

THE PACIFIC SAILORS:

GLOBAL WORKERS AT AND ON THE EDGE OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE (1580s-1640s)

by

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ABSTRACT

The present work titled *The Pacific sailors: Global workers at and on the edge of* the Spanish empire (1580s-1640s) attempts to trace and tell something about the 5,000 sailors who served in the Carrera del Pacífico during the 16th and 17th centuries. The term "global" is used primarily in reference to sixteenth-century globalization, in which the Carrera played a crucial role. The study recognizes that the exchanges between multiple centers, regional circuits, and local contacts in Spanish America and Asia, in great measure, defined the landscape of the early global trade. The investigation used as a jump-off point the sailors' work environment on and at the edge of the Spanish empire, taking into consideration not only the precariousness of their jobs but also the literal location of their workplace at the westernmost frontier. As they navigated the Pacific, disease, hunger, violence, and death became typical themes in their stories. The distance of the Carrera from the metropolis hindered the King's early attempt to improve their conditions through professionalization. Likewise, to compensate for the constant labor shortage, the Carrera opened its door to the "others:" the extranjeros, heretics, and undesirables, who disrupted the "ideal" social anatomy of the empire's body of servants.

To convey more about these sailors, we began to count them, to follow the route of their activities, and, when permitted, to take snapshots of their stories. As we sought to reconstruct their lives, the image of a global worker gradually took form. While they adapted to institutionally imposed structures to participate in the labor market, they also took advantage of the economic opportunities presented by global trade. They were highly mobile individuals who filled different posts (freely or forcefully) across and beyond the limits of the Spanish realm. We can find one who had shifted jobs from the *Carrera de India* and *Carrera del Pacífico* to *Estado da Índia* and *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. A sailor could also become a soldier in a military outpost, a merchant or contrabandist traveling to different ports, a miner in Zacatecas, a slave in the Moluccas, a port worker in Acapulco or Cavite, or a sailor reconnoitering islands of gold and silver. Once we opened their highly valued chest, we could get a glimpse of

their global lives: their silver, Sangley shoes, Japanese katana, Ilocos manta, Macanese loza, Ruan shirt, Caribbean stockings, romance book, compass, oystercatcher, a fang of a giant beast, frankincense, or reliquary wax. Some were old and torn, others new; some for sale, others for consumption, or resale and reuse. In the end, what we see are global actors who capitalized on their agency for various purposes, from advancing their economic interests, negotiating for their unpaid salary, petitioning to go home, to simply trying to survive.

INTRODUCTION

The Carrera del Pacífico (hereafter abbreviated to Carrera) largely contributed to shaping people's mentality, economic life, and movement in Spanish America and Asia during the early globalization. As defined by Bernd Hausberger, globalization is the process of construction of a broad web of relationships of various forms, which, as a whole, has a global reach and a sixteenth-century beginning. One of its defining characteristics was the expanding regional and continental networks and linkages that occasioned unprecedented long-distance trade, particularly maritime. 1 As the cornerstone of the Iberian empire's expansion to the Pacific, the Carrera became a crucial part of this early globalization and produced a kaleidoscope of participating global actors, from missionaries to soldiers. At a glance, it appears that they merely or forcibly complied with the generic role of representing and serving the empire rulers in their intercontinental movements. But by perusing the documentation of their lives, it appears that these global actors also capitalized on their agency for various purposes, from advancing their political and economic interests to trying to survive. However, since those who lived an ordinary life are always the first casualty of the lacunae in sources, they remain understudied. In this investigation, we focus on the Carrera sailors—working not only as crewmen but also as soldiers, day laborers, and merchants—who seldom left memoirs or biographies. As a result, the task of reconstructing their lives became painstaking, if not almost impossible.

The sixteenth and seventeenth-century Carrera sailors transformed into global actors as their workplace was no longer confined to their homeland's geographical or cultural boundary. Some converted from *extranjero* (foreigner) into *natural* (native) or another religion to qualify for the jobs. Others found themselves shifting loyalty from the Spanish King to his enemies and from the center to the border of imperial violence. Finally, many of them kept traveling as carriers and traders of local and global goods for an enormous profit. If we consider what motivated their mobility, coercion was not

¹ HAUSBERGER, *Historia mínima de la globalización temprana*, pp. 11 and 113.

always the primary or single factor. This study mainly argues that while the sailors adapted to institutionally imposed structures to participate in the labor market, they also took advantage of the economic opportunities presented by global trade. In the process, their post as a sailor became a collective marker, which they individually utilized to negotiate and overcome Spain's exclusionary commercial policies and legal barriers.

Objectives and Relevance

This research focuses on the Carrera's least studied component: its sixteenth and seventeenth-century sailors. The investigation included in the study not only the participation of Asians (notably, indigenous laborers from the Philippines) and Americans (who, together with mestizos, mulattos, and "negros" or blacks, served principally as port workers rather than sailors) but also the Spanish and non-Spanish European sailors. Its primary purpose is to understand the nature of their work, examine the motives behind their occupational choice, and reconstruct their lives in the context of an imperial enterprise during the early modern period. To meet these objectives, we first traced the sailors' activities in various routes. Secondly, we foregrounded their role in preserving and defending Spanish territories in Spanish America and Asia; and thirdly, we looked into their contributions to global trade.

In the present work, we hope to contribute in three principal aspects. First, to put into the historiographical map the sixteenth and seventeenth-century global laborers: the Pacific sailors. Their occupation and commercial activities either in the Manila-Acapulco route or informal trade circuits are often overlooked, considering the early period they pertain. Second, this study aims to contribute to scholarly works on the Pacific side of the global trade that remains marginal. But by focusing on the sailors, we can demonstrate the vibrant traffic in the Spanish American and Asian Pacific circuits via the traditional Manila-Acapulco route and the informal links outside of it. Finally, through the new data presented in the Appendices (A to C), we offer the readers complementary sources to enrich the study of global workers and Pacific commerce.

They consist of the brief job record of an estimated 1,500 Carrera sailors, the trade goods of the private ships entering and leaving Acapulco, and the commodities owned by the sailor-merchants.

Periodization

This research covers the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. However, it focuses on decades from the 1580s to the 1640s, when parallel and interrelated events or episodes took place in different parts of the globe. Mainly, the discovery of silver in America and the silverization of the Chinese economy significantly affected world trade dynamics. As China's Ming government demanded silver payment for all its taxes, which increased the value of silver, America's discovery of the amalgamation process made its silver production cheap. Consequently, the conjunction of the low production cost of silver in America and its high demand in China gave birth to silver or global trade.² Also, at this time, the triangular trade (formal and informal) between Asia, New Spain, and Peru endured.³ Another concurrent development was the dynastic union between Spain and Portugal coincided with intense economic activities in Asia. Paulo Jorge de Sousa and Birgit Tremml-Werner argued that the Iberian union boosted the economic contacts and relations between their Asian territories in the South China Sea (Manila and Macao), which further extended to Melaka, India, and up to Nagasaki, Japan.⁴ These circuits converted into a vital labor pool of the Asian workers serving in the Carrera.⁵ But where can we precisely locate the Pacific sailors in the confluence of these events and turning points in the sixteenth century, which served as the driving forces behind global trade? To understand better the trend in the sailors' numbers, their work behavior patterns, and their roles in the empire, we can further divide the period into two: the Carrera's initial

² FLYNN AND GIRÁLDEZ, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon'", pp. 201-22.

³ For a detailed discussion on the triangular trade, see Bonialian, *La américa* española; Suarez, "The alternative circuits of silver"; IWASAKI, *Extremo oriente y Perú en el siglo XVI*; and Borah, *Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú*.

⁴ SOUSA, "Manila, Macao and Chinese networks in South China Sea"; TREMML-WERNER, "Spain, China, and Japan in Manila", p. 163.

⁵ Oropeza, "Los Indios 'Chinos".

period from the 1570s to the 1590s and the Spanish Crown's attempt to regulate the Carrera from the 1590s to the 1630s.

The first decades of the Pacific commercial activities can be described as open, unregulated, and flexible. During this time, both royal and private vessels became actively engaged with commercial activities in the Philippines, Peru, and Mexico. The latter ships became a more susceptible conduit of contraband goods by reshipping through intermediary ports, a practice that continued well until the seventeenth century. The presence of private vessels also explains why the number of ships in the Carrera always exceeded the permissible quantity, reaching between four and nine (3.4). Since the number of sailors was directly proportional to that of vessels, our data shows a high number of sailors in the 1590s, the peak of the triangular commerce of Peru-Mexico-Philippines.⁶ In addition, the King hired them for commercial and military expeditions on both sides of the Pacific. Interestingly, because of the more "open" nature of trade in the sixteenth century, we have retrieved records of traffic goods of the sailors, which show their active involvement in the business in places where their job would take them (See Appendix C).

The gradual regulation of the Carrera due to Spain's old and new rivals shaped its second period: 1590s to 1630s. The competition between the American merchants and Sevillan commercial elites and Spain's commercial wars against the Dutch and English in Asia resulted in more regulated Iberian trade policies and intensified defense systems in the American and the Asia Pacific. As a result of the constant need for the galleon crew to be part of Spanish military and naval troops in Asian contested zones, an inadequate workforce became a continuous challenge in the Carrera. Before professionalizing their work as sailors, these global workers became exposed to harmful working conditions, consistent spatial shift and job switching, and unstable salaries. To compensate for their vulnerable situation, they actively took every chance to trade, negotiate for their payment, and leave their post if a better opportunity was

⁶ BONIALIAN, *La América española*, pp. 85-90.

presented. For this reason, the duration of their service has an average of one year and a median of five to six months, or one trip (See Graph 3.4).

Literature review

There is an increasing number of literature that addresses the Spanish empire's sailors and other low-ranking workers, the most significant of which are the publication of Pablo Pérez-Mallaína (1998), *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*⁷; the doctoral dissertation of Déborah Oropeza Keresey (2007) titled "Los 'Indios Chinos' en la Nueva España: La Inmigración de la Nao de China, 1565-1700;⁸" and the work of Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos (2014) on *Hombres de mar en las costas novohispanas: Trabajos, trabajadores y vida portuaria en el Departamento Marítimo de San Blas* (Siglo XVIII)⁹. The principal significance of these works lies in their objectives, despite the paucity of sources, to reconstruct and understand the nonelite people's world, make a coherent narrative of their experiences and actions, and recognize their social agency.

Synchronic with the period covered by the present investigation is Pablo Pérez-Mallaína's work on sailors of another Spanish commercial enterprise, the *Carrera de Indias* in the Atlantic. He examined the officials and sailors of its fleets and merchant vessels, who performed a crucial role in the Spanish expansion and Colombian exchange in the early modern period. Further, the author covered every facet of the sailors' lives, from their geographical and social backgrounds and work environment to their everyday lives and mentality. He also provided the population trend of Spanish and foreign sailors arriving from Old to New World and served in the *Carrera de Indias*. This workforce had influenced the profile of the *Carrera del Pacífico* sailors, and hence, the data about them is helpful for the present study. According to him, from the last

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⁷ PEREZ-MALLAÍNA, Spain's Men of the Sea.

⁸ Oropeza, "Los Indios 'Chinos'".

⁹ PINZÓN RÍOS, *Hombres de mar*.

quarter of the sixteenth century, between 5,000 and 9,000 men staffed the ships, including officers, gunners, sailors, and apprentices. The majority were Spanish crews who hailed from Andalusia and the Cantabrian coast (largely Basques). At the same time, 20% were foreigners led by Portuguese (half of them), followed by Italians (a quarter of them), and the rest, *Levantiscos*, Flemings, and Germans. He commented that English and French serving as crew members were unusual as they were traditional enemies of Spain in the sixteenth century (pp. 52-57). His data gave us a projection of the composition of the *Carrera del Pacífico* sailors since two-thirds of them were recruited through Veracruz. As Pérez-Mallaína described this port, it was "one of the fundamental routes that linked the Iberian Peninsula with the West Indies terminated, but at the same time, the viceroyalty of New Spain served as a point of linkage with the Philippines" (p. 12).

As a commentary on the author's work, he lightly touched on some themes that can be further explored to enrich maritime studies. Firstly, for contextualization, there is a need for a more extensive discussion on trade, which gave impulse to Spanish expeditions to the New World. Also, to provide context to their economic status, it is crucial to discuss meticulously their spatial and occupational mobility and remunerative activities such as trafficking of goods, which formed an intrinsic part of their daily routine. The analysis of the extent of sailors' economic activities can show how these workers used their agency to improve their lot, even if it entailed circumvention of laws. Studying these aspects can provide more details and a nuanced understanding of the early modern sailors. Perez-Mallaína focused mainly on sailors' transition from medieval comrade to simple proletarian: "from a co-participant in the business of maritime transport to being treated as a simple proletarian, that is, someone who brought no more than a pair of hands and lots of muscle to the development of the enterprise" (p. 191). He indicated that changes in sailors' treatment from the medieval period to the second half of the eighteenth century resulted from technological developments that changed the navigation pattern. 10 However, Perez-

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¹⁰ PEREZ-MALLAÍNA, *Spain's men of the sea*, pp. 191-192.

Mallaína did not specify in his investigation the defining characteristics of sailors in transition to proletarianism, which covered two centuries.

We can relate this idea of transition with Marcus Rediker's study regarding the eighteenth-century North-Atlantic sailors: their labor control shifted from the paternalistic hand to the contested negotiation of free-waged labor. Rediker further asserts that: "the assembly and enclosure of wage laborers on the ship, an early precursor of the factory, initiated a process by which labor was carefully coordinated and synchronized" and that the "division of labor allocated responsibilities and structured working relations among the crew, forming a hierarchy of laboring roles and a corresponding scale of wages." The same can be said to the Pacific naval officials and crew regarding the division of labor and structured working relations, albeit loosely as Spanish intrinsic mechanisms still guided them.

The concept of hierarchy or social mobility for the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish world is not the same as that of the eighteenth-century British Crown. Based on the present study, predetermined by one's *naturaleza* (habitat), social mobility dictated who should assume each *plaza*, the extent of a worker's mobility within and across ranks of officials and crew, and whom to hire. As an illustration, a *grumete indio chino* (Asian apprentice) could not become a *grumete español* (European apprentice). Although, in theory, there was no salary difference between the two positions, a *grumete español* was more likely to be converted into *marinero*—a betterpaid position—than a *grumete indio chino*. When the Spanish Crown subjected the Philippine natives to *polo y servicios* (forced labor) and required them to work as royal ship sailors, they were not hired in the existing *oficios* (posts), such as *marineros* or *grumetes* and *pajes españoles* (Spanish pages). Instead, a new position was created for them: as *grumetes indios chinos*. Worse, in the Philippines, its Treasury paid them lower than the indicated salary or left them unregistered, which could mean they would not

¹¹ REDIKER, Between the devil and the deep blue sea, p. 114.

¹² REDIKER, *Between the devil and the deep blue sea*, pp. 83-84; 290.

receive payment. In another example, the Crown prohibited the foreigners from participating in the Carrera unless they underwent *composición* (settlement).¹³

However, in practice, the Spanish mechanisms of control were not always applied. In many instances in the Carrera, the port officials hired the *lascares* (from India or Southeast Asia) and foreigners as marineros; everyone could become a soldier; and there was always confusion (intended or not) among Asians, Spanish Americans, and blacks. Finally, we must highlight that the royal designation of a plaza based on one's naturaleza, in a way, compensated for the lack of professionalization of the sailors in both Carreras de India and Pacífico until the eighteenth century. It suggests an absence of regular incentives that would prevent the workers from shifting jobs or loyalties. As a result of the lack of professionalization of the Carrera del Pacífico, there was a constant labor shortage. It manifested through the high turnover rate among the crew since they did not consider it a long-term career working as sailors, and on average, they only served for one year. After completing one trip (two to six months), most of them switched to other jobs in the ports (such as royal employees or daily-wage laborers) or permanently left the Carrera. Some of them became letter carriers, recruiters of sailors, captors of deserters, pesadores de azogue (weighers of mercury), atalayas (watchtower guards), ship painters, nao flag and sail sewers, and interpreters.¹⁴ As daily-wage laborers, they received their payment earlier than sailors. Also, while waiting for their next trip, they (especially the Asians) worked part-time jobs in Acapulco and Manila to redress their unpaid salary. 15

In the Inquisition records of the sailors, we can trace the workers' circulation pattern from Europe to America to Asia, then back to America and Europe, or irregular

¹³ Recopilación IV, lib. IX, tít. XXVII: De los extranjeros que pasara a las Indias, y su composicion, y naturaleza, que en ellas pueden adquirir para tratar, y contratar; Recopilación III, lib. IX, tít. XXII: Del capitan general de la artillería, artilleros mayores, y otros de las armadas y flotas, artillería, armas, y municiones.

¹⁴ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640. For the jobs at the port, see also Oropeza, "Los indios 'chinos'"; Seijas, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage". ¹⁵ Oropeza, "Los Indios 'Chinos'".

movements between the continents mentioned above, to work or trade. There are sailor-soldiers under the Spanish King in the Moluccas, who later switched to the Dutch military fort. There are also records of sailor-merchants moving between Spanish ports in America and Asia for legal and contraband trade. There are many cases where a sailor simultaneously or alternately served two or three jobs. They resulted from the lack of incentives for long years of service and the absence of regularization of the ship and port workers. As demonstrated in the present work, these responses of the sailors that ranged from shifting jobs to desertion were the main culprits of perennial scarcity in the labor force of the Carrera. In addition, various factors such as insufficiency of funds in the royal treasuries or non-arrival of ships, principally because of shipwreck, also affected Carrera's workforce.

A significant contribution to the transpacific studies is Deborah Oropeza's comprehensive research on the indios chinos, who migrated from Asia to New Spain between 1565 and 1700. She attempted to quantify their gradual but continuous movement and gauged its outcome for the migrants and the receiving community. To achieve the latter, she laboriously examined the migrants' intricate roots and delved into the process of their integration—socially, economically, and culturally—into the Novohispano society. Based on their social and legal status, types of migration, and economic activities, she divides them into forced slaves and free migrants, including sailors, employees, and workers for royal works, merchants, and port residents (p. 17). Moreover, this categorization dictated their choice of the workplace (or lack thereof): the free *indios chinos* settled in the Pacific coast where they had the liberty to participate in economic activities generated by the trade; most of the slaves stayed in Mexico City or the plantations in the western coast of the Pacific; and lastly, the crewmen opted to be merchants in the city of Mexico (p. 5). Thus, the author demonstrated that the migrants were not merely passive actors but instead had the capacity for spatial, social, and economic mobility by conveniently positioning themselves within the communities of castas, indios, and Spaniards and before the Catholic Church Spanish laws to advance their interest.

Oropeza's work is crucial as it offered quantitative data on Asian sailors arriving yearly in Acapulco, their origins, and their activities in New Spain. She indicated that an average of twenty-four to forty-eight Asian sailors (*grumetes indios* and carpenters) manned the galleon(s) every year, totaling 3,360 for 1565-1700. The majority came from the Philippine Islands and a few from East and South Asia (pp. 60-61). Further, she traced their activities in the port of Acapulco upon arrival, primarily those who decided not the return to the Philippines and subsequently intermarried with the natives of New Spain. In many cases, Asian sailors left Acapulco to work in other parts of New Spain, where their service was needed to offset the lack of native labor due to the decline of the latter's population. For instance, in Mar del Sur, they were employed in cacao plantation and pearl hunting, while in Mexico City, they became traders, perhaps barbers (pp. 97 and 121). This investigation, like Oropeza's, examines the spatial movement and occupational activities of Asian sailors. However, in the present study, we delve more into the specifics of labor as a global phenomenon during the early colonial period. The Pacific sailors were examined not only as vassals or subjects of the Spanish King but also as early modern workers; hence, the need to include the entire group of sailors and workers behind the Carrera, not just the indios chinos. While considering the "racial" component that influenced this phenomenon (as evident in the mobility among ranks in the ship and gaps in payment), we also tackle how different groups (natives, Europeans, extranjeros) negotiated their economic status. After all, they are all sailors, a collective nonelite group, which remains underrepresented.

In her book, *Hombres de mar en las costas novohispanas*, Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos inquired into the development of an institution in another Spanish colonial port, the *Departamento Marítimo* in *San Blas*, from the perspective of its workers (p. 14). In the port of San Blas—established for exploration, shipment to the Northeast, and refitting of Manila ships¹⁶—the introduction of the local resident-worker population was one of the notable changes implemented by the *Departamento Marítimo* (Maritime Department). Unlike other commercial ports such as Veracruz and Acapulco, San Blas

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¹⁶ PINZÓN RÍOS, *Hombres de mar*, p. 62.

was designed to rely on the local maritime community as its principal supplier of goods and labor. The idea was to have a permanent population to complement the labor force needed in naval and port-related jobs and carry out agriculture, livestock, fishing, and commercial enterprises (p. 142).

Pinzón Ríos also emphasized that the formation of San Blas personnel had been at work since the sixteenth century. The maritime workers arriving in coastal areas of New Spain from different places, such as Spain, the Philippines, Peru, or Central America, gradually spilled and blended into the *Novohispano* population. They helped form local seafaring, which would be indispensable for establishing Departamento Marítimo in the second half of the eighteenth century (pp.18-19). Another innovation was the institutionalization of matrícula de mar (navy register), intending to control both the employees and non-employees residing at the port. It was a list prepared by officials containing all the information of the employees in San Blas (including land, sea, and ship, and administrative and military personnel): their profession, household members, and compensation. The registered individuals were entitled to a fixed salary, medical attention, fueros (exemption from the civil and criminal trial), and retirement pension. They were also allowed to fish and hunt pearls when not working, while the officials also registered the native population residing in it to distribute salt ration and subsequent employment. ¹⁷ These developments reflected the Bourbon shifting policies to improve the plight of royal workers. Although centered on the eighteenth century, this book assisted our research in comparing the Habsburg and Bourbon maritime policies in Spanish ports and identify continuities and changes adapted to the changing imperial aims and local needs. By doing so, it provided us a better view to locate the Carrera sailors.

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¹⁷ PINZÓN RÍOS, *Hombres de mar*, pp. 63-64; 102.

Methods and Sources

The current investigation attempts to complement, if not fill, some gaps left by the previous benchmark works. It tackles the sailors' background, quotidian living, labor, and contribution to the Spanish maritime activities and stresses the social agency they displayed to better their situation. It focused on early globalization when—through the Pacific trade or the Carrera—the Spanish Pacific and Asia became an inextricable part of the unfolding planetary exchanges. The Carrera generated a market for commodities that flowed through Asia, America, and Europe. Along with global goods, it also created a labor market. The sailors and other workers hired were given a venue to work and trade in the formal and informal commercial circuits of the Spanish Pacific in America and Asia. By playing an active role in crewing the *Carrera* and transporting goods for mass consumption, the sailors transformed into global workers. The present study uses global labor history and microhistory to understand the sailors as colonial and global workers and how they tried to navigate their fate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the sources, it primarily employs institutional and quantitative data.

Global labor history

Global labor history is a growing area of interest that has begun in the 1990s. The main goal is to rethink the critical concepts in labor history, particularly the reconceptualization of the working class beyond wage labor. ¹⁸ As a response to Eurocentrism and methodological nationalism, global labor history seeks to be allembracing and non-traditional. Marcel van der Linden, its leading proponent, explains it as a transnational and transcontinental "study of labor relations and workers' social movements in the broadest sense of the word." For the period, "it places no limits on temporal perspective, although in practice the emphasis is on what emerged with the expansion of the world market from the fourteenth century." ¹⁹ Also, for global labor historians, work is a purposive production of valuable objects or services, paid or

¹⁸ VITO, "New perspectives on global labour history", p. 10.

¹⁹ LINDEN, "Workers of the world", pp. 6-7.

unpaid, where one can distinguish between the labor carrier and possessor. Therefore, the carrier can be autonomous (the possessor of labor) or heteronomous (not the possessor).²⁰ The inclusive definitions above question the primacy of wage labor and the divide between free/unfree labor. Christian Vito pointed out that global labor historians know that various labor forms (wage labor, self-employed, serfdom and slavery, domestic, reproductive, subsistence, and cooperative labor, among others) often co-existed within the same place and in the experiences of the very same individuals."²¹

The reconceptualization above guides this investigation to go beyond the Marxist conception of the working class and its intrinsic bias towards the North Atlantic and the nineteenth-century frame—which, if not anachronistic, is limiting our research. The Marxist analysis identified the nineteenth-century North Atlantic working class as a separate group: the respectable and real wageworkers. The other group —the slaves and other unfree laborers, the self-employed (or petty bourgeoisie), and poor outcasts (lumpen-proletariat)— were considered quantitatively not relevant social groups. ²² Such hierarchy based on a wage would not fit the sixteenth and seventeenth-century workforce of the Spanish Pacific as can be seen in its labor forms, multiplicities of centers and connections, and spatial division and distribution of its workers.

Labor forms.

In the labor setting in the Carrera (see Chapter I), depending on the circumstance, the workers can be recruited forcibly (through the system of *repartimiento* or *polo y sevicios*), voluntarily (through appointment or contract), or as a penalty (applied to prisoners and deserters). Through polo y servicios, natives became obliged to perform royal work such as ship construction for a specific period for minimum pay. The Philippine and Novohispano natives recruited from different parts of the colonies became the principal *polistas* serving in the ports of Manila and Acapulco as carpenters,

²⁰ LINDEN, "Studying attitudes to work worldwide", pp. 27-28; LINDEN, "Workers of the world", pp. 19-20.

²¹ VITO, "New perspectives on global labour history," p. 10.

²² LINDEN, "Workers of the world", p. 10.

sailors, and port workers. The *sangleyes* or Chinese and Japanese residing in the Philippines were also targeted for the forced labor. Since they could afford *falla* (an exemption from polo), they relieved themselves from this oppressive labor system. However, archival data presented in Appendix A show that they willingly embarked into the *naos* (galleon) as salaried workers. Joining them as free or voluntary workers were natives residing in or near the port cities (such as Manila, Cavite, and Acapulco), other Asians and Americans, and converted or naturalized Europeans. The presence of free workers indicates that the Carrera sailors could seek other jobs once they finished their contract. Since they were entitled aboard the ship for space, becoming self-employed and dedicating their time to commercial goods traffic was always an option. Black and Indian slaves of Spanish residents were also employed in the Carrera, particularly in Acapulco port, serving as stevedores, cutters, and shipbuilders. While the extranjeros, usually non-Spanish Europeans such as Dutch, English, and French sailors, and either prisoners or deserters, formed the penal or *galera* (galley) labor.

The status and categorization of the workers above were not always rigid because of the interplay of various factors: unenforced Spanish mechanisms of control, corruption of the port officials, and workers' ability to adapt. As a result, the division between free and unfree workers was not a fixed characteristic of work in the Carrera. Its laborers could shift from forced (refer here to those recruited through *repartimiento* and not through slavery, which is outside the scope of this investigation) to free and migrant laborers or the other way around. For example, forced and free laborers from the Philippines converted into migrant sailors once they arrived in Acapulco, making the divide between two forms of labor vague. ²³ It is also possible to encounter Philippine natives categorized as indios chinos during the journey, but upon arrival in Acapulco, relabeled as "negro esclavo" (black slave) and converted into enslaved laborers. ²⁴ Finally, we have imprisoned extranjeros serving the naos as sailors who either ended up receiving salary and ration if they conformed to Catholic practices and

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²³ See Obispado, "Los Indios Philipinos".

²⁴ OROPEZA, "Los Indios 'Chinos", pp. 98-99; AGI, Contaduría 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

behaviors or being tried by the Holy Inquisition for heresy, prolonging their punishment as penal laborers. In the end, we can observe that various factors could work in favor or against the laborers' agency.

Multiplicities of centers and informal circuits.

Another concern of global labor history is the study of how work has been conceptualized across time and space. It is important to emphasize that global here does not refer to the world-scale area but rather to a "mindset by which specific connections, transfers and movements of people, and goods and ideas are visualized across space- and scale-boundaries." Hence, it recognizes multiple globalities and globalizations as global can be made by the multiplicity of connections. ²⁶

The founding of Manila in 1571 as the capital city of the westernmost boundary of the Spanish empire became crucial in the birth of world trade given that it "formed the first direct and permanent trade link between America and Asia." However, the global commercial system that emerged in the sixteenth century, in great measure, resulted from the incorporation of preexisting Asian exchange centers and circuits into the emerging ones. It was from where China would base the expansion of its trade in the second half of the sixteenth century. Ubaldo Iaccarino elaborated on how the Chinese during the late Ming period sustained their commercial network in the Philippines, through the Luzon natives and Japanese merchants from Kyūshū, thereby stimulating the triangular route between Fujian (China), Luzon (Philippines), and Kyūshū (Japan). He added that with the help of American silver, the Sangley Chinese succeeded in revitalizing their preexisting trade route with the Moluccas and allowed its people to serve as Spaniards' commercial agents in the ports of the Siam and Malayan archipelago. Therefore, Manila's integration into the Pacific trade, on the one hand,

²⁵ VITO, "New perspectives on global labour history", p. 16.

