

⁵⁷Such as Michel de Arestegui and captain Sabat de Yturbide, both of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, and Carlos de Sorraiondo of Bayonne. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, ff. 47-49 v.

⁵⁸ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, preliminary part, f. 126; part 3, f. 50; and T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado...*, vol. 1, pp. 637-9.

⁵⁹One Bilbao merchant, Pedro Fernández del Campo, stated in 1612 that Chibau, captain Yturbide and other *Terranova* entrepreneurs from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure "have borrowed and borrow monies at interest *a la gruesa bentura*, which they call 'of the voyage of *Terranova*'". ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 1, f. 88; part 5, f. 60.

⁶⁰Bolívar may also have raised money for Chibau on a "profit or loss" basis ("*a ganancia o pérdida*"). Those lending monies in this way essentially took out a share in the venture, the profits or losses made by the lender being proportional to the profits or losses made on the venture itself. Thus, a power of attorney from Chibau enabled Bolívar to borrow either "at a profit or loss in my company or at interest".

⁶¹G. T. Cell refers to loans on "bottomry" (at 25 per cent interest) made by merchants in England around 1600 to shipowners and victuallers for Newfoundland cod fishing ventures. *English Enterprise in Newfoundland...*, pp. 10-11.

⁶²ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 1, ff. 72-73.

⁶³The witnesses included Manuel Duffao a French merchant from "Azitngas" resident in Bilbao since 1600. *Ibid.*, part 5, ff. 50-53. Similarly, in a loan contract for a *Terranova* whaling voyage in 1630 the interest was 30 per cent "because it is often the case that a return of 100 per cent is made on such voyages, while sometimes less or nothing is made and on other occasions some of the principal money is lost". M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", p. 260. In 1622 Englishman Richard Whitbourne estimated that a net gain of approximately 79 per cent could be made from a successful Newfoundland cod fishing venture. Cited in G. T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland...*, p. 14.

⁶⁴ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, ff. 45-46 v. De Rotis's wife, Sabadina de Lasun, was related to Chibau.

⁶⁵"Owner after God" of eight ships being fitted out in El Pasaje "and of their equipment, artillery and munition, victuals and fishing gear". ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 9, ff. 7 and following. The ships' masters and the ships themselves were apparently all French Basque (see Table 1).

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, f. 8 (18 Feb. 1606, notary Juan de Echavari).

⁶⁷The rate was the usual 27.5 per cent (or 30 per cent for any ship that called at La Rochelle on its way to *Terranova*). One hundred ducats each on the *Catalina* and *Esperanza* and 150 ducats on each of the other six vessels. *Ibid.*, f. 7 (14 March 1606). Joan had died by October but his wife continued to lend money to Chibau.

⁶⁸Juan and Martín de Belarro (born c. 1579 and c. 1587 respectively).

⁶⁹ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 4, ff. 104 and following.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, part 6, s.f.

⁷¹Such as his brother, Martín de Chibau, and Joanes de Horcaçabal who were assisted and lodged by Bolívar and Doña María Ruiz de Bergara. *Ibid.*, part 4, ff. 108-10;

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Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, f. 53.

⁷²ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 4, f. 113. Apparently curious to experience the Newfoundland fishery for himself, Bolivar wrote in a postscript to a letter to Chibau dated 8 October 1607: "I would be pleased in extreme if you would send me on a voyage to *Terranova*". *Ibid.*, part 2, f. 20.

⁷³ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, ff. 47-49 v. In October 1607, Chibau asked Bolivar for 200 or 300 hogsheads of cider as there was a shortage in Guipúzcoa at that time, while in 1608 Chibau sent Bolivar empty hogsheads for cider. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, ff. 25-27; part 4, f. 93.

⁷⁴On 15 October 1607, Chibau was in El Pasaje where some of his ships had arrived while on 7 November he was in San Sebastián. Then, in late January and early February 1608 Chibau was in Saint-Jean-de-Luz but by 15 February he was back in El Pasaje from where some of ships were to depart for *Terranova*. *Ibid.*, part 4, ff. 93-97.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, part 2, f. 13 (Juan de Oçina in Laredo); part 4, f. 95. Their *huesped* in Castro was Ana de Santander.

⁷⁶J. P. Priotti, "Des financiers de la mer...", p. 15.

⁷⁷After a number of cod fishing voyages to *Terranova* the ship "was lost in the said *Terranova* with all its crew". ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 5, ff. 52 and following. Joanes de Arrazu is listed as master of the *Sabadina* which entered Bilbao from *Terranova* in 1608, 1609, 1611 and 1612. T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado...*, vol. I, p. 454.