²⁶ VITO, "New perspectives on global labour history", p. 16.

²⁷ FLYNN AND GIRÁLDEZ, "Born with a 'Silver spoon'", p. 201. See also HAUSBERGER, "Acercamiento a la historia global", pp. 83-98; BJORK, "The link that kept the Philippines Spanish", pp. 25-50.

²⁸ IACCARINO, "El comercio chino en torno a Filipinas", p. 233.

became an extension of its earlier Asian trade relations; on the other hand, owing to its economic geography, it nourished the global trade by providing a commercial network between China and the New World.

The Pacific line was sustained through governmentally controlled ports, maritime and overland routes, and galleons, with its center in Acapulco and Manila. However, those who participated in the transpacific exchange were not exclusively confined to the spatial infrastructure and networks organized by the authority. For example, the galleon link with Peru was rooted in 1572, when the amalgamation technique made the silver extraction from Potosi reach a revolutionary growth: from 1,748 million maravedis in 1571/1575 to more than 14,000 maravedis in 1600.²⁹ It also gave way to the Manila-Acapulco-Peru trade³⁰, which through the royal *cédula* of 14 April 1579, allowed the Philippine ships to trade with New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, and *Tierra Firme* without restrictions. It was a landmark and irreversible act that opened the American market—the formerly exclusive domain of the Portabelo-Europe circuit—to oriental products. It eventually led to the drainage of silver to China.³¹ Through this order, the ships were not levied duties. They were allowed to leave from Callao, Panama, Sonsonate, Puerto de Navidad, or any other port on the west coast of America in the path of the sea voyage to the Philippine Islands.³²

When the Crown monopolized the *Carrera* and limited it to Acapulco and Manila, the networks between Occidental *Novohispano*, South and Central America, and the Philippines—that were previously operating but subsequently restricted—continued albeit invisible.³³ For this reason, Pierre Chaunu's conceptualization of the Pacific

²⁹ ASSADOURIAN, "El sistema de la economía colonial", p. 20.

³⁰ For this trade, see the works of SCHURZ, "Mexico, Peru, and the Manila galleon", pp. 389-402; ВОRАН, *Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú*; IWASAKI, *Extremo oriente y* Perú; BONIALIAN, "La Contratación de la China", pp. 11-41.

³¹ BONIALIAN, "La Contratación de la China", p. 16.

³² BJORK, "The link that kept the Philippines Spanish", p. 42; SCHURZ, "Mexico, Peru, and the Manila galleon", pp. 395-98.

³³ MUNTANER uses the term *invisible networks* to describe the illegal galleon trade network in the Philippines. It will be useful to accommodate the larger networks of Hispanoamerica contraband trade of Asian/Chinese goods. In "Redes invisibles", pp. 140-152.

becomes problematic. As Mariano Bonialian argued, when the author conceived it as a *Spanish lake*, he equated the commercial activities with Manila galleons and excluded the Peruvian and Central American regions.³⁴ The initial prohibition of direct traffic between the Philippines and Peru and the re-exportation of galleon goods from Acapulco to Peru showed that the only line separating the free trade from the restricted one was the determination (or lack thereof) of the law enforcers starting from the highest to the lowest colonial officials in viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. Bonialian added that in practice, these restrictions did not help to rechannel the Peruvian investments back to that of Portobelo as a result of two related phenomena. First, Peru held a strategic place to trade Chinese goods (via New Spain) and European (via Veracruz). Secondly, the Peru connection was only symptomatic of the larger magnitude of Asian trade in the informal circuits both in northern and southern Spanish America and reaching the Iberian Peninsula.³⁵

Spatial division and distribution of Carrera workforce.

The spatial division and distribution of the Carrera workforce coextended with the multicenter and connections across and beyond the Spanish empire. It was one reason for the recurrent labor shortage in the Carrera ports, where sailors' work was not limited. Throughout the chapters of this research, we see them participating in explorations and expeditions sent from Acapulco to other areas such as San Lucas, California, Cape of Mendocino, Islas de Plata y Oro, Marianas Islands, Ternate/Maluku, Japan, and Singapore. In addition, Mexican viceroys also regularly sent expeditionary and dispatch ships to Peru. Lastly, to procure supplies for the vessels going to Manila, the port officials sent royal ships to American ports such as Sonsonate, Peru, Costa del Mar, Tehuantepec, Huatulco, and Zacatula.

As colonial subjects, we can observe how they responded to the labor market that the Pacific trade generated between 1580 and 1640. The *Carrera* provided them access to regular employment, day-labor works, trade networks, and other income-

³⁴ BONIALIAN, "La historia económica del Pacífico", p. 82.

³⁵ BONIALIAN, "La Contratación de la China", pp. 21 and 39.

generating activities beyond its centers in Acapulco and Manila. Firstly, if we inquire into the earnings (cargo) and expenses (data) of the Royal Treasury of Acapulco, there was a budget for the salary of employees (officials, crewmen, and other workers) hired to run the Carrera. It included: the permanent and seasonal employees in the port of Acapulco; hired officials and crew members for the round trip between Acapulco and Manila; officials and crew members serving in the royal camp of Manila in the Philippines; officials and crew members of the warning ships (navíos de aviso) for Acapulco and Peru; officials and crew members for royal ships dispatched for the discovery of islands rich with silver and gold; and officials and crew members going and returning from other ports such as Zacatula, Huatulco, Tehuantepec, California, Sonsonate and Realejo, Callao, Cavite, Lampon, Singapore, Japan, and the Moluccas to bring products, supplies, and ammunitions that the *Carrera* needed (See Table 3.5). It suggests that the employees of the Carrera were not limited to Acapulco and Manila ports. Instead, they had to extend their service in the entirety of the Hispano-American Pacific and Asia.

At the same time, all these activities abovementioned provided an outlet to keep the informal trade in the Hispano-American Pacific and Asia. On their end, the Carrera officials and crew members, with the opportunities that their jobs entailed, responded through authorized and contraband trade. The complicity of various actors—from the port officials to the ships' crew and the merchant—is crucial to keep the illegal exchange networks. Because of the entitlement to some privileges of the sailors, they fit as intermediaries of the transpacific trade. Those serving the King between 1591 and 1600, the initial period of the commercial prohibition between New Spain and Peru, continued trafficking goods between Manila and Acapulco and between Acapulco and Callao. If we survey the goods these sailors brought, most were textiles (especially silk and cotton), chinaware, furnishing, and other stuff, which came from Canton, Nanking, Macau, Japan, and the Philippines.³⁷

³⁶ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

 $^{^{\}rm 37}$ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

Microhistory

The present investigation employs microhistory to study the sailors as global workers. Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi examined the relationship of microhistory with larger dimensions (such as global history). Ginzburg traced Italian *microhistoria* in the 1970s as a reaction to the Annales school's macroscopic and quantitative model.³⁸ However, Levi emphasized that its origin was intellectual and politically motivated. These were the years of apathy towards the Italian left—born from the long tradition of the industrial laboring class and based on the static model of social structures.³⁹ In 1980-1981, the book series of *Microhistorie* was inaugurated, with Ginzburg and Levi among its earliest editors. The main challenge was "how to generalize without excluding the individuals and the circumstances or how to describe situations and individuals without falling into typology and examples, and in turn, without renouncing the understanding of general problems?"⁴⁰

Levi emphasized that micro and macro-histories complement each other by using different lenses and focus.⁴¹ Microhistory, in particular, aims to examine grand narratives closely and give nuance to their generalization or simplification. It's not about relativism, but the contrary: it attempts to fill the gap left by structural-functionalist models of history (where events and persons have become invisible) and macro interpretations (which take great pains in obtaining linearity, coherence, continuity, and certainty). As Ginzburg explained through Kracauer's law of levels, the

of forms of behavior, election, and solidarity. In LEVI, Microhistorias. p. 399.

³⁸ During this time, the worldwide phenomenon of decolonization started to challenge the 19th century historiography. By the 1970s and 1980s, with the rejection of ethnocentrism and decline of theories of modernity tied to Enlightenment, nonethnocentric approaches such as ethnographic history and microhistory became increasingly important. French scholars such as Furet and Chaunu and Le Goff (while still supporting the Braudelian paradigm) were gradually shifting to serial history (based on the analysis of phenomena selected because of their repetitive character) and ethnology (rejection of single event and focus on everyday man, which leads to study of mentalities. In another spectrum was microhistory, which reconstructs and narrates individual events. In GINZBURG, "Microhistory", pp. 17-22.

³⁹ In the 1970s, the Italian left was shaken by events such as the defeat of union movement and its demand to give workers representation and other egalitarian projects. This led to abandonment of schematic and general interpretation in favor of a total analysis to identify in best way the genuine root

⁴⁰ LEVI, *Microhistorias*, p. 400.

⁴¹ LEVI, *Microhistorias*, p. 404; LEVI, "Microhistoria e historia global", p. 22; GINZBURG, "Microhistory", p. 27.

conclusion attained in a microscopic sphere cannot be transferred automatically to a macroscopic sphere.⁴² Through rigorous examination of individual cases, microhistory seeks to ask fundamental questions that permit reconstruction of reality, certainly partial, but no less contains an essential fragment of absolute truth. They are the uncertainty, inconsistency, and non-linearity in the narratives that we hope to recuperate through the lens of microhistory.⁴³

The current research aims to go beyond the idiosyncrasies of sailors and address the significant challenge in the historiography of global workers: the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Pacific sailors are still understudied. For this reason, we combined the quantitative and qualitative analysis to study them. It also became crucial the tedious labor of counting the sailors first, tracing their roots and routes, and finally, narrating their individual experiences within fifty years. That last one has many challenges since we might end up with seemingly random snapshots of their stories. There might also be a lot of gaps in their accounts. Gabriel Torres warned that an inherent characteristic of one of the sources we used is its silence. And if an overwhelming detail is provided, a caveat remains: one must be mindful that as part of the inquisitorial process, the Tribunal aimed to document the crime itself and not the life story. 44 Lastly, the life pattern of global sailors might not be as "exceptionally normal" as we are hoping. Instead, what emerged are the recurrent experiences of highly mobile colonial/global workers, ranging from abundance to violence. But their familiar story has to be part of the standard narratives of the global workers. James Amelang emphasized that inquisitorial records also provided a type of information that, although not extraordinary, is not available elsewhere. ⁴⁵ The scattered and fragmented stories of sailors found in trial records of the Holy Office or *bienes de difuntos* (property of the deceased) should be examined to grasp how their lives became intertwined with

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⁴² GINZBURG, "Microhistory", p. 27; LEVI, *Microhistorias*. p. 404; and LEVI, "Microhistoria e historia global", p. 22.

⁴³ LEVI, *Microhistorias*. pp. 404-407. For more discussions on the use of microhistory as a methodology, see COSSART, "Global lives", pp. 1-14; LEPORE, "Historians who love too much", pp. 129-144; TRIVELLATO, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory?"; and ANDRADE, "A Chinese Farmer ", pp. 573-591.

⁴⁴ Torres Puga, "Individuos sospechosos", pp. 27-68.

⁴⁵ AMELANG, "Tracing Lives", pp. 39-41.

cross-cultural currents of the global world. It is crucial in the context of growing contacts that followed the sixteenth-century European exploration and expansion, which resulted in geographical connectedness and mobility within and across the continents, particularly those controlled by the Imperium Hispanicum.

Sources

This research heavily relies on institutional and quantitative data, especially for reconstructing the database of registered sailors in the Pacific for fifty years from 1590 to 1640, as listed in Appendix A. We have edited and printed primary sources consisting of officials reports and communication issued by the Spanish monarchs, Mexican viceroys, judges, other functionaries, and port officials. Examples are instrucciones (instructions), memorias (reports), royal laws and orders, and other judiciary documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, we also have unedited sources or manuscripts from the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Sevilla, Spain, and Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City. From the AGI, we retrieved data from the bundles of Contaduría, Contratación, Patronato, and Filipinas while from AGN, expedientes of Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Consulados, Inquisición, Marina, Reales Cedulas Originales, and Tierra. They comprised of inquisition trial transcripts and summaries, medical certificates, testaments, inventories of goods of the deceased, and other job-related records such as appointment, contract, fianza (guarantee letter), libranza (order of payment of service), certification of service, and petitions to receive a salary. The quantitative sources that we used to reconstruct a database of Carrera sailors (marineros, grumetes españoles, grumetes indios, and pajes) came from the Contaduría records of AGI. We utilized them to quantify the workforce distribution spatially and periodically, the multiplicity of the sailors' jobs, and the longevity of their career as Pacific workers. We also employed inquisition trial transcripts and other records such as bienes de difuntos and workers' petitions to complement the statistical data.

Limitation of the study

The limitation of the present work is anchored on the nature and type of principal sources we consulted. Since they are primarily official records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the information provided is either incomplete, biased, or silent on a particular group. For example, the quantitative data regarding the number of sailors must be treated with caution since they are conservative estimates. Also, the grumetes indios are more underrepresented than the Spanish marineros and grumetes. Considering the gaps in the sources, we complemented the quantitative analysis with a qualitative approach based on other primary and secondary sources.

Chapter Structure

The present study intends to shed light on the early colonial labor system and market and locate the sailors' role as workers in expanding the Spanish world in the Pacific in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To do so, we divided the study into five chapters. **Chapter 1** gives an overview of the Carrera, starting with its trade circuits, which put the Spanish Pacific on the global trade map. It also provides a glimpse of the everyday working lives of its Carrera officials and workers: the food supplies, health, and spiritual needs. Finally, it discusses the functions and opportunities of the workers—sailors, soldiers, and other port laborers—in the Spanish empire in general and the Pacific trade in particular. The remaining chapters study the sailors from four different angles: institutional, statistical, global, and microhistorical. Chapter 2 examines the sailors as the King's subjects and servants. It looks into them from the institutional lens by utilizing the royal orders and other bureaucratic papers. **Chapter** 3 relies on quantitative data for sailors' labor records for fifty years. Chapter 4 traces the sailors who served in the exploratory and military expeditions in the Spanish-American and Asia-Pacific and their role in defending and preserving the Spanish Crown's stronghold in these regions. **Chapter 5** explores the sailors' efforts to enter the global trade as merchants, intermediaries, and contrabandists. Finally, the epilogue

reflects on the methodological construction—its challenges and limitations—of the sailors' lives in the context of the early modern period and globalization.

CHAPTER I. AN OVERVIEW OF THE CARRERA DEL PACÍFICO AND WHAT MADE ITS WORKERS GLOBAL

This chapter examines the importance of Manila and Acapulco in creating networks, facilitating exchanges, and generating economic activities in the Spanish Pacific region. It is also crucial in this section to interrogate how the interplay of trade and labor in the Pacific shaped the heterogeneity of Carrera workers. In particular, their demographics give us a glimpse of how Spain nourished its empire through the backbone of its colonial workforce. Finally, it provides an overview of the *Carrera del Pacífico's* workers during its early phase: from building its first structures to crewing its ships and providing for the essential needs of its ports.

The establishment of Carrera del Pacífico and its circuits

In 1565, the galleon *San Pedro* headed by Andres de Urdaneta successfully inaugurated the Carrera's first outbound voyage from the Philippines to Mexico by trafficking goods consigned to private merchants, a total of 25,000 pesos. ⁴⁶ This landmark event consequentially positioned the Philippines on the Spanish global map. In the 1570s, Juan Lopez de Velasco (official cosmographer and chronicler), after affirming the consolidation of the Spanish Pacific, outlined East and Southeast Asian regions, including the Philippines, as the westernmost part of the Spanish Indies (New Spain and Peru). ⁴⁷ The importance of keeping the Philippines a Spanish territory rested primarily on trade, especially with China. Later, Juan Grau y Monfalcón, attorney-general of the Philippine Islands, pointed it out to justify the Philippines' preservation as a Spanish colony in his report to New Spain's Viceroy. ⁴⁸

As a result of the distance of the Philippines from the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish Crown opted to administer it through indirect dominion and made it a

⁴⁶ VALDÉS LAKOWSKY, *De las minas*, p. 86.

⁴⁷ PADRON, "From abstraction to allegory," pp. 41 and 44. See also PARTON, "Historical geopolitics".

⁴⁸ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 45-56.

dependency of Mexico. ⁴⁹ In this setup, the Philippines became under Mexican viceroyalty's civil and spiritual administration and the Holy Office of Inquisition. Accordingly, Philip II ordered through the *real cedula* of 25 January 1569 to establish the Tribunal of Holy Office of Mexico and, under its jurisdiction, the Philippines.⁵⁰ In the same vein, another order dated 5 June 1574 officially made the Philippines a dependency of New Spain's Viceroyalty and the *Audiencia* of Mexico on administrative and juridical affairs.⁵¹ However, it was the galleons that firmly tied the Philippines to Mexico from its first journey to the next 250 years. They became the principal conduit that facilitated the maritime exchange, which became known as the galleon trade or Manila-Acapulco trade. The terms *Carrera de las Islas Filipinas, Carrera de Nueva España, La Real Armada de Filipinas,* and *Carrera del Pacífico* were also frequently in use in official documents to refer to this trade.⁵²

Manila was selected as its capital city due to its proximity to China and its agricultural economy, supporting the colonizers. After establishing it as the capital city on 3 June 1571, exploration of immediate provinces such as Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan started, then Zambales and Ilocos, Laguna, Batangas, and Camarines.⁵³ In the case of Acapulco, Andres de Urdaneta had already selected it even before their 1565 expedition (when they departed from the port of Navidad) to the Philippines as the American entry point of trade with China principally because of its closeness to Mexico City in comparison to other ports.⁵⁴ The distance from Mexico City to Acapulco was around sixty-five leagues⁵⁵, while from Veracruz, 110. However, the choice of Acapulco

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⁴⁹ See Garcia Martinez, "Encomenderos y british residents", pp. 1915-1978.

⁵⁰ AGN, Inquisición 141: 2ff: Carta al presidente de la Real Audiencia de Manila Dr. Santiago Vera sobre la jurisdicción del Santo Oficio y diferencias con el obispo, México, 1585.

⁵¹ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", p. 63. The third aspect of this dependency was fiscal. According to BAUZON, the dependency of the Philippines to New Spain had economic equalization as an objective, which means that the more prosperous colonies such as New Spain had to support the less wealthy ones like the Philippines. Through this, it would prevent the colonies from becoming wealthier than the metropolis, *Deficit government*, p. 50. On the other hand, this assertion of the Philippines as a "mere appendage" of the Viceroyalty of Mexico has been long refuted by ALONSO ALVAREZ in *El costo del imperio asiático*.

⁵² AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

⁵³ QUIRINO, "El primer mexicano en Filipinas", pp. 253-256 and 259.

⁵⁴ BORAH, Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú, p. 224.

⁵⁵ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 74-75.

became definitive only in 1573, citing as other reasons its safeness and its remarkable capacity to handle ships.⁵⁶ Despite that, Acapulco port, as described in the sixteenth century, was deplorable. Around twenty houses owned by Spaniards were similar to a hut made of intertwined branches, covered with straw, and without a roof. They were used during the arrival of ships from the Philippines or Peru, but almost no one resided in this unhealthy and swampy place for the rest of the year.⁵⁷

Since the Carrera would center on Acapulco and Manila, the first steps taken were connecting routes from Acapulco to other ports and cities, the most important of which was the road between Acapulco and Mexico City, so that the products could arrive in the capital. The construction of the linking road started after choosing Acapulco as the port of exit in 1573. The government built a bridge to cross the Balsa river and arranged some stretches (parte del camino). Still, the major challenge was descending from the Sierra Madre and going to the coast, which the port officials did not resolve in the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ Also, as they needed a road to transfer people, one option was to travel from San Juan de Ulua to Acapulco. However, as Garcia-Abasolo described, it was a 130-league walk (four to six months of travel) under a hot climate (tierra caliente) between the two ports. In addition, when the Spanish fleet arrived in Veracruz, its passengers were already too sick and dying for another journey to Mexico City (and later to Acapulco).⁵⁹ As a result, many people preferred to escape rather than continue traveling. Between Mexico City and Acapulco was a 65-league walk, which tempted the people to flee to the inland territory. An alternative route was from Spain to Tierra Firme to Panama to Acapulco, especially that the navigations between Panama-Realejo and Realejo-Acapulco were smooth. But in the end, Veracruz-Mexico City-Acapulco became the designated route since the pack of animals became available in significant numbers from Mexico City to Acapulco.⁶⁰

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⁵⁶ Ouoted in SALES COLIN, *El movimiento portuario*, p. 57.

⁵⁷ CARLETTI, *Razonamientos de mi viaje alrededor del mundo*, p. 64; GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 61-62.

⁵⁸ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp.73-74.

⁵⁹ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp.73-74.

⁶⁰ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp.74-76.

When the galleon trade started in 1565, all the cargo was government-owned, without the participation of private individuals. However, in 1572, the merchants of New Spain were finally authorized to trade in the Philippines, build and bring their ships and load them with registered goods. The following year, the Viceroy exempted the Philippine products from paying *almojarifazgo* (tax) to encourage private individuals to trade. A question was raised if this traffic should be a monopoly or free, given the importance of attracting the merchants to participate. The difficulty in deciding had to do with low-quality products from the Philippines, which could not find buyers in Seville.⁶¹ In 1573, Viceroy Enriquez introduced two ships of 400 tons to be used for trade. The first would be in the Philippines to return to Acapulco the following year, while the second would leave Acapulco to bring the islands' needs, such as provisions and silver. There would be a third one, a *navio de aviso* (dispatch ship), but only for emergencies.⁶²

In 1590, the Royal Treasury (Caja de Real Hacienda) was established in Acapulco (before under Caja de Nueva España) to record earnings and expenses systematically. It also supervised the economic activities in the port, including the operation of ships coming from the Philippines. ⁶³ As a standard practice within the Spanish empire, the head authority (either King, Viceroy, or Governor) appointed a port official among three candidates based on some qualifications such as examination and honorable character. Both for the high- and low-ranking positions, the employee needed a bond or guarantee in case of non-compliance with his contract. The port governor known as *castellano* administered Acapulco through the help of these designated royal officials. Their tasks ranged from receiving and dispatching ships at the port, supervising the embarkation and disembarkation of crew members, passengers, and merchandise, and reporting the contraband goods. In addition, they had to organize the trade fair, prepare the

⁶¹ Oropeza, "Los indios 'chinos'", p. 50; Garcia-Abasolo, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 64-65.

⁶² GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 71-72.

⁶³ OROPEZA, "La esclavitud asiática", p. 8.

Philippine *situado* (monetary assistance); and rent the temporary residency of the religious and other functionaries assigned to serve in the Philippines.⁶⁴

The nature of the Pacific trade as free, i.e., without tax, endured in its first decade. It could trade at any port such as Callao, Panama, Sonsonate, or Navidad without any duties. However, in 1581, the restriction of traffic with Tierra Firme and Peru started.⁶⁵ In 1593, the Crown began to regulate the trade as a crown monopoly, with part of its cargo designated for commerce. It also limited to two the number of ships annually crossing the Pacific.⁶⁶ Moreover, it prohibited a regular line between Callao and Manila and the arrival of private vessels in Acapulco to buy any Asian merchandise to be reshipped to Peru, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, and other parts of the Indies. ⁶⁷ Notwithstanding these policies, sending more than two ships in the Manila-Acapulco route had become a practice and would continue until the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ The triangular trade between Asia, New Spain, and Peru was also maintained through contraband activities.⁶⁹

One result of globalization was the overlapping of various commercial circuits in the sixteenth century, which eased the interaction of people and the circulation of products. These contacts could be purely geographical, political, commercial, or cultural and could end in short or long-term relationships. Moreover, the spaces where the people interacted, like ports, towns, interiors, and centers, accommodated various network systems and were sustained by them. Sometimes, the conjunction of these networks expanded, contracted, and created informal venues for collaboration.

Examining the Manila networks by the sixteenth century, while Iaccarino elaborated on the triangular route between Fujian (China), Luzon (Philippines), and

⁶⁴ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", pp. 45-47; SALES COLIN, *El movimiento portuario*, p. 59.

⁶⁵ BJORK, "The link that kept the Philippines Spanish", p. 42.

⁶⁶ Oropeza, "La esclavitud asiática", p. 8.

⁶⁷ Recopilación IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú; PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", p. 51; BORAH, Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú.

⁶⁸ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

⁶⁹ BORAH, Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú.

Kyūshū (Japan), Tremml-Werner employed the term *Manila system*. She described it as a "[...] triangular circulations, and bi- or multilateral communication involving different parties of the pre-modern states" of Spain, China, and Japan." She demonstrated Manila not merely as the core of a semi-dependent periphery that connected, but rather, a system that stimulated an enduring global impact in the Pacific and the China Seas.⁷⁰ Consequently, Manila had witnessed the arrival of a catalog of unimaginable products such as silver, pearls, precious stones, cinnamon and other spices, camphor, balsam, ivory, civet, wool, carpets, silks, damasks, taffetas and cotton mantles, embroideries, porcelains, escritoires, boxes and desks of precious woods, and silverware. 71 By mapping the origin of these goods, it included China (comprised of China, Macao, and Formosa), Japan, Indochina (Tonkin, Cochinchina, Camboya, and Siam), Insulindia (Insulindia, Java, Borneo, Makasar, and Moluccas/Ternate), and India (Malaca, Bengala, Coromandel, Malabar, Goa, and Surat). 72 However, it must also be highlighted that these Asian trade networks were not new. Manila kept its preexisting trade connections with these Asian neighbors, which endured the Spanish monopoly. With its strategic position (surrounded by China and Japan in the north; the Moluccas in the south; and using the Spanish perspective, India and Cambodia in the west), Manila was able to offer its neighbors an alternative market for their articles by channeling them to Spanish colonies in Spanish America.⁷³

Bonialian commented that Acapulco, on the other hand, had the advantage as one of the main gates of transit (puertas de transito) that gave impetus for the Asian, European, and Hispano-American goods to flourish. The Asian dimension of this trade was facilitated through the spatial connection of Novohispano ports with the Philippines. At the same time, the *Mar del Sur's* commercial area linked the American markets with that of the Viceroyalty of Peru. As a result, it provided a venue for the

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⁷⁰ Tremml-Werner, "Spain, China, and Japan in Manila", pp. 20 and 167-168.

⁷¹ Based on the description of the Jesuit historian Francisco Colín of Manila commerce in the seventeenth century. In SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, p. 50.

⁷² CHAUNU, *Las Filipinas y el Pacífico*, pp. 141-191.

⁷³ LEGARDA, "Two and a half centuries", p. 351.

circulation of American silver, ending in its massive use in Chinese'empire's internal market.⁷⁴

Survey of Carrera's service providers and workers

This section shows the participation of Mexican natives, mulattos, and blacks, as well as European and Asian workers in the running of the Carrera. They served as suppliers, royal servants, and day laborers in the port of Acapulco. The Carrera—whether we refer to it as an institution, an enterprise, or a system of ports—served as a crossroad for migrants and traders, who also constituted its main labor pool. As this chapter shows, the Spanish Crown reinforced distinct types of mobilization of people to respond to the needs of early globalization, such as providing intercontinental links, populating and preserving new territories, and supplying labor. If we survey the multiple forms of labor relations in the Carrera, it ranged from free hired laborers, forced or tributary laborers, slaves, self-employed to permanent and occasional workers.

Port and ship's suppliers

Given that Acapulco and Manila served as embarkation points of people migrating to and from the Philippines or other parts of Asia, it contributed to developing local economies on both sides of the Pacific. In Acapulco, Tatiana Seijas demonstrated that the indigenous communities could sustain the local economy by supplying the ship provisions, crew, and other travelers along the China road and assisting with Acapulco's services. As a result, Carrera's provisioning system promoted local agricultural production and helped the Mexico-based merchants.⁷⁵ The royal officials outsourced it to the local merchants, manufacturers, and agricultural producers in supplying the port and its ships.⁷⁶ Some of them obtained their estates through *merced real* (royal favor) and competed for the monopoly of providing *bizcocho* (sea biscuits), salted fish, and

⁷⁴ BONIALIAN, "Acapulco, puerta abierta", pp. 128-129.

⁷⁵ SEIJAS, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage", pp. 56-76.

⁷⁶ SEIJAS, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage", pp. 58-60 and 62.

meat for the *Carrera*. *Encomenderos* (holder of an Indian *encomienda* or an entrustment) in the province of Acapulco could also conveniently furnish the *Carrera* through the influence they had accumulated in their *estancia de ganado mayor* (landed property with larger livestock) and orchards.⁷⁷ The procedure started with granting licenses to these local traders or producers. Their contract indicated the supplies to be delivered, the time of shipment, and its total price, the non-compliance of which entailed penalty.⁷⁸

Other suppliers would visit other towns to look for provisions, with the royal Treasury shouldering all their expenses. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, they were paid two pesos for each day they spent going to these places and returning to the port, accompanied by a muleteer. The latter brought the required documents that showed the name of their contractor, the cargo they carried, and its destination. For example, bizcocho was commonly prepared and purchased in Los Angeles and Toluca. A mule driver tasked to transport about 400 arrobas was compensated eight pesos for each cargo (equivalent to 10 *arrobas*).

In Acapulco, the Majesty's administrators rented a house, usually owned by the port's inhabitants, to complement the royal warehouse in storing bizcochos and other items.⁸¹ The royal officials also hired fishers in Acapulco for fourteen pesos per day to catch *cachorritas* or *chinchorro* using a *barangay*, a Philippine native vessel that the caulkers built for fishing in Acapulco.⁸² Some of the fishes were imported from Igualapa, which upon arrival in Acapulco underwent the salting process.⁸³ For other provisions, the *indios* and *blacks* from Tezca, Tepuchi, Acamalutla, and Goapango delivered maize.⁸⁴

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 $^{^{77}}$ Garcia-Abasolo, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 76-77.

⁷⁸ SEIJAS, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage", pp. 58-60 and 62.

⁷⁹ SEIJAS, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage", pp. 61 and 66.

⁸⁰ AGI, Contaduría 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

⁸¹ AGI, Contaduría 899: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1593-1594; SEIJAS, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage", p. 67.

⁸² AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

⁸³ Sales Colín, *El movimiento portuario*, p. 155.

⁸⁴ AGI, Contaduría 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

For the price of these provisions, a *quintal* of *bizcocho* cost six to eight pesos of *tepuzque* (coin made of gold mixed with copper) the salted fish, fourteen to sixteen reales each *arroba*; while a three-year-old steer, 4.5 to 9.5 pesos. It was a practice to slaughter the latter in the corral of the supplier's farm and then bring their meat to the port. However, because of the distance, they usually arrived spoiled, so they opted to transport the steers at the Treasury's expense, with twelve pesos being the final value of each.⁸⁵ Provisions were also distributed for the people serving at the port, especially the *gente de la tierra* (employees) and slaves who received a regular ration throughout the year. The table below shows the consumption at the port without the returning crew and passengers from the Philippines:

Table 1.1: The list of provisions consumed by 70 people serving at the port for 30 weeks from 13 April to 2 November 1590.

Provision	Quantity	
Beans	35 fanegas, 9 almudes, and 1 quartillo	
Maize	37 fanegas and 4 almudes	
Sea-	193 quintales and 2 ½ libras	
biscuit		
Chick-pea	5 fanegas, 4 almudes, and ½ quartillo	
Cheese	218 pieces	
Oil	13 oil jars	
Vinegar	11 arrobas	
Salt	18 fanegas, 11 almudes, and 1 ½ quartillo	
Beef	71 cattle beef	
Salt pork	6 whole salt pork and 13 espadillas	

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

The transient group, the officers and crewmen who arrived at the port and continued serving the King, were also given food while passing the winter, which could last for days or months, or until they embarked on their next trip. In 1591, the weekly diet of

⁸⁵ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 77-78.

ninety sailors who disembarked from the *nao San Phelipe* consisted of nine quintals, one arroba, and fifteen libras of sea biscuits; four arrobas of fish, one oil jar, six pieces of cheese, and seventeen arrobas of meat. Those sixty-three from San Pablo got six quintals, two arrobas, fourteen libras of sea biscuits; seven *almudes* and two *quartillos* (quartern) of chickpeas; and one jar of vinegar. Also, both received 135 arrobas of beef.⁸⁶

Likewise, the *indios novohispanos* recruited as laborers were given food, mainly a *petate* (palm leaf) of sea biscuits and a *fanega* of beans daily.⁸⁷ Finally, the ship's other passengers, such as the royal officials, the religious, the soldiers, and the settlers going to the Philippines, also received rations while waiting for their ship. What follows is an estimate of the number of people (crew and passengers) of San Felipe and Santiago who went to the Philippines in 1595: sixty-eight religious (Jesuits, Augustinians, and Dominicans) and their two servants, 102 soldiers, 171 settlers, their wives, and children. They received ration while staying at the port and before embarking on the ships.⁸⁸

Livestock essential to provide food or carry people and goods and exchange commodities also partook provisions while at the port. For example, horses from Mexico City to Acapulco transported soldiers assigned to serve in the Philippines as part of the latter's transportation expenses of fifteen pesos.⁸⁹ There were also mares and horses to be sent to the Philippines and fed with maize priced at 2.5 pesos each fanega and forage brought from the town of Zitula by cargo animals such as mules, with each load charged for two pesos. Before embarking the horses into the ship, they paid a groom an amount of three pesos to take care of them and a farrier, four pesos to shoe them with iron plates and perform bloodletting.⁹⁰

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⁸⁶ AGI, Contaduría, 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

⁸⁷ AGI, Contaduría, 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

⁸⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 20 Diciembre 1594 hasta 18 Noviembre 1595.

⁸⁹ Muro, "Soldados de Nueva España a Filipinas", p. 472.

⁹⁰ AGI, Contaduría, 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

Table 1.2: Provisions and rations of the crew and passengers of the galleons going to Acapulco (1620) and Manila (1641).

Manila to Acapulco, provision	Acapulco to Manila, provision aboard the ship		
aboard the ship estimated for	estimated for 500 people, 1641.		
500 people, 1620.			
75 pancetas of smoked pork	9,000 lbs. of bacon and ham from Mexico		
4,000 lbs. of pork and carabao			
meat			
3,500 lbs. of salted fish			
65,000 lbs. of bizcocho			
Animals: chickens in a cage for			
their eggs, pigs, a goat for their			
milk and meat, sheep, duck, and			
cows			
35,000 lbs. legumes and rice	90 bushels of beans		
contained in sacks weighing	90 bushels of chickpeas		
	90 bushels of lentils		
1,250 pieces of cheese	6,300 lbs. of goat and sheep milk cheese (leche		
	revuelta)		
118,000 liters of oil and vinegar	2,000 liters of Castilian oil		
750 lbs. of onion and garlic	12 pipas de vinagre de castilla		
Chocolate and sugar contained	300 lbs. of white sugar		
in big earthenware or Chinese	200 lbs. of paca [?]		
jars	200 lbs. of almond		
	100 lbs. of hazelnut		
	250 boxes of dried quince and peach		
	4 Castillian syringa		
Philippine wine (such as a tuba	10 barrels (pipa) of Castillian wine		
or coconut wine) contained in			
Chinese jars			
Diet for the sick: honey, sugar,	Diet for the sick, a box that contains herbal		
dried fruit, chocolate, jam, and	drink (agua asate) and other medicines		
other delicacies			

5,000 pitchers for water	2 measuring containers made of copper: one for 2 liters and the other for 1 liter, used to ration water

Sources: Álvarez, *Galeón de Acapulco* (1620), pp. 229, 243-245; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 58, fs. 1: Filipinas. Efectos y viveres. San Juan Bautista. Mandamiento para la paga de los rematado el despacho de la nao capitana dicha. – lista de todo lo comprado. Año: 1641.

According to Ostwald Sales Colín, the Acapulco-Manila ships' victuals can be divided into four categories: Castilian (oil, flour, vinegar, and wine); dry food (almond, hazelnut, *bizcocho*, beans, peas, ham, lentil, raisin, dried fish, and bacon); sweets, syrup, and custard from quince and peach; and various supplies such as cheese (from goat and sheep), water, and legumes. A separate category included drugs and medicine for sick passengers. For the food supplies sent to Manila residents, most were produced in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, mainly Puebla, which supplied *cebo blanco de cerdo* (lard), legumes, dried food, cheese, white and brown bread, and salted meat such as fish, bacon, and ham. European supplies also came from Castille, such as wine, wheat flour, oil, and white vinegar. The containers used to store these provisions, such as crates and *pipas abatidas* (barrels), were made in Puebla, Mexico City, and Acapulco. 92

Other supplies were needed to prepare ships, such as rigging, sails, nails, and artillery. One of the options to obtain them was the metropolis, where they bought through the royal officials of Seville and transported them through the Spanish fleet to San Juan de Ulua. ⁹³ The hemp for rigging probably came from Guerrero and was produced in a string factory or store in the port located towards the hills. While the tar that the Mexican *indios* transported through a petate, which they carried on their back, came from Citlaltomagua, Suchitepec, Ecatepec, Ejutla, and port of Huatulco. Tin sheets,

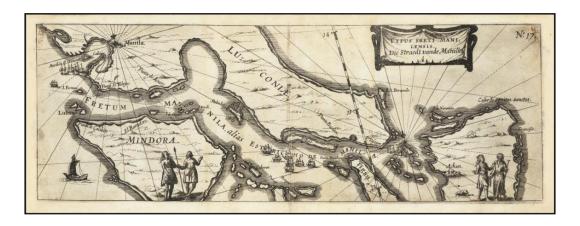
⁹¹ SALES COLIN, *El movimiento portuario*, p. 161.

⁹² Sales Colin, *El movimiento portuario*, pp. 153-157.

⁹³ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", p. 72.

iron rings, shackles and chains for the prisoners and convict laborers, powder, saltpeter, lead, and *achiotes de cera* (annatto wax) were also locally produced (for example, in Ixmiquilpan and Iztapalapa mining areas, San Luis, and Campeche).⁹⁴

On Map 1.1, we can see that once the ship from Acapulco reached the Philippines, they would need another week to arrive in Cavite and mark the voyage's end. It is because they first had to enter the Cabo de Spiritus Sanctus (Cape of Espiritu Santo), then the Estricho de Manila (Strait of San Bernardino, also known as Capul), that stretched the I. de Capul (Islands of Capul), Masbate, and Borias (Burias). Afterward, they had to sail along the coasts of Malindoc (Marinduque), Calilaya, the strait of Mindora (Mindoro), and Punta de Tuley (the shoals of Tuley). Then they passed through the mouth of Manila Bay. From here, they would enter the port of Cabite (Cavite). 95 On the contrary, the outbound voyage through these islands was proven more complicated and would need at least a month to reach the open ocean.



Map 1.1: Joris Van Spilberhen's Typus Freti Manilenses, 1619.

Note and Source: This map shows the Philippine galleon route through San Bernardino Straits. In James Burney, *A chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, London, 1803-1817. Five vols. Joris Van Spilberhen's Typus Freti Manilenses, 1619. Available in Institut Cartogràfic, Mapes d'Àsia, Oceania i illes del Pacífic (s. XVI-XX), http://cartotecadigital.icc.cat

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⁹⁴ Sales Colin, *El movimiento portuario*, pp. 155-156.

⁹⁵ CROSSLEY, Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, p. 59.

In both directions, the officials, crews, and other passengers onboard relied on the communities found along the route where the ship passed. In 1620, according to the account of Diego Lopez de Garay, it took their craft a whole month (June to July) from Cavite to reach the Pacific. During this period, the ship continuously replenished its supplies. The first stop was Maribela (Mariveles, Bataan), where they used a boat to get to the land and bring fruits and other fresh food. They also filled their water containers called *bombones*, usually made of bamboo cane measuring one palm of diameter and a yard length. They later stopped at the port of El Baradero, Mindora (Baradero in the Islands of Mindoro), to obtain fresh food and fill 400 bombones with water.⁹⁶

Twenty-three days after their departure from Cavite, they reached the port of San Jacinto in Tigan (Ticao Islands). At this point, the cockroaches had infested their bread and other food, and the need for replenishment became crucial. The governor of Albay (found north of Ticao Island) visited and informed them that he had prepared animals and fruits for their long travel. It included fifteen goats, more than thirty pigs, twenty-five cages of chickens (twelve chickens per cage, 600 in total), and baskets full of different fruits. They kept resupplying with water, firewood, and fresh food, with the help of natives, local authorities, and religious, until they entered the Stretch of San Bernardino and reached the open sea. 97 Unfortunately, these contributions that the natives provided for the ship were unpaid and unaccounted for. While the local authorities, such as the provincial governor, who instructed them to gather supplies, should have received favors by loading his cargoes aboard the ship.

⁹⁶ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 300-334.

⁹⁷ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 300-334.

The religious and health providers

To keep the purity of the body and the soul of the ship's seamen and the port's residents and laborers, the religious of various orders attended to their spiritual needs. The ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Acapulco was under the secular parish of the Archbishopric of Mexico, established in 1555. It also subordinated other towns of San Miguel Coyuca, San Agustin Tixtlancingo, Tecaxtepex, Acamalutla, and Citlaltomagua. In 1574, the promulgation of the *Ordenanza del Patronazgo* created the beneficiary status of Acapulco. It sought to improve the quality of its secular priest whom the Viceroy would select among the competing candidates through examination and merits. The successful candidate would receive the parish benefits such as a good salary and a permanent post. 99

The vicar assigned at Acapulco held mass, administered the holy sacraments for the people (such as baptism, repentance, Eucharist, and last rites), preached the Holy Gospel, and through confession, absolved the sins and excesses of the people (except heresy, apostasy, keeping tithes, and others reserved for His Majesty). While waiting for the ship that would bring them to the Philippines, the religious of various orders held mass in the parochial church of Acapulco. When the ships from Manila arrived in Acapulco, the officials visited the port to inspect unregistered goods and other anomalous activities; afterward, they would hold the ceremony of *Te Deum* in thanksgiving. The next assignment of the vicar was the burial of the dead passengers and crewmen from the ships. 101

When the Spanish authority designated Acapulco as the Carrera's main port, it had no hospital to rely on. Between 1560 and 1580, the hospital of Nuestra Señora de

⁹⁸ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", p. 82; GERHARD ET. AL., *Geografía histórica de la Nueva España*, p. 40.

⁹⁹ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", p. 83; SCHWALLER, "The ordenanza del patronazgo in New Spain", p. 258.

¹⁰⁰ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 18 Noviembre 1597 hasta Julio 1603; PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", p. 84.

¹⁰¹ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", pp. 83-85; SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, p. 273.

la Consolación was established in Acapulco to attend to the people leaving, arriving at, and residing in the port. The order of the *Caridad de San Hipólito* was designated to administer this hospital, which asked the Viceroy of New Spain to build a bigger one. Surgeons and holy brothers were working for this royal hospital, tending to the sick and wounded. However, the lack of royal funding turned to be the biggest challenge to sustain it. In fact, in 1594, the port's vicar Don Juan Mantilla, *alcalde mayor* Don Alonso Maldonado, *factor y proveedor* (agent and supplier) Juan Sanchez Adriano, and hermano mayor Cristobal de Herrera commanded that the ship officials and sailors from the Philippines be charged with one *soldada* (wage) each, without any excuse nor remission. It aimed to help the port's hospital and its sick, who were usually the men of the sea. 103 It was not until 1598 through the order of King Phillip II that a new hospital building would be built, dedicated to *San Roque*, *San Rafael*, *Nuestra Señora de la Consolación*, *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. It had a capacity of fifty beds distributed in five rooms, with an *enfermería de éticos* (infirmary) and another room for anointment. On the san the stable of the port of the san the port of the port of the san the port of th

At Cavite port, where the sailors stayed between voyages, the Dominican Order erected a convent in 1616. Part of the convent's mission was to help the sailors, who were believed to be vulnerable to moral decay, danger, and vices due to their constant exposure to different religions and backgrounds. Some of them repeatedly left their post to visit nearby villages to befriend native women and drink without limit. During the embarkation, to avail of the certificate that the sailors needed to receive food, they first confessed and were absolved. Onfession and communion before the ship passed through the San Bernardino Strait and reached Embocadero (i.e., before

¹⁰² The vicar received a yearly salary of 200 pesos of *oro de minas* while the surgeons and brothers received 250 pesos of *oro comun*, AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

¹⁰³ AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

¹⁰⁴ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", pp. 113-114; MURIEL, Hospitales de la Nueva España, p. 217; GUERRA, El hospital en Hispano-América y Filipinas, pp. 262-264.

¹⁰⁵ JOSE, "The eight churches of Cavite Puerto", p. 326.

¹⁰⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 8.

¹⁰⁷ AGN, Inquisición 1545, exp. 3, fs. 32-75.

sailing in the open sea) were a part of the instructions given by the Philippine governor-general. These instructions were read in a loud voice before the men of the sea and the passengers. ¹⁰⁸ On 29 October 1586, Viceroy Marquis of Villamanrique gave an instruction aboard the ship to prohibit excessive and illicit games, swearing, blasphemy, cursing, and cohabitations. ¹⁰⁹

For their role, all the expenses incurred by the religious were paid by the Crown. For their food, for example, every religious had a budget of four *tomines* while each of their servants, two *tomines*. To estimate their expenses, in 1622, three ships made a voyage to the Philippines: forty-nine religious members and twelve servants aboard San Bautista (flagship); twenty religious and four servants in San Jacinto (admiral ship); and twenty-four religious and four servants in Santiago (dispatch ship). Sometimes, the encomendero of Acapulco would have to rent an inn for the kitchen and lodging of these religious. When fray Diego de Chinchon, commissary of the forty discalced religious and their eight servants were about to travel to the Philippines, the royal officials paid for their food and the transport of their things to the Philippines port. Likewise, when the brothers of the Order of *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* accompanied the sailors in discovering new islands, their covered expenses for the trip from the port of Acapulco to Sillas included two servants and beasts who carried their beds, books, and vesture. 112

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¹⁰⁸ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 253.

¹⁰⁹ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, p. 224.

¹¹⁰ AGI, Contaduría 904, file II: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1622.

¹¹¹ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615

¹¹² AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

Acapulco Laborers

This group constituted Acapulco port's employees and day laborers, classified based on work duration: permanent, seasonal, or daily wage; or geographical origins: Novohispanos and migrant laborers who can be Europeans, Blacks, and Asians. However, most of these migrants came from the Philippines and perhaps, had formerly served in Cavite-Manila shipyards. From 1570 to 1580, some Spaniards, blacks, mulattos, and Asians gradually inhabited Acapulco, with the highest number arriving via ships during the winter season. Hence they became known as temporary residents. ¹¹³ The heterogeneity of this population reflected the larger context of people's circular migration within the Spanish empire, from Europe to America to Asia, then back to Europe.

For the period covered in the present study, since many of the registered Carrera's crewmen were Europeans, they must have served first in the *Carrera de Indias* before ending up in the *Carrera del Pacífico*. Under this circumstance, we can trace the Spanish emigration to America to explain one of the component populations in the Pacific ports, especially in Acapulco. From 1560-1580, Boyd-Bowman identified three out of four migrants from the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula, including Andalusia, Extremadura, and New Castile. Most were professionals, civil and religious functionaries, craftsmen, and servants. However, from 1580-1600, servants became the majority. Peru and Cartagena became the preferred colonies among the merchants, while the general population's choice was Mexico. Towards 1600, 40.6% of Spanish migrants to New Spain were from Andalusia, particularly Seville. 114 These numbers had impacted the demographic characteristics of the Pacific port settlements.

¹¹³ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", p. 74; GERHARD ET. AL., *A guide to the historical geography of New Spain*, p. 41; OROPEZA, "Los indios 'chinos'", pp. 56-57.

 $^{^{114}}$ In the case of women, from 1560-1580, they constituted 28.5% of migrants. They declined to 16.67% for the period 1580-1600. Women favored Peru and New Spain as destination. BOYD-BOWMAN, "Patterns of Spanish emigration to the Indies", pp. 583-601.

On Asian migrants, Deborah Oropeza's study suggested that those who constituted the free laborers arrived in the port as galleon crew, particularly marineros and grumetes. A few months after completing their tasks in Acapulco, principally unloading and loading goods, they returned to the Philippine Islands with the ships that took them to Mexico. However, many of these sailors remained in the port of Acapulco to carry out various jobs such as becoming storekeepers, carpenters, blacksmiths, sawyers, *bomberos* (plumbers), or *torneros* (lathe operators). Together with natives of New Spain, Blacks, and mulattos, they provided the necessary services such as going to the mountains to cut the required lumber, transport them to the shore and construct them into ships or other vessels. They were also employed in local navigation to explore new lands, warn on foreign threats, or get supplies from other ports. 115 Also, Asian slaves comprised another migratory group that arrived in Acapulco. 116

The royal servants and employees at the port.

Traders, laborers, and ship's passengers going to the Philippines, such as the religious, soldiers, and officials, comprised a diverse population that would most likely only temporarily reside in the port of Acapulco. It means that between the arrival and departure of ships, its people could reach a conservative estimate of 1,500 people (400 soldiers, 500 *indios*, 100 blacks, 150 settlers, 300 royal servants and sailors, and 150

¹¹⁵ Oropeza, "Los indios 'chinos", pp. 62-65.

¹¹⁶ This topic has been thoroughly studied and is outside the coverage of the present research. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran is one of the first scholars to study the Chino slaves from the Philippines. Later, Virginia Gonzalez Claveran would bring to light that the term Chino, in fact, included all the inhabitants of Southeast Asia. She explains that the Philippines, because of its geographical location, became a crossroad of various people who arrived in the islands for trade. As a result, chinos became a term for people of Asia or Orient as well as for colored people such as the "negros" or blacks who arrived in New Spain via the galleon. Deborah Oropeza argues that based on geographical origin, these Asian or Chino slaves can be divided into three groups, in descending order: the majority who came from the Philippine Islands; followed by slaves supplied by Portuguese's Estado da India; and lastly, those who came from Japan, Java, China, Papua, and Brunei. Finally, Tatiana Seijas underlines the importance of the Iberian relations under the Habsburg Dynasty. With the Portuguese extensive slave trade networks in Asia, they became the principal suppliers of foreign slaves in the Philippines through private individuals such as large-scale merchants, small traders, sailors, and low-ranking soldiers. See their works: BELTRAN, "The Slave Trade in Mexico," pp. 412-31; GONZALES CLAVERAN, "Un documento colonial sobre esclavos asiaticos", pp. 523-532; OROPEZA, "La esclavitud asiática", pp. 5-57; SEIJAS, "The Portuguese Slave Trade", pp. 19-38; Seijas, Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico.

religious members).¹¹⁷ In addition, the inhabitants and local visitors of Acapulco, who themselves were active participants as suppliers and traders, joined these temporary residents in capitalizing on the Carrera's infinite demands. Thus, toward the end of the sixteenth century, Acapulco had 250 households.¹¹⁸

To facilitate and inhibit the traffic between Acapulco and other royal ports, the King maintained and depended on 60 to 300 primarily male population. They can be classified into three groups: the *gente de la tierra* or royal servants/employees at the port, the *black* slaves, and the officials and crew members who temporarily resided in Acapulco to pass the winter and prepare the next ship.¹¹⁹ The *gente de la tierra*—mainly Europeans—comprised ten to forty people, including the governor, factor, priest, chief carpenter, carpenters, surgeon, *lombarderos* (artillerymen), coopers, sailors, grumetes, diver, sergeant, *indios candeleros* (candlestick holders), and a female healer of black slaves. They performed the services vital to maintain the port, as can be seen in what follows:

Table 1.3: The list of royal officials and employees assigned at the port of Acapulco, 1590-1640.

Position	Tasks	Annual salary
Factor-veedor	Purchase of provisions for the port,	300,000 maravedis
	preparation of all the requirements	
	and supplies needed for the travel of	
	ships, storage of provisions and	
	ammunitions; confiscation and	
	supervision of contraband goods;	
	record-keeping of income and	
	expenses; report of enlisted	
	crewmembers and gunners; and	
	communication with other factores	
	of Royal Accounts in New Spain.	
Treasurer	Administration the Royal Treasury	300,000 maravedis
	and Royal Coffer, including the	
	income and expenses.	

¹¹⁷ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

¹¹⁸ Oropeza, "Los indios 'chinos", p. 58.

¹¹⁹ AGI, Contaduría 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

Accountant	Prepare the report of assets and liabilities of the Royal Coffer	300,000 maravedis
Governor/war captain/chief justice	Govern Acapulco in judiciary and military affairs, inspect Royal Treasury	550 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Chief carpenter		600 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Seaside's chief		550 pesos of oro común
carpenter		
Carpenter		400 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Seaside carpenter		350 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Caulker	Caulker of ship and boat hulls, rigging expert	400 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Diver	Go underwater to repair the damage of ships	400 pesos of oro común
Cooper	Repair barrels that carried the wine, water, and salted provisions	300 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Blacksmith	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	300 pesos of oro común
Sergeant	Official in charge of the artillery	300 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Superintendent of Royal		300 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Warehouse		P
Storekeeper		300 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Chief officer of the		300 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Royal Treasury		•
Secondary officer of the		200 pesos of oro común
Royal Treasury		_
Lombardero		200 pesos of oro común
Bombero		200 pesos of oro común
Lathe operator		200 pesos de oro común
Scribe	Register the commercial goods	200 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Balancer	Weigh coins	200 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Alguacil ejecutor	Report contraband goods	200 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Chief guard	Report contraband goods	200 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Royal Customs guard	Report contraband goods	200 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Priest/vicar	Administer mass for the people at the port and on the ship	200 pesos of <i>oro de mina</i>
Hermano mayor	Administer the royal hospital, assist the poor and sick	250/400 pesos of <i>oro</i> común
Surgeon		200 pesos of oro común
Sacristan	Provide necessary things for church service	150 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Marinero		150 pesos of oro común
Grumete español	Sailor's apprentice	100 pesos of oro común
Grumete indio	Sailor's apprentice	50 pesos of <i>oro común</i>
Female healer of the Blacks		
Indios candeleros		

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640; PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", pp. 47-48.

The second group, the black slaves, could be single or married with other *black slaves* or free *indias* (native women) and mulattas. They had an average population of sixty, the majority of which originated from Portuguese territories. However, even in the sixteenth century, there were instances when people were labeled as "negros" or blacks, although they were Asians. There was also a high percentage of blacks that provided service for the King as day laborers. They were either free or slaves of Acapulco's residents and royal officials. The population of the port increased from December to March, which could spike up to 300 on account of the third group: the returning ship sailors, officials, and gunners from Manila, as well as the arrival of those recruited from different parts of New Spain such as Mexico City, Veracruz, Puebla, and Queretaro to man the ships for another journey to the Philippines. 121

Day laborers.

The Carrera generated many jobs necessary to sustain the annual voyages of its galleons, from defending the port to unloading of ships. Given the small population at the port, the Carrera had to depend on the *servicio ordinario* (personal service) of the Novohispano natives, whose payment was a lot cheaper than that of the slaves of the King or private individuals. Therefore, the colonial officials implemented the *rueda* or *tanda*, the practice of seasonal rotation of services. It obliged all the males between fifteen and seventy (except the nobility and the public officials) found in towns within a ninety-league radius of Acapulco port. They also appointed *comisarios* (recruiters), usually inhabitants of the port, to look for these indios in the provinces such as Chilapa (30 leagues away from Acapulco, back and forth), Xicayan/Xirayan (60 leagues), Zacatula, Tistla/Tixtla (30 leagues), Chalco, Igualapa (50 leagues) and Tlapa (50

¹²⁰ AGI, Contaduría, 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592; OROPEZA, "Los indios 'chinos'", pp. 98-99.

¹²¹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

¹²² PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", pp. 84-85; SEIJAS, "Inn, mules, and hardtack for the voyage", p. 64.

leagues), or towns like Tesca, Tepesichi, Acamalutla, Goapango Acatlan, Coyuca, Cacaotepec, Tistlancingo, and Ayutla.¹²³ The commissaries usually took thirty to forty days to recruit indios and bring them to the port, for which they received three pesos each day as salary.¹²⁴ The indios performed various works upon arrival at the port, notably as *hapisques, tlapisques, teçoçonques*, and *peones*. They received daily ration and payment, including the average twelve-day round trip they made from and to their towns.¹²⁵ Further, the officials named an interpreter in the Mexican language for three pesos per day to instruct the indios on their tasks¹²⁶ and a supervisor for twenty reales daily to oversee them and keep the tools they used.¹²⁷

In addition to the Novohispano natives, officials also hired mulattos, *indios chinos*, ¹²⁸ and blacks that were either free people or slaves of the King or some officials and residents in Acapulco who put them into work for extra income. As *jornaleros* or day laborers, they helped in creating Acapulco: they opened its roads, constructed its port and fortress, manufactured its ships, and laid every structure indispensable to run the *Carrera*. For instance, to work on ship *San Diego*, which was fabricated in Acapulco to serve as a primary warning ship to the Philippines, sixteen *blacks* had to get woods from the mountain from 1 October to 8 December 1617. Then, they carried them to a place where the mules could pick them up. ¹²⁹ At the same time, the chief carpenter, Juan Sanchez de la Paz, led eight other carpenters, eleven woodcutters, and ten sawyers (four blacks and six chinos) to finish the said ship from 18 August to 8 December 1617. ¹³⁰

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¹²³ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640; OROPEZA, "Los indios 'chinos'", p. 57.