⁷⁸In October 1606, Chibau's *El Angel* almost sank while crossing the bar when it lost its bowsprit and "a piece of the stern". The ship's cargo was unloaded in the port of Portugalete next to the mouth of the river but inside the bar. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, f. 6.

⁷⁹For instance, Chibau's *Santa Catalina* (master Pelen de Lason) arrived in Castro from *Terranova* at the end of October 1606 where it became involved in an incident with the authorities. The mayor of Castro was told that Lason had money on board the ship and that he was planning to leave with it for France or El Pasaje. When the head constable and two others boarded the vessel for inspection on 30 November the crew cut the anchor cables and fled with all three officials. The mayor issued an order for the capture of Pelen and his crew that was presented to the chief magistrate of Vizcaya in Bilbao on 2 December. The latter then went to Bolivar's house (where he found only the *Catalina*'s pilot) and embargoed 600 quintals of cod from the ship's cargo. Months later, in May 1607, the authorities in Castro condemned Pelen and his men to pay certain costs and expenses, while by early October Chibau and Bolivar had sent this litigation to the "[king's] council" in Madrid. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 13, ff. 5-39.

⁸⁰ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, f. 16. Chibau did the same in 1607. *Ibid.*, part 4, f. 93.

⁸¹Doña María Ruiz de Bergara and her sons, Juan and Martín de Belarro, regularly sent codfish and whale oil to Burgos. For consignments of whale oil and sardines sent by Martín in 1615 to Casilda de Santillana in Burgos see ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Zarandona y Walls (olv.), 3508-1. In 1606, Mateo de Echavarri "merchant and alderman of Bilbao" bought 398.5 quintals of dried cod from Bolivar from Chibau's *Santa Catalina*. ARCHV,

pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 13, f. 39.

⁸²For example, in 1606 muleteer-traders bought fish in Bilbao from Chibau's *El Angel* the day after unloading had begun. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, f. 8. In provincial archives there are numerous references to such traders from distant inland towns in Castile, Aragon and Navarre buying cod as well as locally caught fish in Spanish Basque ports. They often brought wine, cooking oil, cereals and hemp from inland. For instance, in 1609, Domingo de Yturribalzaga, a fishing entrepreneur from the port of Motrico, sold 20 *cargas* or loads of pickled bream to a trader from Burgos. In 1614, Alonso Pascual Saez from Chillarón del Rey, 250 kilometres inland (from where cooking oil was brought), purchased bream in Motrico. AHPGO, partido de Vergara, 2601, ff. 141 v.- 3; 2608, f. 1.

⁸³In April 1572, Melchior de San Miguel from Vitoria gave Gregorio de Sarasua, an entrepreneur from Motrico, 50 ducats to buy and salt hake for him. In 1605, a boatswain from the same port who had just returned from *Terranova* sold 20 *cargas* of cod to Sancho de Axpee of Vitoria. AHPGO, partido de Vergara, 2591, (1) 75; 2607, 17.

⁸⁴ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, ff. 8, 23. Echavarrí's agent in San Sebastián was Joanes de Guerra.

⁸⁵Captain Domingo de Azterrica, of Motrico, borrowed 200 ducats from Hernán Gómez de Arcaute and 100 ducats from Martín Martínez de Cortázar (both from Vitoria) to help finance a cod fishing venture he organized in 1605 to Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland. Both loans were made through a Motrico woman, Catalina de Jauregui. One of Azterrica's partners, Sebastián de Lizaranzu of Alzola, borrowed 300 ducats from another Vitoria merchant, Juan Díaz de Garayo, via one of his agents (Martín de Jaureguibarría). Garayo like other Vitoria merchants had associates in towns which lay between Vitoria and the coast. AHPGO, partido de Vergara, 2597, 16 and 18 March 1605; 2607, f. 72, f. 87.

⁸⁶ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, f. 16. In San Sebastián, on 24 March 1610, Juan Díaz de Garayo of Vitoria, and Chibau settled their accounts over money which the former had lent Chibau for *Terranova* "during the past several years". Francisco González de Legarda from Vitoria, who lent money to Chibau in 1610, had a son (Antonio) resident in San Sebastián for business as well as associates elsewhere (e.g. Juan Pérez de Altuna in Azpeitia). *Ibid.*, part 8, s.f.