¹²⁴ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615.

¹²⁵ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615.

It will be two *reales* in 1630s, while the travel time remained ½ *reales*, in AGI, Contaduría 905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1634-1640.

¹²⁶ AGI, Contaduría 903, file III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1617.

¹²⁷ AGI, Contaduría 905A: file I-V: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1634-1640.

¹²⁸ For a more detailed discussion on indios chinos, see the work of OROPEZA, "Los Indios 'chinos".

¹²⁹ AGI, Contaduría 903, file IV: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero hasta Diciembre 31, 1618

¹³⁰ AGI, Contaduría 903, file IV: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero hasta Diciembre 31, 1618.

When the ships arrived, the port officials had to rush with the unloading of its merchandise since any delays meant spoiling the goods and losing profits. It was a laborious job that commenced with the Viceroy's order to prepare the register of all its shipments and to send it to the accountant of the *Real Alcabala* (Royal Sales Tax) in Mexico City. The consigned goods were then appraised for the *almojarifazgo* or tax owed to the King depending on the origin of the vessels: 10% if they came from the Philippines and 5% if from Peru and other American ports. These taxes were sent back to Manila as part of the Philippine situado. 131 Eventually, additional taxes were collected at the port, which included *averia*, 1% tax of the export and import products for the defense of the ships in Acapulco; *alcabala*, tax paid in Custom for merchandise for sale in Mexico City; 3 ½ tax for the excess goods brought from New Spain to Manila; 5% tax for sending more silver than the permitted 500,000 pesos; 5% tax for the products brought by Novohispanos planning to reside in the Philippines, and media anata, collected from honorific functionaries of the King. 132 To carry the merchandise ashore, they used *chata*, a flat-bottomed boat that the *cagayanes* (boat-builders) usually fabricated for more than twenty days.¹³³ The officials paid the sailors four pesos each day to empty the ship's cargoes and appointed guards to monitor them closely. The activity usually lasted for two weeks; however, challenges such as the arrival of vessels carrying sick crew members or the appearance of Spanish enemies could prolong it.¹³⁴

On 6 October 1610, Santa Ana arrived in Acapulco, with all its sailors sick and dying. They were brought to the royal hospital and unable to assist in unloading *nao's* cargoes. Reportedly, the vessel was at risk because of wind hazards, and it became

¹³¹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905ª: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640. Consult also SCHURZ, *The Manila Galleon*; ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático.*

¹³² PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeon de Manila", p. 53; TARDIFF, *Historia general del comercio*, p. 82; YUSTE, *Emporios transpacíficos*, p. 512; AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

¹³³ They spent four days going to the mountains to cut and bring small knee, futtock timbers, and other woods and another 16 days to assemble it and its oars, from which they received a fee of 5 pesos per day, AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

¹³⁴ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

urgent to unload it. In extreme cases such as this, it became necessary to hire blacks for the job. The same happened to San Andres, which arrival in Acapulco in January 1613. After its long voyage from Manila, the sailors who were supposed to unload the merchandise and mercury from the said ship became so ill. Since this ship had to return immediately to the Philippines and its goods be transferred to Mexico City, the port officials employed blacks for 1.5 pesos and Spaniards for two pesos each day to replace the sailors.¹³⁵

The presence of Spanish enemies at the port became a constant threat for the *Carrera* at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It resulted in a more cumbersome process of transporting its cargoes. When the English showed up in *Mar del Sur* in 1601, the royal money amounting to 12,000 pesos had to be transferred in six boxes from the port of Acapulco to that of Xaltianguez. While in 1607, the King's messenger (correo) named Juan Hidalgo spent fifty-six hours notifying the *justicias* on the coasts of Tecopa and Zacatula. He informed them to prepare its people for any call for help for the defense of Acapulco in virtue of the letter of Viceroy Don Luis Velasco dated 4 November 1607. It suggested that many ships were seen in Mar del Sur near the port and ordered them to prepare the port and safeguard its royal warehouses. Following this alert, the officials prepared a herd of sixty mules to transfer the ship's sail, boxes of ornaments, and a lot of merchandise from the warehouses to the port's dung-yard. 137

One of the principal concerns in Acapulco was the naval works, especially in the building and repairs of different types of vessels used for shipping, carrying provisions, and discovery of new lands. The port officials employed a significant number of carpenters, caulkers, cutters, painters, and tailors for these jobs. The carpenters were needed a whole year working on *bateles, navíos, fragatas, chalupas, lanchas, barcos,*

¹³⁵ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

 $^{^{136}}$ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603

¹³⁷ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

bancas, and chatas: adorning and repairing them, building decks, making oars, sails, signal lanterns, blocks, and other things crucial for the navigation. While the caulkers careened and sealed with lead the King's vessels, as well as drilled their anchor-stock, checked their depth, worked on their awning and stern, changed chains of the prow's shrouds and the ship's stern, drilled bolts of their artillery, fastened the keel and stem of the stern and bow, and bolted their pumps. Other shipyard activities included cutting masts, sewing sails, and painting the flags and royal arms of the vessels.¹³⁸

The long five-month journey from Manila to Acapulco afflicted the crew with hunger and illness and caused substantial damages to the ships. The almiranta (admiral's ship) Atocha traveled from 17 August 1624 to 7 February 1625, and when it showed up, it had neither mast nor rig. To repair it, twenty-eight blacks, one mulatto, and one moreno had to go to the mountain for the woods and another five slaves to replenish its water supply. 139 The domination of black labor at the port was apparent during the period under study. Although the commissaries were vigorous in recruiting indios, they always arrived at the port sick if not deceased. The residents of Acapulco seized this opportunity to enlist their slaves for royal services. Their tasks consisted of cutting the masts, yards, mastheads, and other timbers to repair vessels just like what the 49 slaves of Diego Nuñez did for San Juan de Bautista, which came from Japan and was dispatched as almiranta of the Real Armada of the Philippines. 140 Other seven slaves, namely Marcos de Cardona, Nicolas de Cardona, Pablo de Cardona, Juan de Cardona, Sebastian de Cardona, Diego de Cardona, and Antonio de Cardona, cut woods and dragged them to the shore for its restoration from 19 December 1617 to a 1 March 1618.141

¹³⁸ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

¹³⁹ AGI, Contaduría 904, file V: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 17 hasta Diciembre 31, 1625.

¹⁴⁰ AGI, Contaduría 903, file IV: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero hasta Diciembre 31, 1618

¹⁴¹ AGI, Contaduría 903, file IV: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero hasta Diciembre 31, 1618.

The defense of Acapulco was crucial for the Crown. To build its fortress, around sixty-five blacks assisted in breaking the port stonewall for four months from 18 December 1616 until 18 April 1617.¹⁴² The fortification also consisted of an armory, warehouse, church, guard's room, and dwelling houses. They were constructed, covered, and repaired by the mixed population of indios, blacks, mulattos, morenos, and chinos, and construction workers, carpenters, and woodcutters by profession. One of the most challenging tasks was supplying the port with timbers, which they used for building and making wheels and axis for the garrison's artillery. To secure them, the laborers had to open roads, cut woods, and transfer them from the mountain to the shore. In 1632, 500 indios were drafted from the jurisdictions of Tistla, Chilapa, Gualapa, Tlapa, and Xicayan to work on elevations in front of the royal fortress. To carry the materials for its building and repairs, such as gravels, they used containers made of cattle hide, which were bought from the port's residents for one peso each. They used the same thing to cover the iron foundry. 143 Finally, the day laborers also engaged with several occupations such as making kiln, opening the door and windows of the residence of the Castellano, and sweeping and cleaning the garrison. 144

Manila workers

As a port city/town, Manila served as a microcosm of a global community that provided the Spanish empire's economic and labor supply through the indigenous and migrant workforce, mainly Asian. However, the Philippine distance from the Iberian Peninsula and the absence of mine deposits and spices did not convince the Spanish population to settle in this colony. Instead, it led to the arrival of a small number of Spanish or Mexican creole male migrants accompanied by their family that chose to stay in Manila (hence *Manileños*) to engage in commercial enterprise. In contrast, Asians comprised the principal group of Philippine colonial migrants, with the Chinese as the majority. It can

¹⁴² AGI, Contaduría 903, file III.

¹⁴³ AGI, Contaduría 904, file XII: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31. 1632.

¹⁴⁴ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

be explained considering the proximity of China to the Philippines and the Chinese interest both in the local economy and the galleon trade. Thus, both the Philippine natives and migrants served as the labor pool of the Carrera.

Indigenous and Asian laborers.

In the Philippines, the Spanish demand for labor of the native population, called polo or servicios personales, had to be performed for the King, private individuals, and religious corporations. The obligatory royal works include construction of ships, woodcutting, rope making, artillery foundry, and other services in the royal warehouse. In times of war, they had to serve as oarsmen. However, as John Leddy Phelan emphasized, the Spaniards could only demand labor services of the natives if they pay wages for specified hours of work and within an excellent working condition. As indicated in 1574 *cedula* issued by Philip II, they were to be paid just compensation for their labor. Another royal order published on November 24, 1601, permitted the substitution of forced labor with free hired labor but was either not complied with or not dispatched. In addition, this 1601 *cedula* stressed that navigation works, especially in the ship, should be voluntary and paid. 146

The ideal plan was to convert the non-skilled Indian labor force into free, renumerated wage earners who would offer their services for hire in the market. However, a series of events in both territories—the great epidemic in Mexico in the last quarter of the sixteenth century that would continue until the 1620s and the Hispano-Portuguese war against the Dutch in the 1600s—impeded the realization of this goal. Hence, a system of forced draft labor comparable to the Mexican repartimiento was implemented. Referred to as polo, the officials employed it to build, supply, and crew the royal ports and ships and the naval defense against the Dutch in the Orient. It was only between 1679 and 1692 that it was abolished. 147 In this system, the *alcaldes*

¹⁴⁵ PHELAN, "Free versus Compulsory Labor", pp. 189-193; 199.

¹⁴⁶ HIDALGO, Encomienda, tributo y trabajo, pp. 239.

¹⁴⁷ PHELAN, "Free versus Compulsory Labor", pp. 189-193; 199.

mayores (provincial governors), who could also be encomenderos, directly dealt with the native elites (caciques) to mobilize indigenous labor for public works, primarily woodcutting, hauling, and shipyard services.¹⁴⁸

By sixteenth century, alcaldias mayores had been established in the following areas: Manila Bay, Pampanga, Pangasinán, Cagayán, Ilocos, Camarines, Tondo, Tabayas, Otón (Isla de Panay), Panay, Negros, Cebú, Leyte y Samar, Ybabao, Caraga (en Mindanao), Mindoro, Calamianes, Mariveles, Balayán y Bombón, Calilaya, Butuan, and Catanduanes. 149 These places became accessible for the recruitment of the native workforce. It is not surprising since the geographic characteristic of the Philippines, dominated by islands and sea, molded the mentality and daily life of the people. Among the indigenous societies, the skilled boat builders had enjoyed a prominent status because of their function in trade. 150 Maria Bernadette Abrera mentioned that cagayan is the equivalent of the native *panday*, a general term for all kinds of builders, including the boat builder. 151 From 1590 to 1640, around 190 Philippines natives were documented to have left the Philippines and worked as port laborers in Acapulco. However, with the limitations of quantitative data, this number must be treated with caution.¹⁵² Corroborating our data with that of Oropeza, a total of 1,500 indios chinos arrived in Acapulco as ship sailors and carpenters. 153 Since most of them were natives from the Philippines, those who stayed in Acapulco should be higher.

Simultaneous with the Philippine indigenous labor was free hired labor, which the Chinese and Japanese performed. The proximity between the Philippine capital city and China was intended for closer commercial contact between the two regions. In

¹⁴⁸ PHELAN, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, pp. 156-157. See also Alonso Alvarez, *El costo del imperio asiático*.

¹⁴⁹ VALDEZ-BUBNOV, "Las islas Filipinas y la etapa formativa de la construcción naval española", pp. 14-15; Hidalgo, *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo*, p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ ABRERA, "Boat building tradition in the Philippines", p. 904.

¹⁵¹ ABRERA, "Boat building tradition in the Philippines", p. 908.

¹⁵² OBISPADO, "Los Indios Philipinos"; AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

¹⁵³ Oropeza, "Los Indios 'chinos'" en la Nueva España", AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

describing the Chinese activities in Manila, Antonio Garcia-Abasolo mentioned that *Sangleyes* or Chinese merchants annually arrived in Manila carried by twenty or more *champanes* (junks). They brought with them trade goods amounting to 200,000 pesos and provisions worth 10,000 pesos. Upon arrival, they were taxed 3% of the total value of registered goods. They usually stayed for half a year, from November to May, to sell their merchandise for the galleon trade and local consumption, making them visible in the public market of Manila plaza and its streets. By May, the goods should have been loaded aboard the ships to prepare for its journey to Mexico the next month. However, some Chinese who should have returned by then to China stayed to sell their remaining items.¹⁵⁴

Consequently, their population of 150 in 1571 increased to 6000 in 1581. As a security measure, the government officials confined them to a barrio outside the walled City of Manila, called *Parian* (known as *alcaicería*, which meant silk market). ¹⁵⁵ In addition to the Chinese were thousands of Japanese converts and traders who made Manila and the northern part of the Philippines their settlements before the closing of Japan to Iberians in the 1630s. They lived in a suburb part of Manila called Dilao, with a 3,000 population in 1624. ¹⁵⁶ As previously mentioned, the Sangleyes and Japanese residing in the Philippines became the target of polo y servicios, which they escaped by paying falla. However, many of them opted to be free-hired sailors to be able to trade galleon goods.

Other migrants as officials, traders, and laborers.

In the Philippines, the viceroy of New Spain initially prohibited the Pacific crossing of mulattos from Acapulco. As settlers, the principal candidates were Spanish colonizers accompanied by their families since they had leverage over the single men who might

¹⁵⁴ See GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico".

¹⁵⁵ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", p. 82; See also DIAZ-TRECHUELO, "The role of the Chinese in Philippine domestic economy", pp. 175-210.

¹⁵⁶ SLACK JR., "The Chinos in New Spain", p. 50; REED, *Colonial Manila*: *The Context of Hispanic Urbanism*, pp. 52–55.

eventually give way to *mestizaje*.¹⁵⁷ Also, one of the suggested routes for commerce and people was from metropolis (Seville as a place of departure) to Panama, then later to Acapulco. But in the end, the government adopted the Veracruz-Acapulco-Manila course since it was the safer path to avoid contraband trade between Acapulco and other American ports. However, it would be a recurrent problem as Mexico was far more attractive and more affluent as a colony than the Philippines. As expected, many stayed in the former, albeit it should only serve as a stopover for Philippine settlers. For example, in one of the Spanish expeditions in 1578, around 1,000 people left Sanlucar. Upon arrival in New Spain, many decided to escape and remain in the viceroyalty than cross the Pacific.¹⁵⁸

The viceroys, presidents, *oidores* (judges), and justices were instructed to look for those explicitly sent to reside in the Philippines but chose to stay in New Spain and other parts of its jurisdiction. These officials had to pressure them by all means to go and live in the said Philippine Islands to resolve the issue of Spanish underpopulation. Likewise, married men were not allowed to go to the Philippines without their wives. If they had the permit and *fianza* (bond), they would not have any option but to provide the necessary support for their wives. The previously mentioned bond (ensuring that they would settle and reside there for more than eight years) became required because most people who annually arrived from New Spain to the Philippines seldom stayed after investing their fortune. ¹⁵⁹ As a result, the Spanish migrants to the Philippines remained small throughout the colonial period, complemented by the American

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¹⁵⁷ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 59-62.

¹⁵⁸ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", pp. 61-62; MURO, "Soldados de Nueva España a Filipinas", p. 472.

¹⁵⁹ This bond became a requirement before granting them a permit. Lastly, those who wanted to bring silver pieces to the Philippines had to fulfill two conditions: first, they should include them in the trade merchandise return or pay bond (to ensure they would return them). Only those who would reside in the Philippines for at least eight years would be allowed to pay bond and bring their own haciendas in money, in addition to the general permission. In ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 39-43; *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

community. They were primarily soldiers and explorers from Andalusia who enlisted for the initial conquest of the Philippine Islands. 160

Mexicans were also authorized to migrate to the Philippines as residents with conditions to guarantee bond and stay there for at least eight years. Antonio Bernal distinguished three types of Mexican men migrated to the Philippines during the colonial period: creoles, indios, and mestizos. The officials, religious, and merchants comprised the small population of creoles who resided inside Intramuros, another term for the walled city of Manila. Together with the Spaniards, the creole group became the civil authorities that assumed the political posts from governor-general to town mayors: the governor-general, the highest position, who headed the temporal administration of the colony; four or five magistrates of the *Audiencia* or judiciary; and the provincial and town governors, who resided in the locality they were assigned. On top of this group was the religious who led the ecclesiastical realm. They formed one archiepiscopal diocese in the capital city of Manila and three suffragan dioceses in the provinces. In the provinces.

Given the urban nature of Spanish colonization, most of its settlers stayed in Manila to take advantage of the galleon trade. This weak Spanish political presence in the Philippines converted the friars into its dominant and permanent population. The colonial rule became gradually consolidated due to the friars' endeavors to Christianize the islands (spiritual geography). ¹⁶⁴ However, theoretically, since this group was ecclesiastical, they could not create their own family or integrate into Filipino families. ¹⁶⁵ It explained the late emergence of Spanish *mestizaje*, a nineteenth-century phenomenon in the Philippines. ¹⁶⁶

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¹⁶⁰ Oropeza, "Los indios 'chinos'", p. 53; Yuste, "Un oceano de intercambios", p. 144.

¹⁶¹ OROPEZA, "Los indios chinos", p. 53; YUSTE, "Un oceano de intercambios", p. 144.

¹⁶² Bernal, "Mexico en Filipinas".

¹⁶³ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "Los chinos y el modelo colonial español en Filipinas", p. 234.

¹⁶⁴ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico", p. 78.

¹⁶⁵ BERNAL, "Mexico en Filipinas", pp. 195-196.

¹⁶⁶ According to ARCILLA, there were two types of *mestizaje* that emerged in the late 18th century Philippines: the Chinese mestizo, a child born of an India (native Filipino mother) and a Chinese; and the

The last two types of Mexican migrants were the *indios* and *mestizos*, including the *guachinangos* or *hombre del pueblo* (poor people), soldiers, and sailors. As early as the 1570s, hundreds of Mexican-born Spaniards (Mexican creoles) and mestizos, young men of 20 to 30 years of age, assembled in Mexico to accompany Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to colonize the Philippines. After establishing the Philippines as a Spanish colony, the rest of these poor settlers, generally young, single, and without any influence, would come to Manila due to forced labor migration or as a form of punishment for non-serious offenses they committed in Spain or Mexico. While others were sailors compelled to crew the ships and, upon arrival in Manila, deserted their post for fear of undertaking the long voyage back to Mexico. Through intermarriage with the natives, some of these Mexicans obtained land in Luzon Islands, such as Pampanga, Cavite, and Masbate. However, unlike the spiritual and temporal powers, these groups scarcely left any records about them. As a result, they were absorbed into the Philippine population and eventually became forgotten. However are the property of the property of the population and eventually became forgotten.

From 1593, these Spaniard and Mexican settlers who remained in Manila (collectively called Manileños) became entitled to participate in the galleon trade, given that they had resided there for at least ten years. Each was issued a *boleta* or certificate of ownership for each unit of *pieza*that they would take. Its volume or size one could avail depended on the ship's capacity and should be in proportion to one's years of residence, merits, and wealth. ¹⁶⁹

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Spanish mestizo, child of a Spanish father and Filipino mother. In "Slavery, flogging and other moral cases in 17^{th} century Philippines", p. 403.

¹⁶⁷ QUIRINO, "El primer mexicano en Filipinas", pp. 253-256 and 259.

¹⁶⁸ BERNAL, "Mexico en Filipinas", pp. 187-188, 196; Muro, "Soldados de Nueva España a Filipinas", p. 471.

¹⁶⁹ Each *pieza* measures 2 ½ feet long. 2 feet wide, and 10 inches deep. Theoretically, a galleon carried 4,000 shares or piezas. In SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, p. 158.

Laborers' journey from Cavite to Acapulco.

In Cavite, found southwest of Manila, the principal port and shipyard of the Philippine Islands, the naos were built and repaired. ¹⁷⁰ When a galleon entered Cavite, the Philippine natives and chinos started climbing to help unload its content, such as food, arms, and other supplies. Once empty, they began the ship's general disinfection to kill its bugs. For it, they used some *hornillo* (burner) to heat the mercury, closed the *escotilla* (porthole), and waited until the mercury evaporated. Afterward, they opened the porthole and let the gas escape. ¹⁷¹ Another service the Chinese provided was painting the stern at the rear part of the quarter and poop deck with an image of a galleon patron saint. Then, stretching from May to July, the laborers had to prepare again for their much more arduous journey to Acapulco. ¹⁷²

For the Manila-Acapulco route, the ships had to bring commodities, which, in order of volume, comprised silk fabrics, cinnamon, porcelain, and other Asian craftworks such as mirrors and lacquered furniture, and large earthenware jars. After their enlistment, the sailors began loading these merchandise, provisions, and artillery aboard the ship. Concerning the size of the vessel they had to fill, a galleon with a 300-ton capacity was divided into 4,000 units, each corresponding to a *pieza* or a space assigned for the merchandise of the participating residents in the Philippines. Each pieza was measured at 2 ½ feet long, 2 feet wide, and 10 inches deep. 174 Initially, the ships going from New Spain to Manila were more loaded than on the contrary route. However, it changed in the 1570s when the cargo returning to New Spain became overloaded with Asian products. 175 Examples of the actual shipment that the sailors laid can be seen in the 34,407 items recovered from the wreckage of San Diego (1600): 436 unbroken Chinese

¹⁷⁰ One of the ships built here in 1616, which weighed 1,350, and measured 170 feet for its length (eslora); 130 feet, its keel; 45 feet, its beam; and its hold, 24 feet deep. Its construction did not follow the authorized measure, but rather, it was intended to increase the capacity of its hold to accommodate more products. ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 156.

¹⁷¹ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 155.

¹⁷² ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 236.

¹⁷³ VALDÉS LAKOWSKY, *De las minas*, p. 86.

¹⁷⁴ SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, p. 158.

¹⁷⁵ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 173-174.

porcelain pieces, 327 intact stoneware vessels, 78 intact earthenware items, a mariner's compass, 31 sword fragments, 66 lockets, 139 coins, 104 buckles, buttons, a few gold ornaments, 197 cannonballs, musket balls, and other implements. Another set of cargo they had to load were provisions and rations of the crew and passenger of the ship for its five to six months journey. The same provisions are represented by the crew and passenger of the ship for its five to six months journey.

The personal account written by Diego Lopez de Garay, a creole paje that participated in the voyage of San *Nepomuceno* in 1620 as the fleet general's page, provides us with the following details of the crew's duties upon the departure of the galleon from the Cavite port:

While lost in my thoughts, the enormous mass of the galleon started having a life. The men assigned in the midship leaned on the capstan, and along with the monotonous rhythm of a sailor's song, started steering the ship simultaneously that the anchor slowly lifted. The men skillfully climbed over the yards after the flags and pennants were lowered, making the topsail swing up. The pilot gave orders to his assistant pilots, who were attentively listening to his words. The latter then relayed twice the instructions while cursing to the sailors who were waiting with mouth open and eyes set on them [...] "Hoist the sail!" "Raise the yardarm!" "See how those ropes run over the pulleys!" "The two of you, go to the yardarm," "Hoist the rigging!" "These backstays were too tense!" "Pull the rope!" [...] The shipmasters were cursing while using a rod to impel the sailors to maneuver rapidly while the breeze was blowing, slowly filling up the highest sail [...] When the rusty anchors were pulled out of the water, the yardarm started rustling, confusing its noise with the grinding of the pulley. Clustered like grapes on a stalk, the sailors held the rope to raise the white and heavy sailcloth. The sailors climbed like monkeys to adjust the yardarm while the others in the mainmast balanced and tightly grabbed the cord, leaving their skin peeled off.¹⁷⁸

The next task of sailors commenced once they passed through the Manila-Embocadero channel (also known as San Bernardino), a labyrinth of 80-league long, dangerous islands. Before the difficult passage, everyone had to confess and receive communion, and then the journey sluggishly moved owing to *vendavales* (contrary winds) and

¹⁷⁶ Buhain, "The Recovery of the San Diego", pp. 540-541.

¹⁷⁷ Obispado, "Ang mga marinong Pilipino", p. 41; Desroches et. Al., *The treasures*, p. 171.

¹⁷⁸ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 258-259.

rainstorms. 179 With vendavales, the ship's maneuvering increased. By this time, the grumetes had to attend to commands everywhere: climbing the mast and antenna, serving as carpenters if something broke, and assisting the marineros in every way. After passing Embocadero and things calmed down, the monotonous journey began. With time to spare, the sailors turned to routine assignments such as watching, pumping the water out, maintaining the sail, fixing the rigging, and sometimes, fishing. 180 If it rained, they would collect the water and fill their containers. 181 The youngest members of the crew were the pages (pajes) that can be categorized into two: the general's pages and the *pajes de escoba* (the ship's pages). The former usually came from Spanish or creole families in Manila and wanted to have a career in seamanship. However, they only served the fleet general or other ship officials who solicited the Philippine governor-general permission to hire them. In comparison, pajes de escoba were at everyone's service. Their chores included sweeping and cleaning the deck, chanting greetings for the morning and evening, praying for the souls in purgatory at night, helping in the stove to prepare food and serve the table for the crew, cleaning, and making rope and cord that they always carried in their waist to be ready whenever the sailors asked for them. They were also tasked marking and announcing the time by reciting "Alabado sea el Santísimo Sacramento y la Virgen sin pecado original," lighting the lantern for various purposes, and in time of war, bringing wick to fire the cannons, muskets, and harquebuses. 182

The difficulties the sailors had experienced on the journey from the Philippines to New Spain were brought by various factors: storm, shipwreck, pirate attack, infestation (locust, cockroaches, lice), diseases (scabby, scurvy, and gangrene, among others), accidents, and death. The mortality rate was so high that the other metaphor used for the galleon was a tomb in addition to prison and hell. To give some examples,

¹⁷⁹ GEMELLI CARRERI, "A bordo del galeón de Manila", pp. 278-292; ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, p. 341;

¹⁸⁰ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 68-69 and 307; OROPEZA, "Los indios 'chinos'", p. 60; ТЕМРЕ́RE, "Vida y muerte", p. 107.

¹⁸¹ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 306 and 350.

¹⁸² OBISPADO, "Ang mga marinong Pilipino", p. 47; ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 214 and 321; TEMPÉRE, "Vida y muerte", p. 107.

in 1602. out of 260 passengers of Jesús María, only sixteen survived, 183 while in 1606, in a flagship, eighty people were thrown to the sea while others died upon reaching Acapulco, including the Manila judge Antonio de Rivera. 184 In 1609, both the flagship (Remedios) and admiral's ship (San Antonio) encountered severe storms. While Remedios returned to Manila, San Antonio was lost at sea with all its crewmen and passengers. In 1620, out of 488 people who boarded the flagship, only 205 survived. 185 During and after these unfortunate circumstances, the labor of the sailors was much needed. Following the storm, the crew had to repair any damage in the ship to continue with the voyage, pump the water out, and recover whatever they could of the merchandise, animals, and other objects scattered everywhere. If they were fortunate to survive a shipwreck, they had to bury the dead. 186 Befittingly, in his discourse of the sailor's language, Julio Guillen, before the Spanish Royal Academy, explained that a sailor possesses the richest vocabulary among all professions since the whole world is covered with water and yet, isolated. A famous saying about it reflects the preoccupation regarding the water: hablar de la mar, y en ella no entrar. 187 In the end, the Philippine indigenous population, Asians, and other migrants became vital labor pools for Carrera's global enterprise. In addition, since the Carrera contributed to the global economy and generated market and jobs at local levels, the Philippine and Mexican natives could also benefit.

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¹⁸³ BERNAL, *El gran oceano*, pp. 244-245.

¹⁸⁴ RIZAL, Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas, p. 249.

¹⁸⁵ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 476.

¹⁸⁶ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 352-358 and 437.

¹⁸⁷ GUILLEN Y TATO, *El lenguaje marinero*, p. 9.

CHAPTER II. THE MAKING OF THE KING'S PACIFIC SAILORS

Seventy-five years after the first outbound voyage of the *Carrera del Pacífico* took place, the Spanish King was still grappling with the issue of abandonment of the Philippines and its commerce. In the 1630s, *procurador-general* (attorney-general) Juan Grau y Monfalcon petitioned to uphold and defend these islands by keeping its traffic with New Spain. In response, the King acknowledged that Philippine "[...] preservation and defense hinged on trade, on the returns of silver, on the aid of men of war, and sailors' assistance." 188 Furthermore, he added that it was only fair to reward his vassals in the islands for their loyalty, fidelity, and service to the Spanish Crown. Finally, he wished for the Philippines and his vassals' prosperity, comfort, and preservation. 189 The emphasis on trade, silver, and men of war and sea cannot be exaggerated since these helped keep Spanish control in the Philippines and Asia. As we will see, from the 1590s to the first half of the seventeenth century, the Habsburg rulers repeatedly decreed laws concerning the well-being of the workers serving in the Pacific commercial enterprise.

For the officials, sailors, and gunners of the *Carrera* ships, they should be among the King's most respectable, calm, and esteemed subjects. Upon their enlistment, they had to go through bureaucratic intricacies to ensure fulfillment of their duties, and in return, the royal promises of just compensation and trade entitlements. In case of noncompliance from either party (King's officials or crewmen), petitions ensued and deliberated through public instruments such as contract, issue of payment, and other certificates released from their recruitment. In every turn of events, particularly during accidents, sickness, and death, the King had to provide them his grace and protection. This chapter discusses the making of the royal sailors: the recruitment process they had to undergo, the creation of their image, the rewards they hoped for, and the different ways they coped with their actual state as workers.

¹⁸⁸ Alvarez de Abreu and Yuste, *Extracto historial*, pp. 44-104.

¹⁸⁹ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, Extracto historial, pp. 44-104.

A sailor's image: through the lens of laws

The image of a sailor as an honorable and loyal servant of the King was fostered to maintain the Pacific workforce. The Crown also assured that they would receive just payment, better treatment, and rewards for their service through royal orders. However, many of them remained unpaid for years or even decades of service. Hence, some passed without receiving any amount, leaving their family the burden of undergoing the bureaucratic process to collect them. Also, it is striking that regardless of their experience on the sea, most of the indios were only enlisted as grumetes in the naos. As ranking hierarchized the crew's salary and rewards, it limited what a native sailor, mainly from the Philippines, could receive.

Laws protecting the sailors

The sailors began serving the Spanish Crown and the state in the thirteenth century when Castile emerged as a naval power.¹⁹⁰ After conquering al-Andalus in 1248 and Murcia in 1266, Castile shifted its land-dominated economy to a seafaring enterprise covering the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Oceans. ¹⁹¹ Its increased maritime activities required new laws to complement the Roman and customary laws of the sea—code adhered to by the sailors in the Mediterranean and eventually in the

¹⁹⁰ The *Reconquista* in the 13th century resulted to the decline of the trade between the Islamic Spain and Egypt (east-west trade axis) and shift to the Christian-controlled trade between northern and southern Europe (north-south trade axis). Since then, southern Iberian ports became way stations for ships travelling between the Mediterranean ports of Sicily, Catalonia, and North Africa, and the Atlantic ports of England and Gascony. In GREEN, The Development of Maritime law, p. 576. On the other hand, in the northern part of Iberian Peninsula, the Basque Country (Guipuzcoa and Biscay) became the second biggerst supplier of Pacific sailors. The expertise of its people as navigators and sea traders commenced with their incorporation into the kingdom of Castille between 1179 and 1200. As part of the policy of King Alfonso VIII to open his dominions to maritime commerce, he granted them royal fueros with privileged juridical statute such as immunity and liberty of the favored ports. It increased the fishing activities and commercialization of its surplus products, which attracted the rural population as well to move to the coastal area. As a result, they financed construction of bigger and better ships for commercial enterprise. By thirteenth century, the presence of Cantabrian and Guipuzcoan sailors was felt in the whole Western Europe. They were also part of the conquest of Al-Andalus and Murcia and became key to open the Strait of Gibraltar and its unobstructed maintenance for the Christian traffic from the 13th century. In CASADO SOTO, "El País Vasco y el mar", pp. 15-75.

¹⁹¹ Burns, Las Siete Partidas, vol. 4, xxxiv.

Atlantic—which had remained the same since the Roman Empire. These laws, codified under King Alfonso X in the 1270s, contained Castile's first written code of naval and commercial maritime laws and would later be incorporated into the *Las Siete Partidas*. ¹⁹² It reflects Alfonso's concept of a king wherein "the state becomes the corporate unity of all the people of a specific territory around their ruler: the King as controlling head and his subjects as members." ¹⁹³

The Crown tried to control the Spanish naval and commercial operations by detailing their service and appointment of all posts. ¹⁹⁴ The Castilian and Aragon monarchs and later, the Catholic Kings applied the Partida laws regarding the sailors' obligations and entitlements. Their service became crucial in the Spanish empire, which had extended to America and Asia by the sixteenth century, leading to the recurrent problems of recruiting an adequate workforce. The words of Fray Antonio de Guevara, bishop of Mondoñedo, in his book *Los inventores del arte de marear y trabajos de la galera* (1579) captures the situation of the Spanish Crown's sailors in the 16th century that explains the difficulty in enlisting them:

"[...] no hay navegación tan segura en la cual entre la muerte y la vida haya más de una tabla. A mi parecer sobra de co[b]dicia y falta de cordura inventaron el arte de navegar...Esnos contrario en la tierra el hambre, frio, sed, calor, fuego, fiebres, dolores, enemigos, tristezas, desdichas y enojos, las cuales cosas padecen doblados los que navegan por la mar, y más y allende de esto navegan los tristes a merced del viento que no los trastorne y de la espantable agua no los ahogue. Ni miento ni me arrepiento de lo que digo y es que si no hubiese en los corazones de los hombres co[b]dicia no habría sobre las mares flota, porque esta es la que les altera los corazones, los saca de sus casas, les da vanas esperanzas, les pone nuevas fuerzas, los destierra de sus patrias, les hace torres de viento, los priva de su quietud, los agena de su juicio y los lleva vendidos a la mar y a ambos hace mil pedazos en las rocas." 195

¹⁹² Green, *The Development of Maritime law*, pp. 577-578.

¹⁹³ Burns, Las Siete Partidas, vol. 2, pp. ix-x.

¹⁹⁴ Green, *The Development of Maritime law*, p. 578.

¹⁹⁵ JAVIER DE SALAS, *Historia de la matrícula de mar*, pp. 45-47.

The royal sailors: honorable, God-fearing, and productive vassals

The Spanish monarchs issued royal decrees and ordinances throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, later codified in the *Recopilación de Indias*, to introduce reforms. The Spanish Carreras in the Indies and the Pacific legislated laws on selecting the royal servants from fleet general to pages (pajes). Their indicated attributes reflect the period's idea of good vassals: honorable, esteemed, trustworthy, well-disciplined, peaceful, and orderly. They valued these characteristics as they would become the representatives of the King in the colonies. Also, given the burden of their jobs, the weariness of the voyage, and the value of the merchandise they handled, having well-governed royal workers served a practical purpose. 196

In the Philippines, its governor and captain-general appointed all the naval and military positions, including the ships' general and admiral, which the Mexican viceroy should respect, nor was he allowed to introduce any change. The Philippine governor should appoint the most honorable *vecinos* (citizens) and *principales* (native rulers and elite families) of Manila. Still, they had to accommodate the rest of the inhabitants to fill the vacancies. On the other hand, for the higher ranks, such as *veedor* (inspector) and accountant, it was mandatory to choose only the "trustworthy and principal citizens" since their jobs entailed keeping the ship cargo's books and accounts and their expected returns. The law also specified that they must be chosen "among people with high

¹⁹⁶ Recopilación III, lib IX, tít VX (sic, must be XV): De los generales, almirantes, y gobernadores de las flotas, y armadas de la Carrera de Indias; Recopilación IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

¹⁹⁷ Recopilación IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú. Before 1599, the Novohispano viceroys appointed the galleon generals unless the ship coming from New Spain did not arrive in the Philippines because of shipwreck or other reasons. In this case, the Philippine authorities or governor-general would choose the fleet general (usually, the incumbent governor general of the Philippines, the president or judges (oidor) of its Audiencia and other high officials) of the ships bound for New Spain. But by 1599, a law was issued assigning the Philippine governor to name fleet general. He also appointed two or three positions that were most influential while the fleet general seleted the rest. ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 207-208.

approval, satisfaction, and confidence; and with sufficient and fair compensation so they would not load any quantity of goods on the ship." ¹⁹⁸

For the admiral (also known as first official or sea captain), the standard qualifications also applied, such as being a God-fearing and exemplary Christian, ensure that his crew would confess and receive communion every time the ship left. Moreover, he must be courteous and compassionate towards his subordinates. Other positions requiring the same moral standards included the *cabo* (corporal), lieutenant, war captain, soldiers, pilot, pilot's mate, and other officials. On Manila citizens were also encouraged to serve by providing distinctions and privileges to ships' sailors and gunners. On The gunners employed in the Carrera del Pacífico and those assigned at the royal ports and fortifications in the Philippines and Moluccas should be treated with full preeminence and granted the same liberty and exemptions enjoyed by those serving in the Carrera de Indias.

The second set of attributes required from the royal servants included the experience, expertise, and usefulness, specifically the pilots and sailors. *Recopilación* stated that the pilots of the *Carrera del Pacífico* should pass the qualifying exams and have experience. At the same time, all the necessary sailors should be "able and examined." ²⁰³ In the Philippines, there were two ways to be admitted: through the exams or to start as a *paje* (page) and prepare to be *grumete* (apprentice) and *marinero* (experienced sailor), then gunner, steward, chief gunner, shipmaster, and pilot; and

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¹⁹⁸ Each one received compensation not exceeding two thousand ducados. ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 39-43. *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

¹⁹⁹ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 210-215.

²⁰⁰ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú; Álvarez, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 210-215.

²⁰¹ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 44-104.

²⁰² *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

²⁰³ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

from this position to more important ones.²⁰⁴ However, it was already hard to meet their minimum number of sailors, more so, to find the qualified ones.

Upon the inspection of those filling up the position of sailors, it turned out many of them were freeloaders—consisted of officials, missionaries, merchants, passengers, and slaves—who were enlisting as sailors for a free transport across the Pacific or for a chance to participate in the Pacific trade. According to King Philip III, half was useless out of sixty men of sea serving in the Philippines. He also pointed out that there was no one to rely on in times of need. The same thing happened with the gunners whose number exceeded the necessary but were "useless." Furthermore, significant factors like the considerable risk in such a long and challenging voyage also resulted in the scarcity of laborers.²⁰⁵ Lastly, the nature of labor itself was not limited to Manila and Acapulco ports; instead, it depended on where in the Spanish empire in the Pacific they were most needed. For example, in the last decade of the sixteenth century, as already mentioned, the number of ships making trips was between four and nine; hence, more sailors were hired in Manila and Acapulco. At the same time, imperial activities focused on explorations in California and Japan, compelling many sailors to serve two positions and shift workplaces between America and Asia. While by the first half of the seventeenth century, they sent the sailors to the Asian military camps due to the Spanish-Dutch war.

Failed reforms in the Carrera del Pacifico

To adapt to the changes of time and improve the lives of naval officials and workers, additional reforms emanated from the Spanish peninsula. In the 1600s, the *Universidad de Mareantes de Carrera de Indias* observed that the number of ship-owners, officials, and workers participating in the enterprise declined due to the maritime professions'

²⁰⁴ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, p. 130.

²⁰⁵ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

diminishing glory.²⁰⁶ To overcome this crisis, Philip III issued an order also known as the *Ordenanza por las Armadas del mar Océano*, *flotas de Indias*, *etc.* on 4 November 1606. He cited the indispensability of the sailors of the *Armadas del mar Océano* and *Carrera de Indias* in the King's service and for the benefit of the *bien común* (common good).²⁰⁷ On 5 October 1607, the King implemented the first *matricula de mar* in the coastal towns of Guipuzcoa.²⁰⁸ It aimed to increase the number of sailors and other employees in the navy, maritime commerce, and fisheries by granting them privileges: protection from court trial or property seizure due to debt, use of arms, exemption from forced labor; right to wear garments like the militia, and prioritizing them in the enlistment in the *Carrera de Indias*.²⁰⁹

The matricula was a significant step toward the naval workers' professionalization by securing their rights and improving their overall condition. Unfortunately, the Carrera del Pacífico under the Habsburg dynasty did not implement it nor create a maritime department until the eighteenth century. ²¹⁰ Among the sailors, those from the Philippines were the most neglected, as shown on many occasions. When the flagship Santa Margarita left Cavite on 13 July 1600, it encountered heavy storms between Marianas and Japan. The general began distributing *matalotaje* (ship's store) to his fellow Basques, and they started eating delightfully. The native workers, on the other hand, were only given "un puñado de arroz y media escudilla de agua" [a

²⁰⁶ *Recopilación* III, lib IX, tít XXV: De la Universidad de mareantes y de los marineros, y pages de naos, pp. 299-302.

²⁰⁷ The Ordenanza por las Armadas del mar Océano, flotas de Indias, etc. had 19 sections, the majority of which had been decreed since the medieval period (in Libro del Consulado, Juicios de Oleron, ancient cedulas of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castille, and the Partidas) but not implemented. The following year (22 January 1607), he also decreed the permission of the Spanish sailors to use arms and wear a collared shirt (cuello de camisa), payment on the first day of their service; retirement after serving continuously for twenty years, and the preservation of their preeminence. In *Historia de la matrícula de mar*, pp. 74-82.

²⁰⁸ In the matricula del mar, all sailors by profession should be drafted and those who were not, be prohibited from engaging in fishing. Although the King revoked it on 17 December 1607, another maritime matricula was issued almost two decades after through the royal cedula dated 30 of October 1625. *Historia de la matrícula de mar*, pp. 101-113.

²⁰⁹ Historia de la matrícula de mar, pp. 101-113.

²¹⁰ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 206. For the discussion on Novohispano's institutionalization of *matricula del mar*, see PINZÓN RÍOS, *Hombres de mar*.

handful of rice and half a bowl of water]. As a result, they died of cold, with their corpses thrown into the water.²¹¹

Given the distance of the Philippines from Spain, the Novohispano viceroys and the Philippine procuradores generales were the closest functionaries that could represent and defend the rights of the native crew members. One of the earliest officials to present the concerns of the sailors above was Viceroy Marquis of Villamanrique. In his 1587 instruction, he ordered the investigation of the maltreatment of the passengers and sailors and the non-compliance of the royal officials to provide them their just ration.²¹² Among the Philippine procuradores generales, Hernando de Los Rios became the most vocal in denouncing the maritime workers' abuse. In 1605, he wrote to King Philip III, petitioning for the proper treatment and provisioning of the Spanish and native crewmen. Rios also asked to oblige the Philippine governor-general to make sure the natives wear an appropriate dress to protect themselves from the cold and prevent them from dying in high altitudes. He recounted that after enlistment, the native grumetes would embark on the ships without any clothes, resulting in the daily death of three to four men once they reached higher altitudes. He added that they were inhumanely treated and deprived of life necessities; they died of hunger and thirst. ²¹³ Earlier in the sixteenth century, Antonio de la Morga reported a similar situation that the native crewmen lived in: they had to board the ships naked due to their captain's deceitful acts.²¹⁴ In a royal cedula dated May 19, 1610, the King addressed the earlier petitions of the Philippine representatives as expressed below:

The *indios grumetes* of Philippine *naos* should be recruited from the coastal area and bring clothes to protect themselves from the coldness of the journey. The fiscal of Manila's *Audiencia* should enlist and note the names of these indios grumetes embarking on the ship. In the return journey, the ship officials should take into account the payment and treatment they receive. If some die for these reasons [ill-treatment], a complaint should be filed against the accused and be punished as a demonstration. They should look into it during the *residencia* of the officials

²¹¹ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, p. 77-79.

²¹² ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, p. 224.

²¹³ CROSSLEY, *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel*, pp. 77-89.

²¹⁴ CROSSLEY, *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel*, pp. 77-89.

responsible for the *indios*. If some die of disease or chance, they should report what happened, and if the *indios* have gone missing, they should be investigated [...].²¹⁵

Lamentably, their miserable state continued. In a 1620 account, the author commented that the Philippine natives, who comprised most of the crew, were barefooted and only wearing pants. At the 25° 30' altitude, these sailors accustomed to hot weather would begin trembling and getting ill.²¹⁶ During the same period, Rios presented before the King the perennial concerns of the native workers.²¹⁷ Then again, in 1633, Procurador General Grau y Monfalcon requested similar reforms. The King approved the petition of Grau y Monfalcon through another royal cedula in 1634, where he conveyed the report of the Philippine representative about the hardship that the sailors suffered. The King maintained that the sailors should satisfy their hunger, rest from too much work, and unload a few things they brought without paying any tax after seven months of navigation. But instead, the port officials used to harass them. When they offered to pass the winter at the port, the sailors would often not receive their ration, and if they did, they were insufficient or rotten. Lastly, the port officials avoided paying their salary from the last trip. The ill-treatment of the crew did not disappear, and even with the royal efforts to ameliorate their status through laws, the responsible officials failed to implement them. The subsequent kings had to reissue this 1634 order in 1660 and 1677.218

Documenting the sailors

The contract of the sailors indicates their homeland and hints at the further clustering of the seamen of the *Carrera* into (1) Spaniard/extranjero/indio; (2) faithful subject of the King/foreigner; and (3) Catholic/heretic. Concerning the first and second groupings, the sailors' homeland affected their ranking into (a) Spanish/creole seamen,

²¹⁵ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

²¹⁶ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 349 and 365.

²¹⁷ CROSSLEY, *Hernando de los Ríos*, p. 155.

²¹⁸ AGN, Reales Cedulas Originales 17, exp. 17, f. 35: Que averigüe los perjuicios causados por el castellano del Puerto de Acapulco en los marineros y soldados de dichas naos, 10 junio 1679.

(b) ordinary Spanish seamen (grumete español), or (c) native ordinary seamen (indios grumetes). Regarding the second and third groupings, they eventually became forceful tools for surveillance in the Carrera by the Holy Office of Inquisition. In the end, their hiring would only indicate the lack of seamen who wanted to serve in the Carrera.

As detailed in this section, because of the danger posed by the enlistment of the non-Spanish Europeans and non-Christians in the *Carrera*, strict measures had been taken. To cleanse the crew from unwanted members, the Crown tried to utilize its institutional apparatus, the Holy Office of the Inquisition, with its omnipresent network: everyone. From the captain to the page, each had a specific task in guarding the Holy Faith. The certificate of rations, the required confession and communion, the punishments, and the surveillance of sailors of each other, worked to foster exclusion aboard the galleon. The scrutiny started from enlistment and continued until the embarkation of the sailors. Any manifestations of the foreigners' affinities such as using their language, the observance of their religious rituals, and the adherence to their dietary restrictions could lead to suspicion.

Given that the Spanish dominion was spanning three continents, which made indispensable the service of the sailors for its conservation, it became inevitable to hire sailors who were not only foreigners but also with bad records: exiles, deserters, and criminals. Moreover, the distance of the Pacific from the metropolis, the deplorable working condition aboard the ship, and the absence of an *armada* to protect the Pacific *naos* and its crew presented challenges in recruiting the "ideal" sailors.

Familiarizing with the bureaucracy

The royal officials were keen on monitoring the exact number of days the sailors served, which they distributed into three periods: *ida* (outbound voyage), *estada* (passing of winter at the port), and *vuelta* (return journey). It was needed to monitor their number, ensure their attendance given the prohibition to leave the port until they complied with

their contract, and prepare various instruments. Documents such as the *concierto* (sailors' appointment), certification of service, order of release of payment, medical certificate, and testament, among others, could offer protection to sailors and other workers, especially for petitioning their unpaid wages.²¹⁹ Starting in 1597, King Philip II assigned the ship's inspector and accountant to prepare the contract of a sailor, master, and other officials. He also ordered the Peruvian and Philippine officials to pay their crew's salary and other compensations in *maravedis*. In addition, they had to provide the workers with certifications and indicate in the *libro* (book of account) the amount they received, the remaining payables, the motive of paying, and the decree issued for its release.²²⁰ Document 2.2 shows an example of an appointment:

Document 2.1: Appointment of a sailor, 1592.

Juan Bautista Marinero Year 1592

My Lord:

At the port of Acapulco, on 26 June 1592, through the royal court officials of this port, an agreement was reached and signed with Juan Bautista, a sailor and native (natural) from Genoa, son of Juan Esteban and Peregrina, his mother, 28 years old, of medium-sized body with short beard, of reddish-brown color with a minor wound scar under the right eye, for him to serve as a *marinero* of this port, in the ships of the *Carrera de las Islas del Poniente*, and aboard His Majesty's galleon *San Felipe*, which is *presently* anchored at this port, to do the bidding of the royal officials, for which he will receive an annual salary of 150 pesos in *oro común* and the standard ration, from today onwards, and in this way he is obliged to render faithful service and not to incur any absence on pain of punishment and of returning to His Majesty any payment he has received, in money or letter of exchange, with *doblo y costas* (interest) such as *maravedís* and *haber real*, and for which I issue this instrument, and because he does not know how to write and could not write his name, it was instead signed by Francisco Pinao, Luis de Barrionuevo, Lorenzo dela Paz, employees of this port acting as witnesses.

Signed before me, Lorenzo de Castillo The King's Scribe

²¹⁹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

²²⁰ *Recopilación* III, lib. VIII, tít. IV: De los oficiales reales, y contadores de tributos, sus tenientes, y guardas mayores.

Release of Payment

In Acapulco, on 26 July 1592, the sailor Juan Bautista was paid from the royal treasury of this port the sum of 50 pesos in *oro común* as part of his salary.

Lorenzo de Castillo The King's Scribe

Source: AGN, Marina 2, exp. 3, f. 3: Nombramiento hecho a Juan Bautista para servir a su majestad como marinero en el galeon real *San Felipe* en la Carrera de las Islas del Poniente, con el salario y la racion que se indican, Acapulco, Julio 25, 1592.

The crucial part of the crew's appointment is their specific obligation: to serve The Majesty as a galleon sailor in the *Carrera de las Islas del Poniente*. Other information includes the name, the date and place of appointment, and the job and other responsibilities of the laborer. It also specifies the name of the *Carrera*, the ship's title, the salary and ration, the work duration (including the number of days a sailor traveled if he came from another place other than Acapulco port), and the advance fee equivalent to seventy-five pesos. In addition, an order of payment release, which a sailor often received from the port's royal treasury, was sometimes attached to the contract. It is similar to a promissory note, where the sailors were promised another amount as part of their salary. Officials at the departure area sent the destination port a copy of this document to the royal authorities, as shown below. ²²¹

From the sailors' enlistment to the termination of their service for health reasons, demise, heresy, non-renewal of contract, or desertion, they had to deal with the Spanish government bureaucracy, an unknown system for most of them. It implies undergoing a tenuous process of making one visible in every transaction. Many sailors, in particular the indios grumetes, were illiterate and could not even write their names. Therefore, they had the ship officials and other employees serving as witnesses and signing documents such as the contract on their behalf. For Philippine and Mexican

²²¹ AGN, Marina 2, exp. 3, f. 3: Nombramiento hecho a Juan Bautista para servir a su majestad como marinero en el galeon real *San Felipe* en la Carrera de las Islas del Poniente, con el salario y la racion que se indican, Acapulco, Julio 25, 1592.

natives, the port authority designated *lenguas* or interpreters to assist them, who earned three pesos per day. The named interpreter had to give instructions to the *indios* regarding their jobs at the port.²²²

A sailor's roots

Simultaneously with bureaucratic familiarization, the sailors had to go through conversion routines by subjecting their roots, bodies, possessions, and faith to the inspection of royal officials. However, we must emphasize that the information regarding sailors' family background and wealth (or lack thereof) was incomplete at best. We have observed that except for the ship general or captain's pages, who came from elite families, most of the crew were non-noble, which can explain the absence of thorough documentation of their lives. Given that they usually shared their fathers' surname (sometimes their full name) and homeland, that is all we know about their roots.

Concerning the use of the surname, it became a means of homogenization among Spanish subjects. But when we looked into the list of sailors in Appendix A (The royal sailors of the Carrera del Pacífico, 1590-1640), an irregularity emerged—several indios chinos, mulattos, and black workers used one name alone, which could either be their alias or birth name. The Philippine natives usually adopted their baptismal name as their first name (Pedro, Jose, and Agustin). On the other hand, their surname could be their hometown (Pedro Pampanga), their job (Domingo Carpintero), the "racial" or "ethnic" category imposed on them (Tomas Chino), their godfather's surname (that is, Spanish surname), or their birth name. Since the subject of our study is the early colonial period, many native sailors were still using their birth names. It is recognizable since they were often written in a Philippine native language. For instance, they were based on local terms for anatomical parts (Calansay or bones), animals (Vetin or snake),

²²² AGI, Contaduría, 903, file III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1617.

sources of livelihood (Gapas or cotton), and objects of their belief (Bolan or the moon), among others. As aforementioned, sometimes, only their birthnames appear in the register. Finally, if a native were a former chief or local elite, he would add *Don* before his first name. Hence, through their names alone, we can trace the origin of some sailors, especially those from the Philippines.²²³

Another clue that can provide details on a sailor's ties is his guarantors. To receive their advance payment, the sailors needed one guarantor to ensure that they would comply with their contract. The profile of the guarantors reveals that most of them worked close to or in Acapulco and Manila ports. They were involved in diverse activities: dry cleaners, master tailors, confectioners, silk makers, merchants, soldiers, barbers, and surgeons. It gives us a glimpse of life at the port and the interaction of the crew members with other workers. We must also highlight that one of the practices of the port laborers was shifting jobs, and it's most likely that some of them worked as tailors or cleaners when not hired as sailors. The sailors who embarked on the same ship usually vouched for one another. If it were the case, they needed at least three crew members as guarantors. The content of the *fianza* (bond) indicates that (a) the guarantor knows the sailor and considers him a good person; (b) the designated job of and advance payment received by the sailor; and (c) the obligation of the guarantor and the employee in case the latter fails to serve the King for whatever reason. The following is an excerpt from a sailor's bond.²²⁴

Document 2.2: A sailor's bond, 1621.

En 9 de febrero de 1621: Asencio López, Juan Gonzales, Alonso Rodríguez, Francisco Rodríguez, Juan Gonzales, buenos marineros.

En la ciudad de México a 9 días del mes de febrero de 1621 años ante mi el escribano y testigos puso escritos. Parecieron presentes Asencio López, Juan González, Alonso Rodríguez, Francisco Rodríguez y Juan Gonzales, buenos marineros a quien doy fe que conozco y todos 5 de

²²³ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

²²⁴ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

mancomunidad insolidum renunciando como renunciaron los leyes de la mancomunidad y la división y excursión como en ellas se conviene y los unos como fiadores de los otros y los otros de los otros y haciendo como para ello hayan de deuda ajena suya propia y sin que contra los principales sea fecha ni se haga excursión de bienes ni otra diligencia alguna de fuero ni de derecho [...]

Juan de Ruy Sáenz Pedro Gomes de Montero Juan Pérez de Aguinaga Estantes en México

Source: AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

If a sailor perished during the voyage without a testament, his *camarada* (companions) would be interviewed to investigate the properties he left and his surviving family. The principal aims of this legal procedure were to guarantee that the revenue from the public auction of his belongings would be spent to pay his debts and expenses incurred during the inventory and auction, to hold masses for the salvation of his soul, and if he had heirs, to deliver them the remaining balance. This fragmented information provided by the companions or acquaintances of the deceased shed light on their lives as sailors.

For instance, we have Feliciano Diaz,²²⁵ a sailor serving aboard Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, bound for New Spain in November 1592, when he died ab intestato. To inquire about his possessions, they interviewed the sailors who had been his companions from his last trip and those who knew him. When asked by the ship captain, Sanchez, one of his camaradas, said he knew nothing about Diaz, except that he was an impoverished man with lots of debts. The second companion, the fifty-year-old Escalante, told the captain that he knew Diaz from Cavite four months ago since they had been companions. The third camarada, Rodriguez, thirty-five years old, said he had known Diaz for three years and eight months. The thirty-six-year-old Ibañez was the one who knew Diaz the longest: for five years. Ibañez stated that when they were in

²²⁵ AGI, Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Feliciano Diaz, 1594.