⁸⁷Eight hundred each from Doña María Ruiz de Bergara, Joan de Jugo and Iñigo de Labeaga and 600 from both Juan Pérez de Múxica and Doña Agustina de Aperribay. The latter's 600 ducats were lent via six separate contracts passed before notary Gonzalo de Lopategui. *Ibid.*, part 2, f. 3, ff. 13-14 v., f. 26.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, part 4, ff. 94-95.

⁸⁹Five original letters written between 15 October 1607 and 15 February 1608 which were inserted as evidence in a lawsuit between the two men following the 1611 season. Such letters are unusual in that they are rarely found in the documentation. *Ibid.*, part 4, ff. 93-97. The lawsuit also contains a number of letters from Bolivar to Chibau.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, part 4, ff. 95-96.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, part 4, f. 96.

⁹²*Ibid.*, part 4, f. 97.

⁹³A good price was 29 silver *reales* or 32 copper-silver alloy *reales*.

⁹⁴Similarly, in March 1607 (well after the end of the 1606 season) Bolivar had

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written to Chibau: "the fish is selling very badly". *Ibid.*, part 2, f. 12.

⁹⁵Two of these five moneylenders, Labeaga and Doña María Ruiz, were paid the interest they were due as well as part of their principal but the remainder was carried over to 'participate' in the 1608 season. *Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 26, 30 v.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, part 4, f. 94.

⁹⁷Two documents (13 January and 9 April 1609) list four ships owned and victualled by Chibau: *El Angel* (Agorreta master), *La Esperanza* (Echeverri master), *Santa Clara* (Irigoyen master) (perhaps the same ship as the *Domenjina*) and *La Catalina* (Lason master). However, according to other sources the master of *La Catalina* was not Lason but Juanes de Liçaurdi while Lason sailed as master of a fifth ship, the *Buenaventura*, which was lost in north-western Spain while on its *Terranova* voyage. *Ibid.*, part 2, f. 5; part 8, s.f.; and ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 9, f. 46. A *Catalina* (Juanes de Içarduy master) is listed as entering Bilbao from *Terranova* in 1609. T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado...*, vol. I, p. 455.

⁹⁸ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 2, f. 13.

⁹⁹*El Angel*, *La Esperanza*, *Santa Clara* and *La Catalina*. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 9, f. 46. Elsewhere the date is given as January 3rd.

¹⁰⁰Iñigo de Labeaga, Juan Pérez de Múxica, Domingo de Echeverría, Alejandro de Echavarri, Doña María Ruiz de Bergara and another widow Doña Agustina de Aperribay. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 3, f. 50; 242-1, part 9, ff. 45 v., 60, 74 v., 161.

¹⁰¹Francisco González de Legarda, Francisco de Eguiluz and others. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, parts 6 and 8, s.f.

¹⁰²"Native and merchant of the town of Nantes, living in the town of San Salvador (Brazil)". ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 1467-5, part 2, ff. 20-25.

¹⁰³*Ibid.* Juanes de Liçaurdi and Juanes de Amezqueta were to sail as masters of the two ships, apparently the *Santa Engracia* and *Santa Lucía*.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.* By this contract Chibau hired Dureo his nine year old *Santa Engracia* of 300 tons burden (which had already been on approximately eight *Terranova* cod fishing ventures) and the 200 ton *Santa Clara*. The ships' masters were respectively Juanes "Julis" de Echeverri (Chibau's brother-in-law) and Martín de Chibau (Chibau's brother). The vessels were to sail from El Pasaje to the Bay of San Salvador where they were to remain until 15 November and then they were to return to El Pasaje or Castro.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, ff. 31 v.-33 v. Referred to as "merchants resident in the said town of San Salvador" and as "merchants burgesses of Bilbao residing at present in the city of San Salvador in the Bay of Todos los Santos in Brazil".

¹⁰⁶F. Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVII^e siècle (1570-1670)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960), p. 278. P. Barturen, "Pesca de la ballena en Brasil" in S. Huxley (Barkham), ed., *Itsasoa 3. Los vascos en el marco Atlántico Norte...*, pp. 70-71. Also in J. P. Priotti, "Des financiers de la mer...", p. 11. I am currently preparing for publication a paper on Basque whaling in Brazil.

¹⁰⁷Zabaleta was heavily involved in the fish trade in at least one Guipuzcoan port (Motrico) buying large amounts of locally caught fish from the fishermen's confraternity from the mid-1590s until at least 1608. He also lent monies to local entrepreneurs for cod fishing in *Terranova* in 1604, 1605 and 1606. M. M. Barkham, "Shipowning, Shipbuilding and Trans-Atlantic Fishing...", p. 215.