Cavite, Diaz bought a matalotaje, which ha had always used since he was penniless. The sixth to be interviewed was Juan Maria, a fifty-year-old shipmaster of the other nao, San Pedro. Although he does not know where Diaz was a natural, he was sure he was Portuguese by nation and got married in Nicaragua. From this lawful wedding, they bore a daughter, whom he had seen on Diaz' arms. Maria said he couldn't recall her name since she died a long time ago, but he was sure she was Diaz's child because they called each other father and daughter. The last to be interviewed was Diego Sanchez, a twenty-two-year-old sailor from the ship Rosario. He said that he knew him since they were neighbors in Nicaragua, where Diaz legitimately married Ana Millon. He also shared that Diaz and Millon had a daughter called Juana during the marriage, whom he witnessed Diaz raised as his child.²²⁶

A sailor's body

In the medieval discourse on physiognomy, the outside appearance, such as skin color and facial hair, was used to determine the internal humor (an indicator of health and illness) of the people, divided into hot, cold, wet, and dry.²²⁷ However, with the shift of time and place—from the medieval to the early modern period and from Iberia to the colonies—*complexio* was no longer restricted to medical diagnosis but became increasingly indispensable in the bureaucratic protocols and legal procedures. Given that the focus shifted from the interior (internal disposition) to the exterior characteristics, such as the skin, colors, and marks, the account of personal appearance became an official part of a person's identity documents that would give a hint to their "true nature." ²²⁸ Table 2.1 (Portrait of a sailor) shows a portrait of a sailor based on his detailed contract, which contained his age and physical descriptions, focusing on the body stature, beard, hair, and facial and body marks.

²²⁶ AGI, Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Feliciano Diaz, 1594.

²²⁷ RAPPAPORT, "«Asi lo paresçe por su aspeto»", footnote on p. 21; GROEBNER, "Complexio/Complexion", pp. 365-366.

²²⁸ RAPPAPORT, "«Asi lo paresçe por su aspeto»", p. 24; GROEBNER, "Complexio/Complexion", pp. 364-382. See also VAN DEUSEN, *Global Indios*, p. 176.

Table 2.1 Portrait of a sailor.

Body part	Characteristic				
Stature	Buen cuerpo; poco más o menos alto de cuerpo; de mediana estatura;				
	pequeño de cuerpo; pequeño y trepado; rehecho; espigado; robusto;				
	bermejo.				
Shape of face and	menudo de rostro; abultado de rostro; cerrado de frente; frente pequeña;				
complexion	blanco rostro; moreno; de cuerpo moreno.				
Nose	narices gruesas; narices largas y afiladas; nariz grande y afilada; nariz afilada				
	y larga.				
Eyebrows	cejas negras y gruesas; cejas gruesas y juntas; cejas gruesas y negras y juntas.				
Eyes	ojos grandes; ojos pequeños y sumidos; ojos chicos y hundidos; ojos verdes				
	y hundidos; ojos azules; zarco.				
Ears	orejas grandes.				
Hair	rubio; bermejo.				
Moustache and	bien barbado; bigotes rubios; barba negro; barbirrubio; la barba un poco				
beard	bermejo; lampiño o algo lampiño; con poca barba; sin pelo de barba.				
Teeth	un diente menos de la parte arriba; un diente quebrado en la parte de arriba.				
Mole in eye	lunar a la parte del ojo izquierdo; lunar junto al ojo derecho; lunar de bajo del				
	ojo izquierdo y otro con pelos junto a la ceja derecha; lunar pequeño encima				
	de la ceja izquierda; una nube en el ojo derecho.				
Mole on ear	lunar junto a la oreja izquierda; un lunar con pelos debajo de la oreja				
	izquierda; lunar detrás de la oreja izquierda.				
Mole in moustache	lunar con pelos junto al bigote; lunar con pelos en la barba a la parte derecha;				
and beard	dos lunares al cabo del bigote derecho; lunar con pelos en la barba derecha y				
	otro pequeño en la izquierda; ojo en la barba.				
Mole on nose	Lunar en la ternilla de la nariz a la parte izquierda.				
Mole on cheek	lunar en la quijada derecha; lunar con pelos en la quijada izquierda u otro en				
	la mejilla derecha; lunar en la mejilla; algunos lunares en el carillo izquierdo;				
	algunos lunares en el rostro y uno con pelos en lo bajo de la quijada izquierda.				
	señal de herida en la barba a la parte derecha; señal de herida sobre la ceja				
	derecha; señal de herida en la sien izquierda; señal de herida al cabo del ojo				
Scars on the face	izquierda; señal de herida detrás de la oreja izquierda; de herida la nuez del				
	pescuezo; señal de herida en la quijada del mismo lado; con una señal de				
	herida encima del labio de arriba; una señal grande de herida en medio de la				
	frente; una señal de herida en la punta de las narices; una señal de herida en				

	el cogote; señal de quemadura en la frente junto al pelo; el rostro es herido			
	sin señal que se le parezca.			
Prick (Piquete)	piquete al cabo de la ceja derecha y otro en la mejilla izquierda; tres piquetes			
	en la frente; piquete en el lagrimas del ojo izquierdo; piquete en la frente a la			
	parte derecha.			
Wart (Verruga)	Señal como de verruga en el gaznate; una verruga junto al ojo izquierdo			
	encima de la nariz			
Pockmark (Viruela)	picado de viruelas; algunos hoyos de viruelas en el rostro; un ojo de viruela			
	en la frente; señal como de ojo de viruela en la frente junto al pelo hacia la			
	parte izquierda; el rostro, hoyoso de viruelas			
Scars on the hand	señal de herida en el dedo índice de la mano izquierda; piquete en la			
	coyuntura del dedo índice de la mano izquierda; herida sobre el pulpejo de la			
	mano izquierda; herida en la muñeca derecha; señal de herida en la mejilla			
	derecha; disjunto y partida la yema del dedo pulgar de la mano izquierda;			
	señal de herida grande en la palma de la mano izquierda.			

Sources: AGN, Marina 2, exps. 1-23: Nombramientos, 1591-1592; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

While Table 2.2 (Depiction of different sailors) compares a *natural* from Spain, Peru, Caribe, and the Philippines. It shows common characteristics, such as having a young age and a robust body, essential in assessing a grumete's capacity to fulfill his principal obligations of maneuvering the ship and carrying the galleon cargo. While distinctive marks, such as scars and pockmarks, indicated their medical history and the precariousness of their job as sailors. Its other important use was identification purposes: to ensure that the sailors were not a fraud before letting them embark on the vessel or before receiving their advance payment and determining the missing crew and deserters.²²⁹

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²²⁹ Recopilación III, lib. IX, tít. XXV: De la universidad de mareantes y de los marineros, y pages de naos; *Recopilación* III, lib. IX, tít. XXVI: De los pasajeros, y licencias para ir a las Indias, y volver a estos reinos; PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA, *Spain's men of the sea*, p. 216; See also PINZÓN RÍOS, *Hombres de mar*, pp. 86 and 94.

But what is curious about the grumetes below is the non-description of the natives' eyes and hair colors. Instead, they highlighted more distinctive features such as scars, birthmarks, and moles. Joanne Rappaport observed that the local officials encountered difficulty distinguishing between natives by using the conventions specific to the Europeans.²³⁰ If they were generational and sex indicators in Europe, it adopted a different value system in Spanish America. The author cited as an example the beard. In the Peninsula, depending on the degree of hairiness, identified the age and sex of the person. But due to the absence of facial hair among the natives, it became an ethnic indicator. ²³¹ It is also interesting that moreno is the most typical description of grumete's skin color, regardless of where they originated. In Europe, it was a symbol of masculinity; it became an ethnic-racial category in the Spanish colonies, while for the Portuguese subjects, it became associated with one's status as free or slave.²³² Since it was not a permanent trait, it appears to be the most neutral or non-racial description of the sailors. Instead, it had to do with their working environment since they all worked on the sea and port.

Table 2.2. Depiction of different sailors

Name	Position	Natural	Description	Age
Pedro de Villalobos	grumete español	Sevilla (España)	buen cuerpo, blanco y rubio y ojos azules, señal de herida grande en la palma de la mano izquierda	25
Juan de Ávila	grumete	Lima (Perú)	buen cuerpo, moreno y lunar bajo de la quijada izquierda, sin otra señal que se le parezca	25
Manuel Suárez	grumete mulato	Isla de Santo Domingo (Caribe)	buen cuerpo y robusto, dos señales de herida en la frente y otra en la nuez del pescuezo	31
Diego dela Cruz	grumete chino	Sibu (Filipinas)	buen cuerpo, moreno, una mancha de rosa sobre la nariz a la parte derecha junto al ojo del mismo lado	28

²³⁰ RAPPAPORT, "«Asi lo paresçe por su aspeto»," pp. 24-34.

²³¹ RAPPAPORT, "«Asi lo paresçe por su aspeto»," pp. 24-34.

²³² VAN DEUSEN, Global Indios, pp. 171 and 185; RAPPAPORT, "«Asi lo paresçe por su aspeto»," pp. 30-34.

Sources: AGN, Marina 2, exps. 1-23: Nombramientos, 1591-1592; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

Spiritual conversion

Simultaneous with the physical inspection was the spiritual conversion of the ship sailors. They were monitored throughout their service: while aboard the ship and between their trips while staying at the port. Before enlisting them, there was an inquiry if they were good, faithful, and practicing Catholics. Afterward, part of the preparation for the journey was "spiritual cleansing" of everyone who would board the vessel. Twenty to thirty days before the trip, religious members of various orders appeared at the port to preach, indoctrinate, and heal their souls. The religious also administered holy sacraments in the ports of Spain, the Indies, the Northern and Southern Seas, the Carrera del Pacífico, and the rest of the Western Indies.²³³ It was essential to "cleanse" themselves before embarkation through confession and communion. Those who refused were not allowed entry to the ship without exception. Another way to make the people take these holy sacraments was the issuance of certification, without which they would not receive their earnings and ration, especially water. Those who slipped through without receiving sacraments had to do them aboard within three days after the departure. Before the journey, the fleet general or captain had to read aloud all the instructions and prohibitions.²³⁴

Once they boarded the ship, every time they encountered difficulty or before they went through a dangerous passage, a mass had to be celebrated, where everyone confessed and took communion. Also, crew members were expected to subject one another under surveillance since it was their responsibility to denounce those who were not conforming to established norms. In particular, they observed the Catholic rituals, language, dietary restrictions, and behaviors. For example, they were not

²³³ Recopilación IV, lib. IX, tít. XXX: De las armadas, y flotas.

²³⁴ Recopilación IV, lib. IX, tít. XXX: De las armadas, y flotas.

allowed to swear or curse in pain of punishment by the stock. For their food, the ship cook prepared a special diet for Fridays, such as a small piece of *bizcocho*, salted fish, and some fruits; they also had a special menu to keep the crew awake.²³⁵ Also, the royal officials of New Spain and the Philippines had to ensure that the ships coming from Manila were not carrying slaves, considered that time as the roots of a grave offense against God. So together with married women who did not need to travel, slaves were targets of ship inspection.²³⁶

Upon arrival in the port, officials administered a rigorous examination of the crew to identify who committed sins or were guilty of misconduct during the voyage. More so, as the contact with the non-Spanish European sailors, such as the English, Flanders, Germans, and Portuguese, could expose the natives and subjects of the King to heresy. Consequently, it was commanded that the captain and shipmaster, the religious, the pilots, and even the seamen should be keen on observing one's behaviors and words during the navigation.²³⁷ Each official had designated responsibilities and would be examined based on its compliance during their *residencia* (assessment of their term in office). For example, they were responsible for maintaining the cleanliness and orderliness of the ship while traveling. They had to inspect its food, drinks, and space and prevent the loading of the contraband goods. However, despite all the restrictions repeatedly given to the ship crew, non-compliance was prevalent among the sailors and the highest officials. In the royal orders issued by the Crown, they subjected all the authorities involved in the Carrera, from the Philippine governor-general to the ship officials, to residency, as a last resort to punish them.²³⁸

²³⁵ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 250, 348, and 357.

²³⁶ Recopilación IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

²³⁷ Recopilación IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

²³⁸ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

The undesirables: The case of Manuel Rabelo and other extranjeros

Based on the 1586 instructions of the Mexican viceroy to ship inspectors, descriptions of individuals or groups that they should be vigilant were: those excommunicated, apostatized, and heretic Lutherans; those who blasphemed against God, his blessed mother, and his Holy Catholic Faith and those who gave oath on his offense or profane words against his faith; and finally, those who cohabited during the journey, without a license, or married and left their wives.²³⁹ Thus, the extranjeros became the usual suspects targeted by the ship inspectors and inquisitors as they fit the profile above. Moreover, given that one's nación was strictly tied to his confessional heritage, an extranjero was almost synonymous with a heretic.

The making of "race" in the context of the sixteenth century was associated with the classification of persons or animals based on common descent and similarities through searching for innate, permanent, and natural categories, as defined in ancient and medieval discourse. These natural categories included one's habitat or outside appearance, which helped to identify the subject's nature and place in the empire. Another determinant of one's class was confessional heritage, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spain. The practice of genealogical tracing before allowing anyone to cross to America and identifying the *calidad* of a Spanish vassal rooted from it. ²⁴¹

The Habsburg monarchy decreed various laws to regulate the extranjeros in the Spanish empire throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was a concern of cleansing them from the Christian land to preserve the Holy Catholic Faith and, at the same time, protect its trade. As a measure, the officials issued licenses to the

²³⁹ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 223-225.

²⁴⁰ GROEBNER, "Complexio/Complexion", p. 378.

²⁴¹ VAN DEUSEN differentiated the following notions that served as indicator of one's status in the Spanish empire: one's *naturaleza* referred to a habitat (that is, a regional, local, or ethnic indicator); *nación* had a more legal and political connotation (it shifted to lineage in the middle of the sixteenth century as *nación* and *casta* became interchangeable. Finally, *calidad* was associated with one's physical and moral qualities. In *Global Indios*, pp. 171-175.

passengers and expelled the extranjeros residing in the port areas and maritime towns. From the Carrera de Indias, its port authority conducted *visita de navios* (ship inspection) to scrutinize the crew and passengers and prevent the passage, migration, and permanent residency of the Muslims, Jews, heretics, *reconciliados* (reconciled), *conversos* (converted), and extranjeros in America.²⁴² From the Carrera de India to the Carrera del Pacífico, the preferential officials and sailors were Spanish vassals or subjects. The Crown issued orders stating to allow only the naturales from Castile, Leon, Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña, Navarra, and the Crown of Aragon (Islas de Mallorca y Menorca) to trade and work in the Indies and the Western Islands. In addition, the sons of extranjeros born in Spain should also be considered naturales or *originarios* (natives).²⁴³ Hence, those who would not pass the qualifications above, most likely the Portuguese and other non-Spanish Europeans, should not be permitted to participate. The port's royal officials were expected to carefully document the name, age, physical description, homeland, and parents of sailors and soldiers embarking on the ships since knowing their *naturaleza* could help the authorities identify suspicious individuals.²⁴⁴

On the other hand, the Crown recognized the value of the extranjero's participation in discovering lands and performing manual jobs. Especially that many of the ship's officials and sailors were only interested in the trade and arriving in New Spain, they tended to escape and abandon their post. As a result, tolerance and *composición de extranjero* (settlement of strangers) became alternatives for their accommodation. In the absence of naturales, the Spanish Crown resorted to extranjeros for the posts of sailors and trumpeters under certain conditions. First, they would only replace what's missing and necessary; second, the extranjeros to be hired should be the best in the profession; and finally, they must be extranjeros with "less inconvenience," such as the *Levantiscos*. Since posts like the master of the ship and armorer were

²⁴² Poggio, "Las composiciones de extranjeros", p. 181.

²⁴³ *Recopilación* IV, lib. IX, tít. XXVII: De los estrangeros, que pasan a las Indias, y su composición, y naturaleza, que en ellas pueden adquirir para tratar y contratar.

²⁴⁴ *Recopilación* III, lib. IX, tít. XXV: De la universidad de mareantes y de los marineros, y pages de naos; *Recopilación* III, lib. IX, tít. XXVI: De los pasajeros, y licencias para ir a las Indias, y volver a estos reinos.

reserved for the naturales, ²⁴⁵ one way to evade this restriction was through composición de extranjero. The Spanish monarchs used composición since the 1590s as a conversion procedure to legalize extranjeros in the Indies.²⁴⁶

The extranjeros' permission to enter America opened a passage to the Philippines, where there was a constant labor shortage. In the 1619 royal order of King Philip III, King Philip III even instructed not to harass nor oblige to undergo composición the foreign sailors serving in the Philippines or going to New Spain. Additionally, it mandated that if they caused any inconvenience, the *Novohispano* viceroy or Philippine governor should notify the King through the Council of the Indies to adopt appropriate measures. ²⁴⁷ Thus, to address the scarcity of workers, the presence of extranjeros became a welcome remedy. In this section, we present various cases of non-Spanish Europeans and extranjeros who served in the Carrera. The different approaches used to them by the royal officials, including the port authority and the Holy Inquisition, evince the colonial conflict between the religious and commercial interests.

Manuel Rabelo

In 1580, the same year of the Dynastic union of Spain and Portugal, Fray Domingo de Salazar, the first Philippine bishop, arrived in Manila. The first task he accomplished was the foundation of an "inquisition" in the Islands by appointing its fiscal, ministers,

²⁴⁵ *Recopilación* III, lib. IX, tít. XXIV: De los maestres de plata, y navios, y de raciones, y jarcia; *Recopilación* III, lib. IX, tít. XXV: De la universidad de mareantes y de los marineros, y pages de naos; *Recopilación* III, lib. IX, tít. XXX: De las armadas, y flotas.

²⁴⁶ In composición, the extranjeros should meet the following requirements: they had resided in the Indies for a long time, married with children and grandchildren, and owned properties. This implied they had been integrated into the local community. *Recopilación* IV, lib. IX, tít. XXVII: De los extranjeros que pasara a las Indias, y su composicion, y naturaleza, que en ellas pueden adquirir para tratar, y contratar; Recopilación III, lib. IX, tít. XXII: Del capitan general de la artillería, artilleros mayores, y otros de las armadas y flotas, artillería, armas, y municiones. In the study of POGGIO regarding the composición of foreigners in New Spain (1595-1700), she asserts that more than a way to legalize and regularize the illegal foreigners, it became a penalty for them that the King executed as royal patronage to obtain profits amidst the hemorrhage of the Treasury as a result of wars with Países Bajos, France, and English. In "Las composiciones de extranjeros," pp. 177-193.

²⁴⁷ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

and himself as an *inquisidor ordinario* (ordinary inquisitor). In this selection process, Salazar bypassed *limpieza de linaje*, an investigation of the purity of blood. ²⁴⁸ The bishop justified his action by claiming that the Philippine Islands did not pertain to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition Tribunal of Mexico. ²⁴⁹ Hence, without the latter's permission, he introduced the prison, inquisitorial investigations and trials, and penance in the Islands. He also pursued and tried the King's vassals without appeal and conducted confiscation of their properties, and imposed edicts and censure in case of heresy. ²⁵⁰

During this phase of the Philippine Inquisition in the 1580s, the local "inquisitors" in Manila declared their autonomy from Mexican Tribunal in investigating and judging cases.²⁵¹ This difficult phase²⁵² was combined with the expanding trade routes of the Spanish Empire—allowing the naturales, *subditos* (subjects), and extranjeros to circulate—and the need to remedy the grave scarcity of the workforce in the Pacific. Against this background, we examined a Portuguese sailor who faced trial in the Philippines because of bigamy. Since many of the denunciations reported did not culminate in a lawsuit during this period, Manuel Rabelo's can be considered one of the earliest cases subjected to an "inquisition trial" in the colony.²⁵³ He was a Portuguese sailor, identified as extranjero in 1580 Manila, and accused of marrying twice, first in Spain and then in Mexico. Manila Bishop Salazar, who took it to himself to be an

²⁴⁸ AGN, Inquisicón 141, 4ff: Borradores de cartas al obispo de Manila avisándole que han nombrado a fray Francisco Manrique prior de San Agustín, para que reciba denuncias y que no le siga poniendo evocatoria de los edictos puestos por el obispo tocante a casos del santo oficio. México, 1585.

²⁴⁹ MEDINA, *El tribunal*, p. 17.

²⁵⁰ AGN, Inquisición 141, 4ff: Borradores de cartas al obispo de Manila avisándole que han nombrado a fray Francisco Manrique prior de San Agustín, para que reciba denuncias y que no le siga poniendo evocatoria de los edictos puestos por el obispo tocante a casos del santo oficio. México, 1585. AGN, Inquisición 141, 2ff: Carta al presidente de la real audiencia de Manila Dr. Santiago Vera sobre la jurisdicción del santo oficio y diferencias con el obispo, México, 1585.

²⁵¹ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

²⁵² According to ANGELES, the inquisition founded by Bishop Salazar comprises the second phase of the Philippine Inquisition (1580-1583), which is also known as *episcopal*. The first phase, the *civil or monastic*, lasted from 1577 to 1580 while the final phase, the *tribunal*, would persist from 1583 to the nineteenth century. In "The Philippine Inquisition", pp. 253-283.

²⁵³ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

inquisitor, decided to punish Rabelo based on the testimonies of witnesses, most of them sailors like him.²⁵⁴However, the Holy Tribunal in Mexico City condemned the autonomy of "inquisitors" in Manila. In the end, they reversed the decision made in Manila and freed Rabelo to live with his wife in Mexico City.²⁵⁵

Manuel Rabelo was a thirty-one-year-old Portuguese sailor from Setubal, Portugal. In his trial, he was described as a bad Christian and unbeliever of the Holy Catholic Faith, the precepts of the Holy Mother, and the Holy Sacraments, for marrying twice and living between two women: one in the kingdom of Castile and the other in Zacatecas, New Spain. For this "serious and atrocious crime," Francisco Pareja, *calificador* (fiscal) of the "Holy Office of the Philippines," presented a petition, and the hearing commenced. It was revealed that nine years ago, he left his town to work with Don Juan de Guzman, Acapulco's governor, who stayed in Seville for a year. It was where Rabelo met him and learned that a ship was going to Havana. After serving de Guzman, he enlisted as a soldier [in Havana] for three years, then went to Florida. He stayed there for a year before moving to New Spain. He became a soldier in Chichimecan territory and had also been in the mining area of Pachuca for a year. It was during this time that he met his second wife and the reason for his trial.²⁵⁶

Juan Martin, a sailor from Algarve, Portugal, twenty-seven years old, was one of the witnesses called by the fiscal. He worked with Rabelo in 1582 and declared that while they were in Acapulco port, waiting for their ship San Martin to depart, he heard Rabelo talking with Marcos Isleño. The latter was also a sailor who worked with Rabelo in Peru, so they knew each other. The conversation revealed that Rabelo married in his homeland (tierra) and married again in Zacatecas. Martin also said that Marcos Hernandez, one of the attendees at Rabelo's wedding, reprimanded him, knowing he

²⁵⁴ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

²⁵⁵ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

²⁵⁶ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

was already married. However, Rabelo pleaded with him, saying that he knew he had sinned and would be accused. Upon hearing this conversation, Martin told Rabelo how dare him going into the sea after what he had done [since his misconduct could have put in danger the journey]. The witness also said that Rabelo told him that he was forced to marry in Zacatecas after having sexual relations with her. Rabelo added that he wanted to marry her initially, but the parents were opposing it. Later, when he no longer wanted to do it, the parents compelled him to show up, and in the end, Rabelo enjoyed the wedding.²⁵⁷

When the *Audiencia* summoned Rabelo before the court, he stressed that his parents were both from Setubal, Old Christians, and without the casta of a Moro or a Jewish, nor were they Inquisition prisoners. He continued that on his wedding with Magdalena de Acucio of Zacatecas, it was officiated by a retired priest. When asked if he was a Christian, baptized, and confirmed, he replied affirmatively. As practiced, he was told to examine his thoughts and unburden his conscience by telling the whole truth on what he might have done or said or seen and heard from others that could have been a sin against Our Lord and the Holy Catholic Faith, without covering up for himself or others, without bearing false witness, for in this way he would be doing his obligation as a Catholic Christian and his case would be expedited with brevity and mercy.²⁵⁸

According to Rabelo's testimony, one day during Lent, while in a hospital for the Jews, he ate meat to see what it got. When they questioned him of bigamy and compelled him to take responsibility, he denied it and said that his sworn statement was nothing but the whole truth. The case was then sent to Mexico's Tribunal to approve the recommendation of Manila "inquisitors" to punish him. In 1583, the Holy Office of Mexico decided that he was innocent and only married Magdalena de Acucio of

²⁵⁷ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

²⁵⁸ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

Zacatecas. He was then granted permission to live freely with his wife.²⁵⁹ Meanwhile, as a result of the interference of Fray Domingo de Salazar, the Mexican inquisitors reprimanded him. A letter dated 1585 states that:

[W]e, the inquisitors against heretical, perversion, and apostasy [...] of all the *vecinos* (citizens) and *moradores* (inhabitants), *estantes* (permanent settlers) and residents in the city and bishopric of Manila of the Philippine Islands of the West and all of its cities, villas, and places of our district for whatever state, condition, provenance or dignity [...] for their knowledge and to commit them to the illustrious inquisitor general or inquisitors by the representatives of all the kingdoms and estates (señorios) of His Majesty in such manner that no other ecclesiastic judge or secular of whichever dignity and order should recognize one's sin and crime of heresy nor publish censures in inquisition edicts and general inspection [...] ²⁶⁰

The other extranjeros

At the turn of the seventeenth century, several Dutch prisoners worked as ship crew as punishment. For instance, among the ten Dutch prisoners in 1615 named Roberto Richarte, Diego Saenz, Juan Cort, Bernardo Cornelis, Alberto Petros, Jorge Niculas, Hernando Giraldo, Juan Petro, Niculas Guillermo, and Lorenzo Niculas, more than half would repeatedly appear in the Contaduría records until 1619 for going back and forth Acapulco and Manila as dispatch ship sailors and receiving payment. The officials rationalize paying them in because "they have rendered service and worked with punctuality and care, that if not for them, the dispatch of the naos to Manila would have been delayed for some time." They added, "because they were so poor, each was assisted with ten pesos so they can clothe themselves and return to service. The following year, some of them boarded ships going to Acapulco, whom the port authority described as "shouldering almost all the works from dispatch to return trip." The

²⁵⁹ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

²⁶⁰ AGN, Inquisición 141, 4ff: Borradores de cartas al obispo de Manila avisándole que han nombrado a fray Francisco Manrique prior de San Agustín, para que reciba denuncias y que no le siga poniendo dificultades. Revocatoria de los edictos puestos por el obispo tocante a casos del santo oficio. México, 1585.

²⁶¹ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-V: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1619.

officials paid them twelve pesos this time, expecting them to go back to the Philippines Islands. In 1619, five of them served again as sailors of the naos traveling to the Philippines, and each received the higher amount, totaled twenty pesos. ²⁶² Compared to the case of Rabelo toward the end of the sixteenth century and the Dutch prisoners above, the colonial officials had not been as tolerant of other Dutch prisoners who were tried for Calvinist heresy in 1620s. As an example was the case of twelve Dutchmen: Pedro Arce, factor mayor from Antwerp; Diego Petaca, Federico Cuicer, and Juan Eseraje, factores; Alarde Amonani, ship captain and master; Guillermo Prens, Diego Juan, and Andres Drosma, pilots; Juan Oduyn, sergeant; and Antonio Juan, Allardo Pedro, and Juan Yles, sailors. ²⁶³

One of the witnesses was the thirty-two-year-old Adrian Gutierrez, natural from Nidelburg in Zelanda. He was also a prisoner who lived with them before their reconciliation. He testified that the twelve Dutchmen from the adjacent provinces of Holland lived in Manila between three and eight years like Calvinist heretics. They were eating meat on a Friday and other days prohibited by the Church; they were not obeying the Holy Church nor respecting the images of the saints, nor believing that the holiest mother can do miracles. He added that they rejected the Holy sacraments of confession and committed other similar heresies. When they reconciled in the Holy Office, they harmed those who converted like him by laughing and mocking him. ²⁶⁴ The other Dutch, Francisco Arnaldo, thirty-six years old, through the help of an interpreter, also testified against them. He said he knew them because he reconciled with them for a year, and they stayed together in the prisoner. During that time, the witness claimed they ate meat on Saturdays and did not attend the mass. Sergeant Juan de Luis, thirty years old and natural of Sierra Leon, also testified as warden of the city court. He said

²⁶² AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

²⁶³ AGN, Inquisición 337, exp 6: Principio de proceso contra 12 holandeses por herejes Calvinistas que son: Pedro Arce, factor mayor de Amberes; Alarde Amonani, capitan y maestre; Diego Petaca; Federico Cuicer, factor; Juan Eseraje, factor; Guillermo Prens, Diego Juan, Andres Jorsman, pilotos; Juan Orduñes, sargento; Antonio Juan Gallardo, Pedro Juan Tedes, marineros. (Holandeses). Manila, 1621.

²⁶⁴ AGN, Inquisición 337, exp 6: Principio de proceso contra 12 holandeses por herejes Calvinistas que son: Pedro Arce, factor mayor de Amberes; Alarde Amonani, capitan y maestre; Diego Petaca; Federico Cuicer, factor; Juan Eseraje, factor; Guillermo Prens, Diego Juan, Andres Jorsman, pilotos; Juan Orduñes, sargento; Antonio Juan Gallardo, Pedro Juan Tedes, marineros. (Holandeses). Manila, 1621.

that he knew them since he was a warden where they were prisoners and living like heretics. Luis also mentioned that the Dutch prisoners were captured during the Guerra de las Batallas while they were going around and robbing along the coasts. Lastly, he said that Adrian Gutierrez, one of the converts, complained since the heretic Dutchmen wanted to harm him.²⁶⁵

When the witnesses were asked if they knew other heretics that lived contrary to the Holy Catholic Faith, they mentioned that people talked about the Dutch prisoners and other naciones serving in the royal galleys in the Philippine Islands living like heretics. However, they had never dealt with them nor knew anything about them. On 16 February 1621 in the Holy Office of Mexico, after receiving the information sent by the Philippines' *comisario de oficio* (Tribunal Office commissioner) against the Dutch prisoners detained in Manila city, they decided to proceed with the case.²⁶⁶

The limits of acceptable behavior

If we compare the three cases, Rabelo's can be examined in the context of the political, commercial, and local/global developments within the Spanish empire in the 1580s. When he arrived in Manila in 1580, it was also the year of the Iberian Union; the Pacific trade was in its first decade, and the Philippines was still in the pre-tribunal phase of the Inquisition. Moreover, as a result of the incorporation of Portugal into the Monarchy, through *derechos de señoreaje adquiridos* (rights of acquisition), the Portuguese, like him, should be treated as a natural.²⁶⁷ And yet, Rabelo's status in Manila was, as a non-Spaniard, an extranjero, which raised the suspicion of the local "inquisitors" in Manila.

²⁶⁵ AGN, Inquisición 337, exp 6: Principio de proceso contra 12 holandeses por herejes Calvinistas que son: Pedro Arce, factor mayor de Amberes; Alarde Amonani, capitan y maestre; Diego Petaca; Federico Cuicer, factor; Juan Eseraje, factor; Guillermo Prens, Diego Juan, Andres Jorsman, pilotos; Juan Orduñes, sargento; Antonio Juan Gallardo, Pedro Juan Tedes, marineros. (Holandeses). Manila, 1621.

²⁶⁶ AGN, Inquisición 337, exp 6: Principio de proceso contra 12 holandeses por herejes Calvinistas que son: Pedro Arce, factor mayor de Amberes; Alarde Amonani, capitan y maestre; Diego Petaca; Federico Cuicer, factor; Juan Eseraje, factor; Guillermo Prens, Diego Juan, Andres Jorsman, pilotos; Juan Orduñes, sargento; Antonio Juan Gallardo, Pedro Juan Tedes, marineros. (Holandeses). Manila, 1621.

²⁶⁷ Poggio, "Las composiciones de extranjeros", pp. 188 and 193.

Because of the distance of the Philippines from Spain, its colonial officials enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, both in political and religious spheres. Such was the case of Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop of the Philippines, who decided to establish an Inquisition tribunal in Manila, independent from New Spain. When the inquisitors of the Holy Tribunal of Mexico found out about it, they invalidated the decision made in Manila against Rabelo. Another critical factor that influenced the leniency showed by Mexican inquisitors toward Rabelo was Spain's shifting patterns of commerce, given that the joint union of the Iberian Crowns was so recent. ²⁶⁸ Since there was a labor shortage in the Philippines to serve in the Carrera and that bigamy was considered a minor heresy, the inquisitors showed Rabelo tolerance.

In the case of the Dutch prisoners during the second decade of the seventeenth century, the context was the Spanish war against the Dutch in Asia. On the one hand, because of heightened suspicion in Manila, there were many denunciations against the Dutch, especially those working in the galleys. But, on the other hand, labor was necessary to build and crew the warships. The case of the Dutch prisoners serving in the Carrera galleons as penal laborers shows the urgent need for sailors and soldiers; while that of the twelve Dutchmen reflects the preoccupation of the time. The decision of the Mexican inquisitors and their commissioners in the Philippines is a good indicator to gauge the sentiments and perception of people on extranjeros in times of war. Perhaps it could also explain the witnesses' behavior, several of which were New Christian Dutch, lest they be accused of heresy as well. Unsurprisingly, the penal laborers in the galley, mostly imprisoned foreigners, found themselves in the middle of the spectacle of suspicion and fear.

The King's broken promise

A Pacific sailor's concierto to serve His Majesty in the indicated post provided the formal basis of their relationship. The former became the recipient of the King's mercy

²⁶⁸ GREEN, "Policing the Empires", p. 15.

(through advanced salary) and justice (through penalty in case of non-compliance of the contract). A just wage and other compensations paid on time also represented the preeminence bestowed upon royal servants.

On the first day of enlistment, Acapulco's Real Caja (Royal Treasury) officials, through the order of its Viceroy, had to issue the order of payments for all the seamen, gunners, and apprentices, who were hired to serve in the *naos*. Their salary would be paid from the money designated for the Philippine Islands. This policy was established through the 1593 royal order of King Philip II, asking the officials in the Philippine Islands to pay from its treasury the payment of all its officials, sailors and soldiers, and the soldadas of carpenters, blacksmiths, and others who would work as day laborers. He further stated that the available resources should be divided equally without exceptions in the case of insufficient funds.²⁶⁹ The amount lacking should be asked from the Royal Treasury officials based in Mexico City, who would then be ordered to remit to the Philippines the said money. The rulers of New Spain were also instructed to be punctual in supplying them, which would be convenient for the royal service.²⁷⁰ It should be noted that through the royal cedula of 1606, the money used to pay salaries in Manila, among other enormous expenses, came from the derecho (taxes), fletes de mar (freight charge), almojarifazgo, and alcabala (sales tax) collected in New Spain for the Philippine merchandise, estimated between 300,000 and 400,000 pesos.²⁷¹

The men of sea and war received half of their yearly salary from the Royal Treasury of Acapulco during their enlistment to help them with their expenses. For this purpose, each needed *fiador* and *pagador principal* (guarantors), usually his shipmates, to assure that he would render service. In case of non-compliance, the bond would oblige him and his guarantors to return to His Majesty the payment that he received and would receive in the future.²⁷² They collected the remaining half of their pay during

²⁶⁹ Recopilación III, lib VIII, tít VI: De los salarios, ayudas de costa, entretenimientos, y quitaciones.

²⁷⁰ Recopilación III, lib VIII, tít VI: De los salarios, ayudas de costa, entretenimientos, y quitaciones.

²⁷¹ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 44-104.

²⁷² AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 341, exp. 40, fs. 2: Fernández, Sebastián. Guardián de una de las naos que se despachan a las Filipinas, 1606.

the time of their embarkation at the port of Acapulco.²⁷³ For the outbound voyage from Manila, Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga Acevedo y Velasco, Count of Monterrey, ordered that the remaining half of the sailors' salary be given within thirty days of the arrival of the galleon in Acapulco.²⁷⁴ However, desertion had become a recurring problem in this port. As a solution, the sailors were not paid before the ship sailed to the Philippines.²⁷⁵ Hence, only during the second leg of their voyage would they receive their remaining salary for two journeys (the first leg was Acapulco-Manila, then, Manila-Acapulco). Upon arrival from the second leg of their trip (Manila-Acapulco), should they decide to continue working, they received not only their remaining salary from the last roundtrip (Acapulco-Manila-Acapulco) but also the *socorro* (advance payment) for their next trip.²⁷⁶

Table 2.3: The salary of officials and crew members of ships San Felipe and Santiago (made a voyage from Acapulco to Manila in 1595).

Position	Number of employees	Salary of each employee in pesos de oro comun
Pilot (Piloto)	1	600
Chief pilot (Piloto mayor)	1	600
Diver (Buzo)	1	400
Assistant pilot (Acompañado de piloto)	4	300
Caulker (Calafate)	4	300
Captain and master (Capitan y maestre)	2	300
Blacksmith (Herrero)	1	300

²⁷³ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

²⁷⁴ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 193.

²⁷⁵ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 224, 1f: AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 224, fs. 1: Marcos Padilla Marinero de la nao capitana *San Juan Diego*, 1653; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas. Año: 1618-1629.

 ²⁷⁶ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 224, 1f: AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp.
 224, fs. 1: Marcos Padilla Marinero de la nao capitana San Juan Diego, 1653; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas. Año: 1618-1629.

Royal bailiff (Alguacil real)	1	250	
Chief gunner (Condestable)	3	250-300	
Shipmaster (Contramaestre)	2	250-300	
Boatswain (Acompañado de	3	200	
contramaestre)			
Gunner (Artillero)	16	200	
Dispenser (Despensero)	3	200	
Steward (Guardián)	4	200	
Lombardero	1	200	
Carpenter (Carpintero)	6	200-350	
Surgeon (Cirujano)	1	200-250	
Water bailiff (Alguacil de agua)	2	180-200	
Scribe (Escribano)	2	180-200	
Marinero	164	150	
Grumete español	39	100	
Page (paje)	4	80	
Grumete indio	135	50	
Lengua de los indios	1	50	
Total	401 officials	49,790 to	
	and crewmen	51,120 <i>pesos</i>	
		de oro común	

Source: AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

Table 2.3 shows the officials and crew members who manned the two galleons, *San Felipe* and *Santiago*, which made the voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines in 1595. It presents their position, total number, and salary.²⁷⁷ In addition to their salary for the duration they served, they were also paid for their travel and food. Since the sailors'

²⁷⁷ AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595. The salary of sailors had not changed until the end of the period of our study (1640s), AGI, Contaduría, 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640. It also remained 150 pesos in the 1650s and 1660s, AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 268, exp. 24, 1f; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 224, 1f; AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 111, 1f.

service began from their enlistment, those recruited from other areas such as Mexico City, the ten-day travel period, and their basic needs were also paid.²⁷⁸

As mentioned in Chapter I, from the first day of their appointment up to the time they boarded and left the ship and while passing the winter at the port, the Carrera's ship officials and sea of men and war were entitled to receive a daily ration of food and other supplies. It must be emphasized that their period of stay at the port (while passing the winter or waiting for the next trip) could last from one day to two years, and during the entire duration, they were entitled to the daily ration.²⁷⁹ The instruction to Juan Bautista, corporal and recruiter (commissary) of gunners, sailors, and other men of the sea, states that:

- (1) Primeramente, cobraréis de los oficiales reales desta ciudad todo el dinero de la retençión que se [h]a mandado hacer o se hiciere a los dichos artilleros, marineros y demás gente de mar para su sustento [h]asta el dicho puerto en la cantidad que a cada uno esta aplicado por esto conforme del entrego que les hiçieren los dichos oficiales reales con lo cual haréis comprando y pagando todo el bastimento necesario para el camino conforme esta dispuesto comenzando desde esta dicha ciudad y dando uno en cada jornada vianda suficiente para su substento [sic].
- (2) Haréis que los dichos artilleros, marineros y demás gente de mar no hagan daños ni agravios a los indios ni les tomen bastimentos ni otras cosas teniendo especial cuidado de no le consentir pues [h]an de tener donde llegaren lo necesario prevenido ni quales tampoco entren en las casas de los indios a ningún efecto no embargante que digan que van a comprarlo que voluntariamente les quisieren vender por que en caso que le sea forzosso comprar algo [h]a de ser por una mano y pagando su justo valor y a contento y satisfacción de los indios y no de otra manera.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640; AGN, Marina 2, exp. 7, fs. 7: Nombramiento hecho a Juan Rodriguez de Leon para servir a su Majestad como marinero en el puerto de Acapulco y en las naos de la Carrera de las Islas del Poniente, con el salario y la ración que se indican, México, 9 de septiembre de 1592; Acapulco, 1 octubre 1592.

²⁷⁸ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640; AGN, Marina 2, exp. 7, fs. 7: Nombramiento hecho a Juan Rodriguez de Leon para servir a su Majestad como marinero en el puerto de Acapulco y en las naos de la Carrera de las Islas del Poniente, con el salario y la ración que se indican, México, 9 de septiembre de 1592; Acapulco, 1 octubre 1592.

²⁸⁰ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 397, fs. 1: Juan Bautista. Leal Cabo, Comisario de la gente de mar que lleva el socorro al Real Campo de Manila, 1636.

To encourage more sailors to work for the *Carrera*, the rulers and governors included in their instructions the benefits they could obtain. The acceptable amount of merchandise that *naos* could transport from the Philippines to New Spain (from 1604) should not exceed 250,000 pesos, while the monetary earnings were limited to 500,000 pesos. The latter figure included inheritance, *mandas* (donations), *obras pias* (charity works), *plata labrada* (wrought silver), and all other returns from the trade "except for the crew's salaries." ²⁸¹ Apart from this exception, on 14 January 1602, viceroy Monterrey also issued an ordinance on the distribution of spaces and *carga* (load) in the galleon. Among the 300 *toneladas* (tons) of cargo distributed in each nao, 100 tons were reserved for the officials and crew, wherein each of twenty-five Spanish or creole sailors had a right to half a ton while each of twenty apprentices, a *fardo*. ²⁸²

Accordingly, in the annual distribution of the galleon space by the Philippine governor, a large part of the permitted merchandise was allotted to the "hospitals and convents, sailors and gunners, as well as to those sent to expeditions and embassies, and, to other individuals." Consequently, the sailors started bringing two to three big cajas (chests) on the pretext that these carried their clothes. Apart from the investments contained in their chests, they were also allowed to bring slaves. But this as well led to abuse of their privilege. As we will see in the last chapter of this work (Chapter 5), these laws and ordinances allowed the sailors to invest and profit from the galleon trade.

The practice of overloading ships became a concern for the safety of its passengers, crew, and other cargoes. Philippine procurador general Hernando de los Rios petitioned the King in 1605 to tackle these problems with the following recommendations: sailing of ships by the appointed time, not exceeding its cargos and their proper stowing, dismissal of inefficient workers, safety onboard, charging 200

²⁸¹ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 39-43; *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

²⁸² ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 190 and 203.

²⁸³ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 44-104.

pesos to Manila-Mexico passengers, restricting sailors to one trunk each of an approved size, and prohibiting the taking slave women by both crew and passengers.²⁸⁴ All of these were approved in various royal cedulas.²⁸⁵ Regarding the slaves, the King ordered in 1620 the president and judges of Philippine Royal Audiencia to forbid any passenger or sailor to bring more than one slave, except *personas de calidad* (eminent persons). Further, they should pay tax in Acapulco, where they sold the slaves.²⁸⁶

The economic status of these sailors must have declined by the 1630s since the Philippine procurador general, Grau y Monfalcon, asked that sailors bring in their trunks with *menudencias* (things of little value). Also, to allow them to pass the port officials without inspection, as it became the root of extortion and unfair treatment. He specifically included in the reforms the necessity to permit the sailors to gain some profits and let them carry in each voyage merchandise amounting up to 1,000 pesos.²⁸⁷ Once more, the King ordered the viceroys of New Spain to investigate and punish the ministers and officials of Acapulco's royal. They were treating poorly the sailors and other passengers coming from the Philippines and causing them grave harassment and abuse by obliging them to leave what they brought and acquired after such a long and arduous voyage.²⁸⁸

As evident in the recurrent themes of memorias of Philippine representatives to the Spanish court, reiterations on Spanish monarchs' royal cedulas, and petitions of the sailors. But despite the efforts to implement reforms and improve their lot, the latter continued living in a deplorable state. It was not uncommon that some sailors had decade's worth or two of unpaid salaries yet continued serving in the *naos* (See Graph 2.1). The sailors usually used their sickness and poverty as justifications for collecting

²⁸⁴ CROSSLEY, *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel*, pp. 77 and 81.

²⁸⁵ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 39-43; *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

²⁸⁶ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú; CROSSLEY, *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel*, p. 155.

²⁸⁷ AGN, California 26 exp. 79, f. 323-323v: Al virrey de Nueva España ordenándole que guarde y cumpla la cedula real acerca del tratamiento de las gentes de mar de la vía de Filipinas, 1663.

²⁸⁸ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

the debts that the Royal Treasury (Real Hacienda) owed. For others who died unpaid, the task of petitioning their pay fell on their wives, the executors of their wills, their creditors, or their benefactors, which could be a hospital, a church, or a brotherhood.²⁸⁹

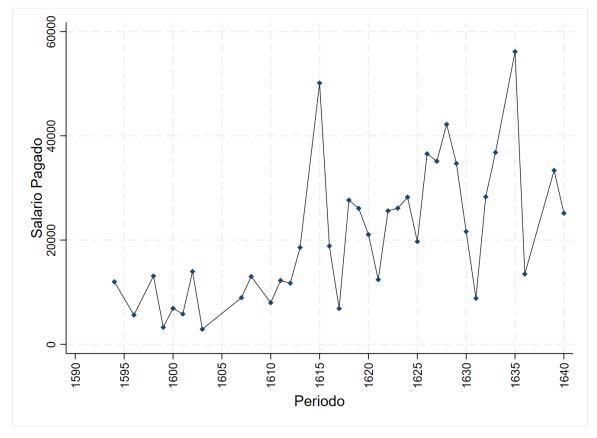
Since the sailors' payment began from the time of their appointment at the port up to the completion of their trip and continued until their next assignment, this means that they could be hired non-stop for years or decades. In this arrangement, each day they allotted at the ports and aboard the *naos* was be compensated. From their enlistment, they were supposed to receive an advanced payment from the *Real Caja* at Acapulco port for sustenance while waiting to board and the remaining balance during their embarkation. However, the Philippine *situado* incessantly drained the treasury, and as a result, some officials were lending money to pay the sailors. On one occasion, an encomendero of Acapulco, Juan Juarez de Sandi, lent 1,591 pesos to the *Real Caja* to pay the men of sea serving in the *naos* that sailed to the Philippines in 1635.²⁹⁰

Yearly, 400 officials and crew members embarked on the two ships going to Manila. The total payment due them was estimated at 50,000 pesos. However, those who manned the two galleons, San Felipe and Santiago, which made the voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines in 1595, only received 11,559 pesos and seven *tomines* out of 50,000 pesos.²⁹¹ According to the established law, once they embarked on the ship, they would receive the remaining balance of their payment. However, this seldom happened, and years of waiting and petitioning to settle their accounts resulted in being the practice. Graph 2.1 presents the annual budget released by the royal treasury of Acapulco:

²⁸⁹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

²⁹⁰ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 197, fs. 1: Juárez de Sandi, Juan, encomendero de Acapulco. Mandamiento para que se le cubra el que hizo, para pagar la gente de mar que fue en las naos, 1635.

²⁹¹ AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.



Graph 2.1: Sailors' (un)paid salary, 1590-1640.

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

It is important to remember that the annual amount they were releasing included the advance payment and unpaid salaries years before. This table shows the recurring problem that the sailors suffered from a decade worth of backlog of payments. We cite four cases of unpaid sailors to demonstrate why the port authorities did not pay them, the process they had to undergo to petition their salary, and the long time they had to wait or continued waiting to get their payment. For example, we have Juan Francisco, a vecino from Mexico City, who, compared to others, was fortunate to be paid after fourteen years of waiting.²⁹² But to collect his salary, he had to take the initiative and undergo the lengthy bureaucratic process of presenting a certification that proved that he had an unpaid wage of 100 pesos for serving in the *nao* from the Philippines to New

²⁹² AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 59, fs. 1: Juan Francisco. Marinero de la nao capitana *San Luis*, 1641.

Spain in 1627. He petitioned before the *Novohispano* viceroy by declaring that he was so poor and sick and needed the money owed to him. The viceroy ordered the royal fiscal of the Royal Audiencia to review the case; afterward, the petition was sent to the governor (alcalde) and war auditor of Mexican court's *Real Sala del Crimen*. The latter replied that to pass his judgment, Juan Francisco had to justify why he asked to stay in the kingdom of New Spain and did not complete the return voyage to the Philippines. Only after Francisco presented all the necessary documents that the Viceroy ordered the officials of Royal Hacienda to pay him and deduct it from the Philippine war budget.²⁹³ Document 2.1 serves as a certification that a ship crewmember provided service for the King, citing illness as the reason he discontinued working:

Document 2.3: Certification of service of a crewmember with a medical certificate as an attachment, 1639.²⁹⁴

Certification of the accountant of the port of Acapulco:

I, Don Martin de Rada, accountant and official magistrate of the Royal Treasury of the port of Acapulco, certify that in the list of sailors who served in the admiral's ship *San Ambrosio*, which this year, arrived from the Philippines, appears the name of Hernando de Piña, attending as a carpenter of the said *nao* from 21 July 1638 to 24 January 1639, when it reached New Spain and the said ship anchored in this port. In accordance with the said list that remains in the Royal Accounting Office, the following day (January 25), he has continued working until April 5, when his name no longer appeared in the list of subsidized officials and sailors of the ship above scheduled to return to the said Islands for falling ill and being confined to the port hospital. For this reason, he has not received a subsidy or order of release of the balance payment, which His Majesty authorized through the certification of the royal officials of the Philippines for the period the aforementioned has served in it until 20 July 1638.

Certification of the doctor who treated Hernando de Piña:

I, Doctor Pedro de Monroy, *protomedico* in this kingdom, certify that I have treated Hernando de Piña in the hospital of Amor de Dios in Mexico City due to malady and frambesia (enfermedad de bubas), from which he has needed a lot of cure.

²⁹³ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 59, fs. 1: Juan Francisco. Marinero de la nao capitana *San Luis*, 1641.

²⁹⁴AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 309, fs. 1. Filipinas. El dicho Hernando de Piña, 1639.

Done in Mexico, May 22, 1639. Andrés Ruiz Villaviciosa, master Pedro de Monroy, doctor

Source: AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 309, fs. 1. Filipinas. El dicho Hernando de Piña, 1639.

Another example of a sailor who suffered from a harrowing experience was Domingo de Abico, a Portuguese who served in the Carrera from 3 September 1637 to 19 September 1638 and from 2 August 1641 to 31 July 1652. Between these two periods (1638-1641), while he was aboard the flagship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, he got lost and was taken prisoner in Los Ladrones (Marianas Island). When he appealed for his salary in 1653, he was still working as a sailor but became so sick that he couldn't get up from his bed. He did not have any money to support himself nor to be cured. For that reason, he asked for the salary he should have earned during his captivation.²⁹⁵ This vicious cycle of work, sickness, and sometimes death without paid wages would be a standard narrative for many sailors. Finally, a natural from Faro named Lope Martin enlisted as a sailor in 1640. However, after sixteen years and ninety-two days, the royal treasury still owed him half of his salary (1,127 pesos, five tomines, and three granos out of 2,436 pesos, six tomines, five granos).²⁹⁶ Worse than the former was Nicolas de Padilla, a sailor from Cordoba who served His Majesty's vessel from 13 April 1635 to 1 June 1638 and from 1 February 1639 to 20 February 1648. Afterward, he became master of the ship (maestre) for two months (from February 21 to April 30, 1648) and went back to being a sailor from 1 May 1648 to 20 May 1661. For working as a sailor for more than twenty-five years and the master of the ship for sixty days, Padilla was paid only half of the total period served. He received a payment of 3,860 pesos, six tomines, and four granos and was still waiting for the remaining 1,650 pesos, two tomines, and ten granos when he petitioned in 1661.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 256, fs. 1: Domingo de Abico. Marinero de la nao *Almiranta Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, 1653.

²⁹⁶ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 6, exp. 551, fs. 1: Martín Lope. Marinero de la nao capitana *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, 1656.

²⁹⁷ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 466, fs. 1: Nicolás Padilla. Alférez de servicio en las islas y en la nao capitana *San Luis Rey de Francia*, 1661.

CHAPTER III. THE SAILORS OF THE CARRERA DEL PACÍFICO: RANKS, TRENDS, NUMBERS

This chapter has two parts: the first section examines the composition of the royal ships' officials and crewmen, a brief description of their responsibilities, and the concept of "social mobility" between their ranks. The second part consists of examining and presenting the official records of sailors who served in the *Carrera del Pacífico* from Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville, Spain. Based on the information that the sources we consulted could provide, we set some limitations on what we can and cannot include in this study.

This chapter focuses on the sailors (marinero, grumete español, and grumete indio) of the Carrera del Pacífico. The Carrera primarily refers to the Manila-Acapulco line (and Manila-Peru before 1582 prohibition); however, as we follow the sailors' occupational movement from Manila or Acapulco, other routes appeared. As royal sailors, the King paid them to get supplies from ports, such as Zacatula, Huatulco, Tehuantepec, Realejo, Sonsonate, and Peru; to discover islands such as Cape of Mendocino and Islas Rico Plata y Oro; to crew warning ships going to Peru, San Lucas, and California; and to join military and commercial expeditions to Maluco, Japan, Singapore, Playa Honda, and Terrenate. The overlap of the service of the same sailors from Manila-Acapulco to other parts of the Spanish empire in the Pacific is the reason for using the term Carrera del Pacífico instead of Manila-Acapulco. Also, because in the documents, Carrera del Pacífico is used together with Carrera de las Islas Filipinas, Carrera de las Islas del Poniente, Carrera de Nueva España, and La Real Armada de Filipinas.

However, we cannot differentiate if the King or private individuals owned the ships they took in the Carrera, especially since this information is not given in the Contaduría records we consulted. Also, even if the ship was not owned by the King but provided by or rented from private individuals, the situation of the royal sailors would not change. They still received their salary from the King's royal treasury and not from

private individuals. In appendix B (The entry and departure of ships to Acapulco, 1590s-1630s), we listed the private vessels entering and leaving Acapulco to understand the interregional and intercolonial exchanges in America and investigate its possible informal trade with Asia. But we did not include the background of their owners or their sailors, which warrants a separate study. First, because the King did not hire the sailors of these private ships; and second, the private ships in Appendix B were not supposed to trade with the Carrera del Pacífico.

Regarding the payment of the King's sailors in the Carrera, they received a salary from the royal treasuries of either Acapulco, Mexico City, or Manila. There was no rigid rule which treasury would pay them since it depended on the budget available in a given time. What is evident is that the Manila Treasury was almost always empty, at least for the period covered by the current work. It was because, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Spain was fighting the Dutch in Asia. Hence, the burden fell to Acapulco and Mexico City treasuries. We also did not differentiate whether the sailors boarded the Manila-Acapulco direction or Acapulco-Manila because the Contaduría of the Treasury of Acapulco (the principal source we consulted) only listed the Acapulco-Manila route. We are not aware if there is a systematic record as well for the Manila-Acapulco route. Sometimes, a more detailed description of payment of sailors would mention the type of ship (capitana, almiranta, or aviso) and direction (Acapulco to Manila or Manila to Acapulco) where they boarded. Still, it is not the case for most of the records.

Ranks and mobility

The first galleons used to have seventy-five to one hundred crewmen, but with the ships having a larger size, the number of the crew also increased up to 300, making it difficult to recruit them. Aboard Nepomuceno, one of the three ships that went to Acapulco in

1620, had 330 officials and crew, whose payable salary amounted to 69,370 pesos. In addition, 156 passengers joined them, making their number totaled 486.²⁹⁸

Table 3.1. Ranking of officials and crew that served in the galleon Nepomuceno in 1620 and a brief description of their job.

Position	Job description
Fleet general	The post is assumed by the incoming highest officials of the
(General o comandante)	Philippines traveling from New Spain, such as governor-general or judge of Royal Audiencia. He doesn't have to be familiar with navigation, yet he's the supreme authority aboard the ship.
Accountant and Inspector (Contador y veedor)	They keep the merchandise record and make sure no contraband products are loaded to the ship.
Admiral or first official (Almirante)	The second highest ranking official who coordinates with all the professionals and officials aboard. He doesn't have to be knowledgeable on navigation, but he should know to answer questions regarding the ship components and its operations such as rigging if there is no pilot present. He ensures that the vessel is safe and the armaments are in good condition, and he knows all the cargoes the ship carries. A second official aids him.
Chief pilot (Piloto mayor)	He is the pilot assigned in the flagship and responsible for fleet navigation, but in the case of the Philippines, once they lift the anchor, each pilot becomes accountable for the safety and inspection of his ship. He should know the art of navigation and each of the ship's components. The second and third <i>pilots</i> assist him.
Sergeant major (Sargento mayor)	Together with the chief gunner, he is in charge of artillery.
(Two) Shipmasters (Contramaestres)	They are in charge of the ship's interior: its conservation, its cargoes, and their proper stowing, ballasting, pump, monitoring ship's parts, and other things necessary for the vessel to navigate. They convey orders from the pilot or captain to the rest of the crew.
(Two) <i>Boatswains</i> (Acompañado de contramaestre)	They directly handle the sailors and their concerns.
(Two) Stewards (Guardian)	They lead the apprentices and pages, prepare the ship's boats, monitors the entrance and exit of merchandise, and supervise the stoves and masts, topsails, pulleys, and hoists. They answer the orders coming from the pilot, shipmaster, and boatswain.