¹⁰⁸Totalling 36,670 *reales* (or 3,333.6 ducats) including interest. The ships left El Pasaje in mid-May. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 1467-5, part 2, ff. 39-40 v.

¹⁰⁹Martín Hugaz de Hormaeche and Pedro de Sojo (*Fiel of the Consulado*). ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 6, s.f.

¹¹⁰ARCHV, Sala de Vizcaya, 1362-27.

¹¹¹The first three were involved in the differences over the *Buenaventura*.

¹¹²The ships departed between 31 March and 21 April. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 8, s.f.; 242-1, part 9, f. 19 v.

¹¹³On 8 June 1610 a sentence by the *corregidor* or chief magistrate of Guipúzcoa declared that Dureo was not responsible for the incomplete cargo and that he only had to pay Chibau the one fifth of the cargo he was due. Chibau appealed to the Royal Chancellery but to no avail as the sentence was reconfirmed on 30 August 1611 and finally on 12 November 1611. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 1467-5, part 2, f. 152 v.

¹¹⁴F. Pyrard, *Le voyage de François Pyrard* (Paris: 1619), pp. 340 and following, cited in T. Du Pasquier, *La pêche à la baleine par les Basques, xvii^e et xviii^e siècles* (forthcoming).

¹¹⁵ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 2, ff. 2 v. and following.

¹¹⁶At least some of the Bilbao moneylenders were repaid in February and March 1611.

¹¹⁷ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 5, f. 23 v.: 30,292.5 *reales* by each contract. On the same day Goyeche signed another contract in Chibau's name freeing the two captains of their financial responsibilities as guarantors. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 2, f. 2 v. Captain Gayangus was Goyeche's father-in-law, further indication of the close business and kinship ties between maritime entrepreneurs of the French and Spanish Basque regions.

¹¹⁸This was apparently a new *Santa Engracia*.

¹¹⁹A total of 20,741 *livres* and 8 *sueldos* with the interest (82,964.25 *reales* or 7,542.2 ducats).

¹²⁰The ships were to return to El Pasaje whence the fish would be taken to San Sebastián in small boats.

¹²¹ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 2, f. 20 v. and following. According to this agreement the company lent Chibau 13,000 *livres* (or 52,000 *reales*) at 27.5 per cent: 6,300 on the *Santa Engracia*, 4,700 on the *Santa Clara* and 2,000 on the *Esperanza*. Of which 4,385 *livres* to "equip the said ships, purchase cordage and shallops and items for them" and 8,615 *livres* which had been "handed to the said ships' masters to give and distribute to their sailors so that they could ready themselves to go on the said voyage".

¹²²*Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 27 v. and following. After 8 April, the company lent Chibau a further 3,267 *livres* and 16 *sueldos* (or 13,068 *reales*) at 27.5 per cent: 1,700 on the *Santa Engracia*, 1,200 on the *Santa Clara* and 467 (and 16 *sueldos*) on the *Esperanza* (error in the original).

¹²³*Ibid.*, part 5, f. 2.

¹²⁴One witness declared that Pedro de Bolivar got "very angry" when asked to send

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a further 600 ducats to Chibau in San Sebastián "saying that he did not know where to find the money and that it had taken a lot of work to raise the other 1,200 ducats". *Ibid.*, part 5, f. 57.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, part 5, ff. 45-46 v.

¹²⁶Of this total Chibau could repay some 4,000 ducats with the money he had himself lent to his crews.

¹²⁷Several variants of the name appear in the documentation: *Ruberja*, *Runveroxa*, etc.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 10-14. Martín Gómez de Berástegui mayor.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, part 1, f. 73.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 16 v., 43 v., 100. His "*agente y factor*" in San Sebastián was Juan de Larrondo. The Bayonne merchant Geneau had died by December 1611.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 14, 25; part 2, ff. 19, 47 v. Another blow for Chibau was that as the Royal Chancellery's final sentence (of 12 November 1611) in his lawsuit with Dureo found against him he failed in his attempt to get a greater part of the cargo his *Santa Engracia* had brought back from Brazil. Chibau also felt the loss of his *Santa Clara* which did not return from Brazil. Indeed, his creditors declared that while he was in prison in San Sebastián Chibau had said that "he would pay all those from Bilbao" if his ship which had been detained in Brazil returned safely. *Ibid.*, part 1, f. 74.

¹³²*Ibid.*, part 2, f. 92.

¹³³*Ibid.*, part 2, f. 109.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 1, 96.

¹³⁵ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 10, ff. 7 v., 13 v., 21, 28. The *Esperanza* was sold to Joan de Medina, of San Sebastián for 10,000 *reales* (less 100 *reales* for the *alcabala* tax).

¹³⁶ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, parts 5 and 8; 242-1, part 10. They also paid the Vitoria creditors 10,004.5 *reales* from their own money.

¹³⁷Later that year the Bilbao moneylenders confirmed the Bayonne merchants' view that Chibau was "powerful" in Saint-Jean-de-Luz and its district. They also stated that Chibau had other possessions in Spain that could have been embargoed, remarking that they had "heard that a ship or ships belonging to the debtor have arrived in the city of Seville". However, so far there is no evidence to corroborate the claim. ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 1, ff. 28-29; part 2, ff. 113-4.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 15-19 v.

¹³⁹Further litigation could arise from the lawsuits themselves. For instance, in April when Bolivar's attorney and a notary tried to get a copy of the legal proceedings in San Sebastián from the relevant notary, they were imprisoned by the city's mayor on the pretext that they should have presented the Chancellery's order to him. Bolivar appealed and in August the Chancellery fined the mayor and notary 12 ducats: four for Bolivar's expenses, four for the Crown and four for legal costs. *Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 5, 23.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, part 2, f. 108.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 60-60 v., 120.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, part 2, ff. 50, 77 and following, 121. In support of his arguments the attorney presented six witnesses who were in San Sebastián at that time: two each from Bordeaux and Bayonne, one from Capbreton and another from Paris.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, part 2, f. 62.

¹⁴⁴The attorney and several witnesses claimed that because of weather conditions both 1610 and 1611 were bad years for the cod fishery. *Ibid.*, part 2, f. 120; part 4, s.f.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, part 2, last folio.

¹⁴⁶ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 242-1, part 9, f. 212. Juan de Zornoza, mayor. For related legal action between captain Juan de Amézqueta and two Vitoria merchants, Francisco González de Legarda and Juan Díaz de Garayo, see *Archivo General de Gipuzkoa*, corregimiento, Uria ejecutivos, 161 and 162.

¹⁴⁷ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 1, ff. 24-28.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 53 v., 55 v.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 36-42.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 65 v., 111.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 72-74. They also wanted their legal costs paid.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 76, 105.

¹⁵³As in 1614 none of the litigants were awarded costs. *Ibid.*, part 1, f. 112.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 112 and following.

¹⁵⁵ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 1, ff. 3-23, 51-79; part 4, f. 1 v. Apparently the *Esperanza* was also abandoned in that harbour.

¹⁵⁶ARCHV, pleitos civiles, Alonso Rodríguez (fen.), 2981-2, part 1, ff. 113 and following. Alonso Rodríguez (dep.), 241-1, part 4, ff. 56-67. A number of minor issues arose. For instance, as no money could be got from Chibau, Bolivar had to contribute towards the costs of Chibau's attorney, while at one point Bolivar took exception to the household in which Bibanco was lodging in San Sebastián, claiming that its owners might be influencing the judge against him. *Ibid.*, part 1, ff. 44-63, 104.

¹⁵⁷For example, early in 1618 Bolivar was temporarily imprisoned in Bilbao, as he would not hand over accounts relating to the carrying out of the sentence which the judge Bibanco required in order to claim his salary. In 1619, Gayangus and Amézqueta ran into problems when they tried to obtain from the merchants in Vitoria the difference between the interest rate of 27.5 per cent they had been paid on their loans and the rate of 16 per cent decreed in the Chancellery's final sentence. In 1621 the seven Bilbao moneylenders had to compel the "executing judge" to return to San Sebastián to continue with his task. At that time two of the seven were involved in a separate lawsuit in Vizcaya. Simón Díaz de Lecea, now mayor of Bilbao, was claiming 50 ducats from Pedro de la Peña who, in 1614, had promised to pay Lecea for his work in Valladolid regarding the Chibau suit. *Ibid.*, preliminary part, f. 138; parts 7 and 8, s.f.

¹⁵⁸J.-P. Proulx, *Basque Whaling in Labrador in the 16th Century* (Ottawa: Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1993), p. 69. The author does not substantiate his claim in any way. A critique of this booklet listing many of its other errors is forthcoming.