²⁹⁸ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 210, 239-240.

Silver master	The Novohispano viceroy appoints him to monitor the silver sent to
(Maestre de plata)	Manila to defray the military and administrative expenses of the
	Philippine Islands. He keeps documents that indicate the amount that
	each Manila merchant receives.
Ration master	He distributes provisions among the crew during the trip.
(Maestre de ración)	
Dispenser	To maintain the provisions in good condition, he inspects them daily,
(Despensero)	and if a problem occurs, he needs to inform the first official and
	shipmaster. The rule is to consume the first to rot.
Water bailiff	He distributes water among passengers and crew members and
(Alguacil de agua)	prepares a list of all the persons on the ship and the daily ration of
	food they receive. He makes sure that everyone gets his share.
Chaplain	He makes sure everyone aboard confesses and takes communion,
(Capellan)	holds mass every day if the time permits, leads prayers, assists the
	sick and dying to accompany them in their last moment, and makes
	sure he gets the inventory of their goods. The food ration of the sick
	is guarded in his cabin.
Diver	He does the underwater repairs and maintenance of the ship,
(Buzo)	especially the hull; he caulks the seam; and in case of pirate attack,
	he and the carpenters have to cover the holes on the ship's surface,
	especially if it's underwater.
Notary	He records the minutes of all the ceremonies or functions celebrated
(Notario)	on the ship, writes will, and records judicial proceedings.
Scribe	He registers and certifies the delivery of cargo to its legal owner.
(Escribano)	
Doctor	With another two surgeons, they take care of the crew and
(Medico)	passenger's health.
Rope master	He takes care of ship rigging.
(Maestre de jarcia)	The tance care of simp 1.58mg.
Chief butler (Camarero mayor)	
<u> </u>	
Gunsmith	He is in-charge in maintaining the arms to good use.
(Armero)	
Carpenter	He repairs the wooden parts of the ship, such as the hull, mast, and
(Carpintero)	pulley.
Caulker	He makes reparations aboard and maintains the ship hull and bulge
(Calafate)	pumps.
Cooper	He repairs containers.
(Tonelero)	no repuire containers.
(Two) Cooks	They prepare meals for the crew, assisted by pages (pajes).
(Cocinero)	

Men of sea (Gente de mar)	They make up most of the crew and include 194 <i>marineros</i> , 32 <i>grumetes</i> , and 14 <i>pajes</i> .
(Two) Pipers (Pifáno)	Play their instrument during festive occasions aboard the ship or as a source of diversion
(Two) <i>Drummers</i> (Tambor)	Play their instrument during festive occasions aboard the ship.
Men of war (Gente de guerra)	They consist of two <i>chief gunners</i> (condestable) and fifty <i>gunners</i> (artilleros)
Total number	330 officials and crewmen

Sources: ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 210-215; 239-240. See also FISH, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons*; and PEREZ-MALLAÍNA, *Spain's Men of the Sea*.

In the second chapter, we stress the fundamental requirements to become servants of the King's ships: an honorable person, a good Christian who regularly confesses and receives communion, and a natural (not extranjero) or *naturalizado* (naturalized). During the early modern period, these qualities preceded one's skill and experience in navigation. It might partly explain why in the Philippine Armada (another term for the Carrera), the incoming or departing Philippine governor or other high-ranking officials (such as oidor) became the ship's supreme authorities (as fleet general or admiral) despite lack of understanding of navigation. There are other factors to consider that affected the availability of professionals, such as the distance of the Philippines from the metrópoli or the non-existence of navigation schools in America. In this case, the preference was always reserved to *peninsulares* or *insulares* (Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula or colony).

We have found in this study that among the sailors, the categorization into marineros, grumetes españoles, and grumetes indios was not based on their familiarity with the sea but according to their homeland (patria or naturaleza): as natural de España or natural de Filipinas. Thus, the naturales from Spain consistently assumed the post of ship officials and marineros. The port officials in the Philippines also opted to hire as marineros the vecinos and principalia of Manila. In contrast, they automatically designated the other Philippine natives or Asians as grumetes indios and indios

carpinteros. The Crown created a specific plaza for the non-elite native sailors (grumete indio, paje indio, or indio chino) to separate them from the grumetes españoles.

To better grasp this apparent confinement of one's rank to their naturalezabased "social mobility," we have to put it in the context of the early modern period (Antiguo Régimen), where order, characterized by inequality and particularism, was the prevailing social mentality. Antonio Manuel Hespanha argues that during this time, "social mobility" has three attributes: first, it was not recognizable (no se veía) in a manner that it had no decisive social relevance or that changes occurred so slowly that it was almost imperceptible; second, it was not expected (no se esperaba) since abrupt societal changes were considered miraculous and exceptional and hence, it had to come from an extraordinary power, that of the king who granted emancipation, legitimation, and exaltation; lastly, it was not expected and hence not desired (no se deseaba) especially that for a modern man, sudden changes were signs of social disturbance and convulsion of political order.²⁹⁹ Accordingly, to each place (plaza) constituted in the order corresponded an *estado*, which defined the juridical condition of each person. However, in comparison to the society of caste, "social mobility" under the Old Regime was possible to a certain extent through prescriptive time and adequate labor if not through the grace (gracia) of King.³⁰⁰

If we examine the mobility between ranks in the *Carrera*, it is always bounded by one's status (*naturaleza* or *patria*). As shown in Graph 3.3, among the marineros (most of which were from the Iberian Peninsula), the other positions they assumed—sometimes simultaneously with their post as marinero—ranged from piloto mayor, to artillero, and other military designations. It implies that among them and the grumetes españoles, the possibility existed to be promoted to officials. On the other hand, for *the grumetes indios*, the other posts they could occupy were restricted to paje indio, guardianejo (the chief of the grumetes indios), and gente de real servicio (such as indio carpintero). The repercussion of this pre-determined designation of each job

²⁹⁹ HESPANHA, "Las estructuras del imaginario de la movilidad social", pp. 21-23.

³⁰⁰ HESPANHA, "Las estructuras del imaginario de la movilidad social", pp. 23 and 31.

manifested through the amount of salary they received: 150 pesos for marineros, 100 pesos for grumete español, and 50 pesos for grumete indio.

On the fifty-year period covered by this study, the record shows the uniformity of the profile of the grumetes indios: they were Christian natives of Asia, principally from the Philippines (with a very few ones from America). We must not overlook the fact that even before these native sailors enlisted, they had already undergone the process of reducción, which implies converting into Christians, into King's vassals, and living under the bell of church. At the port, they went through profiling and vigilance; and upon embarkation, the fulfillment of mechanical job and religious obligations (confession and communion) followed. The factors discussed earlier—the designation of a plaza based on one's estado or naturaleza, the bureaucratic process of incorporating sailors into the workforce, the continued vigilance of the officials and crew in the port and aboard the ship, and the actual profile of the sailors—can perhaps explain the crucial difference between the Pacific sailors and the British crown's transatlantic jack tars. Markus Rediker centered his work on the Anglo-American maritime workers in the first half of the eighteenth century and their endeavors to free themselves from exploitative work conditions through collective actions by either resisting, bargaining, or staging mutiny.³⁰¹ To compare our study and Rediker's subject, we find similarities between the two groups of workers: young, mobile with global experience, and confined to hard labor. However, there is no documented mutiny or hint of collective resistance among the King's sailors in the present work.³⁰² We have already established the almost imperceptible notion of "social mobility" and the predetermined plaza designation based on one's *naturaleza* (which is also applicable for the Carrera de Indias). But beyond the acceptance of the order of things, we can also examine the profile of these sailors: they are relatively young, and this could have been

³⁰¹ REDIKER, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*.

³⁰² The closest we have is an insurrection of 1649-1650 that started in Samar (a remote Philippine province in the Visayan region) as a result of the order of Governor General Don Diego Fajardo to the town mayors to send laborers to the port and relieve those in Cavite (principal Philippine port along with Manila) from the burden of constructing galleons. This rebellion spread from Samar to other provinces where the natives had the same experience, being forced into naval works. ADUARTE ET.AL., "Insurrections by Filipinos in the 17th century", pp. 87-240.

a decisive factor why the average period of their service is one year (i.e., a round trip: Acapulco-Manila-Acapulco). After the long and risky voyage from Manila to Acapulco, they could resort to desertion. They could dedicate full time to trade or go to Mexico City and find another job.

Quantitative analysis of sailors who served in the Carrera del Pacífico, 1590-1640

This section aims to demonstrate the general characteristics and observations regarding the Pacific sailors through quantitative analysis. It addresses some questions on the workforce population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the challenges of counting them. It traces the trends in their number and identifies the factors that affected the increase and decline in their population. Following their routes, it asks what services they provided for the King, which expanded their workspace and increased their mobility. It also tackles the nature of the job itself of the sailors by discussing the other jobs that the sailors carried out, the average year(s) they lasted working, and the reasons behind that duration.

Counting the Pacific sailors

From archival and official documentation we found at *Archivo General de las Indias* from the bundle of Contaduría, we identified an estimated 4,800 sailors (marineros, grumetes españoles, and grumetes indios) who served in the *Carrera del Pacífico* from 1590 to 1640. It must be a minimal representation of the actual number since the data we used, the annual report of the *Factor* of the Royal Treasury of Acapulco, focuses on *data* (expenses) and *cargo* (earning) of the *Carrera*. Hence, we can only include the sailors who received advance payment or have their accounts settled (liquidación). We reconstruct our database from the list of sailors at service and received advance payment before embarking on the ships. We complement it with the list of officials, crew members, and other royal servants whom the port royal officials paid for the

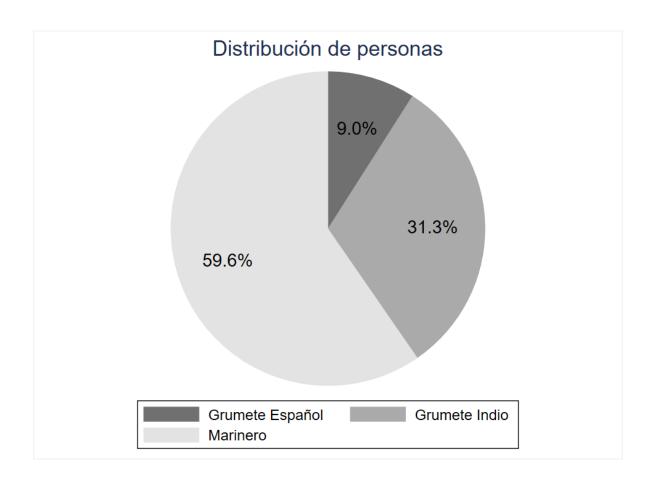
remaining amount the King owed them or a part of it.³⁰³ In *Archivo General de la Nación*, there are records of sailors' appointments that indicate the term of their contract (duration, salary, and physical description). Still, they are scarce and can only be utilized for some qualitative analysis. By understanding that these data are far from complete, we can give closer estimates of the actual number of *Carrera*'s sailors based on all the materials we have at hand.

Considering that two ships regularly departed from Acapulco every year (except in the years of 1614, 1627, and 1637 when the King could not send aid or socorro to the Philippines) manned by 300 sailors, and wherein the average year of service of sailors in the Carrera was one year (i.e., there was a new set of 300 sailors every year for the duration of fifty years). In that case, the Pacific trade employed at least 14,100 sailors between 1590 and 1640. Notwithstanding this adjustment, the latter calculation remains a conservative estimate. As evident in Table 3.4 (The quinquennial number of royal ships leaving Acapulco, 1590-1640), if we consider all the royal ships departing from Acapulco for other routes (other than Manila) for dispatch, exploration, expedition, and procurement of supplies, its annual average number would be three to four ships (for forty-eight years, a total of 147 in comparison to 94 vessels from which we base the second computation that resulted to 14,100 sailors). They would also result in a higher number of sailors: not lower than 20,000. We might be able to fill these gaps in subsequent researches when more sources become available. But for the present study, we will use the official figure that appeared in Contaduría while at the same time recognizing that they possibly represent only 1/3 or less of the actual number of the Carrera's sailors.

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³⁰³ The item is titled "Data del dinero que pagaron de la Real Caja de su cargo de salario a los oficiales y gente de mar y tierra en el tiempo desta cuenta." AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

Chart 3.1: Distribution of sailors: marinero, grumete español, and grumete indio chino, 1590-1640.



Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

The identified 4,808 sailors are comprised of 2,867 *marineros* (59.6%), 1,507 grumetes indios chinos (31.3%), and 434 grumetes españoles (9%). While the designations of the grumetes as español and indio chino may give us a hint about their homeland, this is not always the case for marineros. We can assume that the majority of marineros are Spanish-Europeans, considering that the Spanish Crown frequently issued orders to avoid hiring the extranjeros (non-Spanish Europeans) in both Carreras in the Atlantic and the Pacific. Yet, we cannot disregard the presence of these extranjeros in the enterprise since the circumstances that led to their recruitment in His Majesty's ships

reveal so much about the dynamics and global aspect of the Carrera del Pacífico's workforce. Albeit various orders prohibiting the Portuguese and extranjeros from participating in the Pacific trade as merchants or workers, the actual records reveal their presence.

The employment of Europeans (Spanish and non-Spanish) in the aforesaid Carrera can be better understood if we examine the panorama of their presence both in the Indies and the Pacific as we can safely speculate that the sailors of the *Carrera de Indias* also became a major supplier of labor for the Pacific trade, especially that 68.6% of Pacific sailors were Europeans (see Chart 3.1: Distribution of sailors: marinero, grumete español, and grumete indio chino, 1590-1640). Thus, it appears that the enlistment of sailors for the *Indies* served as the first filter of those who ended up working in the Carrera del Pacífico. Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that foreign prisoners or extranjeros (usually the English, French, and Dutch) were also brought from various forts in the Spanish colonies such as Havana, Caracas, Veracruz, and Ternate and were assigned the plaza of sailors and gunners in the Carrera to serve their penalty.

We can also attribute the high presence of the Europeans in the Pacific to the fact that during the period under study, commercial navigation in New Spain was still an emerging maritime economy. On this ground, there was a severe shortage of skilled sailors and, consequently, a need to recruit from other ports.³⁰⁴ If we look at the profile of the European sailors in the Carrera del Pacífico, their homelands were situated along the route of the Carrera de India. Annually, the latter was sending two fleets: one to Peru and another to New Spain. Their paths started from the Atlantic coast of Andalusia (a tangle of ports stretching from Cádiz, through Puerto Santa Maria and Sanlúcar de Barrameda, all the way to Seville) to the Canary Islands then the Lesser Antilles. From here, the fleet crossed the Atlantic Ocean and bifurcated into two routes.

³⁰⁴ This recurrent problem was address in the 18th century through the establishment of *Departamento* de San Blas. See Pinzón Ríos, Hombres de mar.

The New Spain fleet stopped at Puerto Rico before going to San Juan de Ulúa while the *Tierra Firme* fleets sailed towards Cartagena de Indias.³⁰⁵

The port of San Juan de Ulúa (facing Veracruz) became the end destination of the Carrera for New Spain, but as Mallaína Perez indicated, New Spain served as a point of linkage to the Philippines. From Veracruz, the enlisted sailors traveled for more than 100 leagues—first to Mexico City and finally to Acapulco. Evidently, these mobile sailors became a permanent link between Seville, Veracruz, Acapulco, and Manila.

Another factor that influenced the composition of the Pacific workforce was the abrupt decrease in the population of indios or naturales from New Spain. In central Mexico, for example, it declined from approximately 4,400,000 in 1565 to about 2,500,000 towards the end of the sixteenth century. It continued with the epidemics of 1576-1579 and 1596 and persisted until 1620.³⁰⁷ The number of Novohispano indios in the records as sailors is minimal. They have a more significant presence at the port as laborers and suppliers. Other populations have more participation than them such as *mulato libre, moreno, mestizo, negro esclavo* or black slave, and *indios de Lima*, among others.

To complement the data we gathered from *Contaduría*, we also utilized the available appointment records in the AGN: *expedientes* of 70 sailors in 1621 and another 23 for 1591 1592 from the bundles *Archivo Histórico de Hacienda* and *Marina*, respectively.

Table 3.2: The list of 70 marineros and grumetes appointed in Mexico City, 1621.

	Name	Profession	Homeland	Age
01	Alonso, Pedro	marinero	Santa María	25

³⁰⁵ PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA, *Spain's men of the sea*, pp. 2-4, 9-11.

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³⁰⁶ This port was a small barren island, measuring some five or six kilometers in perimeter. It was located off the northwest coast of the Gulf of Mexico facing Veracruz. It had around eight to 10 Spanish householders as permanent residents while the rest of its population was black slaves who were tasked for the maintenance of the port. Pérez-Mallaína, Spain's men of the sea, pp. 9-12.

³⁰⁷ PHELAN, "Free versus Compulsory Labor", p. 190.

		1		1
02	Betancor, Juan de	marinero	Gran Canaria	20
03	Betancor, Manuel de	marinero	Gran Canaria	20
04	Boyero, Francisco	marinero	Alicante	30
05	Castañeda, Pedro de	marinero	Sevilla	20
06	Castro, Gregorio de	marinero	Santiago de Galicia	22
07	Cruz, Juan Antonio de la	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	25
08	Demieres, Hernando	marinero	Santa María	25
09	Flandes, Marcos de	marinero	Faro	40
10	Flores, Juan de	marinero	Santa María	28
11	García, Antonio	marinero	Santa Maria	22
12	García, Francisco	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	40
13	Gómez, Juan	marinero	Lepe	30
14	Gómez, Simón	marinero	Cacada [?]	30
15	González Bueno, Juan	marinero	[?]	50
16	González, Andrés	marinero	Santa María	20
17	González, Juan	marinero	Las Palmas	23
18	Leal, Francisco	marinero	Villa de Noya, Galicia	23
19	León, Alonso de	marinero	Santa María	20
20	López de Lerin, Juan	marinero	Sevilla	22
21	López, Asencio	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	20
22	Martin, Antonio	marinero	Ayamonte	24
23	Martin, Diego	marinero	Moguer	22
24	Martin, Juan	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	25
25	Núñez, Domingo	marinero	Lepe	25
26	Ortiz, Martin	marinero	Moguer	25
27	Palomeque, Juan	marinero	Lominchar, Toledo	20
28	Pedrosa, Josephe de	marinero	Sevilla	28
29	Ramírez, Pedro	marinero	Lepe	22
30	Rodríguez, Alonso	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	20
31	Rodríguez, Francisco	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	22
32	Rodriguez, Juan	marinero	Santa María	22
33	Santa Cruz, Juan de	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	33
34	Santos, Domingo de los	marinero	Faro	25
35	Torres, Miguel de	marinero	Almonte	30
36	Aguilera, Juan de	grumete	Salamanca	24
37	Ávila, Juan de	grumete	Lima	25
38	Bergara, Lucas de	grumete	Sevilla	19
39	Casas, Christoval	grumete	Merida, Campeche	22
40	Clavijo, Claudio	grumete	Triana	23
41	Díaz, Bernabé	grumete	Santa María	18
42	Franco, Luis	grumete	Sevilla	16
43	Gutiérrez, Cristóbal	grumete	Santa María	26
44	Gutiérrez, Juan	grumete	Sevilla	15
45	Hener, Francisco	grumete	Valencia	23
				•

46	López, Alonzo	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	22
47	López, Francisco	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	21
48	López, Francisco	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	22
49	López, Juan	grumete	Antequera	21
50	López, Juan	grumete	Sevilla	20
51	López, Sebastián	grumete	Extremadura	21
52	Marques, Francisco	grumete	Tenerife	23
53	Navarrete, Juan de	grumete	Jerez de la Frontera	24
54	Ochoa, Esteban de	grumete	Cortijo, Carrillo	26
55	Pérez, Diego	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	24
56	Pérez, Juan	grumete	Santa María	26
57	Pérez, Juan	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	18
58	Ramírez, Agustín	grumete	Sevilla	16
59	Ramírez, Juan	grumete	Sevilla	16
60	Rodríguez, Bartolomé	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	27
61	Rodríguez, Juan	grumete	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	16
62	Sánchez, Antonio	grumete	Santa María	21
63	Sánchez, Francisco	grumete	Santa María	21
64	Sánchez, Pedro	grumete	Puerto Real	18
65	Sequera, Gonzalo de	grumete	Tavira	19
66	Sosa, Manuel de	grumete	Lisboa	19
67	Villalobos, Pedro de grumete		Sevilla	25
68	Cruz, Diego dela	grumete chino	Sibu	28
69			Pampanga	24
70	Suárez, Manuel	grumete mulato	Isla de Santo Domingo	31

Source: AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

Table 3.2 contains information about the name, place of origin, body marks, and constitutions of 70 enlisted sailors (35 marineros and 35 grumetes). It was done in Mexico City, between 9 February 1621 and 13 March 1621, through the order of the Viceroy to the pilot Francisco de Mesa to examine sailors who would serve in the *naos* and leave that year *for Las Islas Filipinas del Poniente*. The majority of them originated from Southern Spain (47 from Andalusia and four from the Canary Islands); five came from Northern Spain, and two from Central Spain. Outside Spain, four came from Portugal, two from the Philippines, and one each from New Spain, Peru, and the Caribbean. All those who did not originate from the Iberian Peninsula, one from Peru, a

mulatto from the Caribbean, an indio from New Spain, and indios chinos from the Philippines, served as grumetes.

Table 3.3 The list of 23 marineros and grumetes indios chinos appointed in Mexico City and Acapulco, 1591-1592.

	Name	Profession	Homeland	Age
01	Alejandro, Juan	marinero		
02	Anaya, Sebastián de	marinero	Nápoles	35
03	Bautista, Juan	marinero	Génova	28
04	Bautista, Juan	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	20
05	Castro, Pedro de	marinero	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	20
06	Conasia de Candía,	marinero	Candía	28
	Nicolo			
07	Corea, Simon	marinero	Tavira	20
80	Frisia, Vicencio de	marinero	Frisia	44
09	González, Pedro	marinero		
10	López, Jorge	marinero		
11	Martin Romero,	marinero	Tavir	22
	Domingo			
12	Miguel, Agustín	marinero	Alemania	26
13	Rocas, Juan de	marinero	Venecia	26
14	Rodríguez de León, Juan	marinero		
15	Romero, Vicente	marinero	Puerto de Santa María	20
16	Rubio, Francisco	marinero		
17	Sena, Andrés de	marinero	Génova	27
18	Vega, Juan de la	marinero	Villa de Yllmes [?]	24
19	Calimbas, Agustin	grumete chino	Filipinas	
20	Cateca, Agustin	grumete chino	Filipinas	
21	Panganiban, Andres	grumete chino	Filipinas	
22	Paquiban, Bartolomé	n, Bartolomé grumete chino Filipinas		
23	Sone, Alonso	grumete chino	Filipinas	

Source: AGN, Marina 2, exps. 1-23: Nombramientos, 1591-1592.

We use as a second reference the appointment of sailors done in Mexico City and Acapulco and dated at an earlier period, between December 21, 1591 and November 25, 1592, to serve the ship *San Felipe*. In comparison with the first document, it includes the same information about the King's sailors: name, profession, homeland (natural), and physical description. Although it presents a lesser number of sailors, it reveals a

more heterogeneous profile when it comes to the area of origin. As indicated in Table 3.2 (The list of 23 sailors and grumetes indios chinos appointed in Mexico City and Acapulco, 1591-1592), among the twenty-three sailors listed, eighteen are marineros and five indios chinos grumetes. Unfortunately, no other data are available for the indios chinos grumetes except their names. Among the eighteen marineros, three came from Andalusia, five from Italy, two from Portugal, and each from the Netherlands and Germany. The details given about the homeland (natural) of these Pacific sailors, to some extent, correspond to the findings of Perez-Mallaina for the Carrera de India's sea of men and war: the majority were Spaniards who came from Andalusia and Cantabria; 20% comprised the foreigners, which is said to be in this descending order: Portuguese, Italians, and others (Levantiscos, Flemings, and Germans). 308

Perez-Mallaina also asserted that Spain's enemies, such as English and French, were unusual to find among sailors.³⁰⁹ In the present study, although they are almost non-existent in the official list of sailors in the Carrera, they appear in Inquisition records. As a result of the recurring problem of completing the necessary number of sailors in the Pacific, its royal authorities resorted to sending to Acapulco and work as sailors *extranjeros* such as the English and French, whom they captured and imprisoned in various Spanish garrisons. The same can be said about the grumetes españoles, who were not always naturales from Spain. Some must certainly be extranjeros, mainly Portuguese and Italians. It can also be an effective means to conceal the presence of Spanish foreign enemies in the enterprise. We can infer from our observation regarding the composition of Spanish and Non-Spanish European sailors in the Carrera del Pacífico that to a certain degree, the officials, crew members, and other passengers of the Carrera de Indias arriving in Veracruz supplied the former's workforce. They had various motives to do that, with interest to participate in the galleon trade being the main reason (Chapter 5 will discuss the commercial participation of sailors in the

³⁰⁸ Andalusia became a strategic place for the foreign sailors since it transformed into a transit point between east and west (between Italy and the ports of Flanders) and between north Africa and the European continent, Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's men of the sea*, p. 3.

³⁰⁹ PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA, *Spain's men of the sea*, pp. 52-57.

enterprise). Other factors can be taking part as Philippine *colonos* or *conquistadores* (common in the sixteenth century) but ended up as ship's officials or crew members. Further, a few of them intended to join kindred who were already in Manila and spare spending money for the *nao*'s fare by disguising as sailors.

Regarding the grumetes indios chinos, Deborah Oropeza pointed out that most of them came from the Philippines, particularly from Manila and its suburbs (arrabales): Parañaque, Longalo, Tondo, Pasig, Taguig, and, Malate. Others came from surrounding towns and provinces in the Luzon area: Cavite (Cavite), Binacaya (Cavite), Laguio (Laguna), Nagcarlan (Laguna), Batangas, Lubao (Pampanga), and Malolos (Bulacan). Some originated from outside the Luzon area: Cagayan, Batan, and Cebu. Some Asians also appeared in the record, such as the Lascar sailors who used to serve in Portuguese ships and those from Malabar and Japan.³¹⁰ Given that we utilize the same sources, our estimations of grumete indio chino's annual average have little difference: Oropeza's estimation is twenty-four while our study calculates them at thirty-one. We agree with the author that this must be a conservative estimate since there are years when as many as 200 grumetes indios chinos are registered. In the present study's findings, if we compare the official number of sailors, the distribution will be 69.6% Europeans (marineros and grumetes españoles) and 31.3% non-Europeans. However, it is pertinent to mention other references are alluding to a different ratio. For example, Diego de Garay, a Spanish paje who embarked on a ship from Manila, commented that 1/5 (20%) of its entire crew was Spaniards or creoles and the rest were Philippine natives.³¹¹

So, why were the native Filipinos not reflected in the statistics? The enlistment and appointment records done in Cavite (Philippines) pose a challenge because most of the time, the names of these *indios chinos* are not included. Between 1590 and 1593, more than a hundred indios chinos grumetes that arrived in the port were not named

³¹⁰ OROPEZA, "Los indios 'chinos'", pp. 43 and 61; AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

³¹¹ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, p. 215.

but simply counted.³¹² Not surviving the journey from Manila to Acapulco meant they would not be part even of the statistics. Unfortunately, this happened all the time. Once enlisted, these native sailors embarked on the ship naked, that when the vessel reached high altitude, many of them died. In Acapulco, the royal authorities should register their name to be paid for their salary. By 1610, the King had to issue an order to the officials in the Philippines to log their names and monitor their number since many of them might die during the voyage to Acapulco.³¹³ Given the gaps mentioned earlier in the official reports, we can examine the trends among them (grumetes indios chinos) and other sailors (marineros and grumetes españoles) for fifty years explain the underlying reasons. With these objectives, we interrogate the available data by examining the following: (1) the trends in the number of sailors; (2) spatial mobility of sailors; (3) multiple jobs of sailors; and (4) their job longevity.

Trends in the number of sailors

To interpret the tendencies regarding the number of sailors serving in the Carrera del Pacífico, it is essential to realize that the number of ships arriving from the Philippines to bring the merchandise (which should not exceed 250,000 pesos) directly influenced the number of sailors staffing them. Especially when we consider that the following year, it's almost the same ships and its sailors that would bring back the returns (which should not exceed 500,000 pesos) of the merchandise brought.

³¹² AGI, Contaduría 897-899: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1594.

³¹³ Recopilacion IV. Libro IX. Título XXXXV. De la navegacion, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Peru, PP. 123-133. Ley liii. Que los grumetes indios traigan ropa para abrigarse y el fiscal de la Audiencia los defienda y de otras prevenciones. Felipe III, Madrid, Mayo 19, 1610.

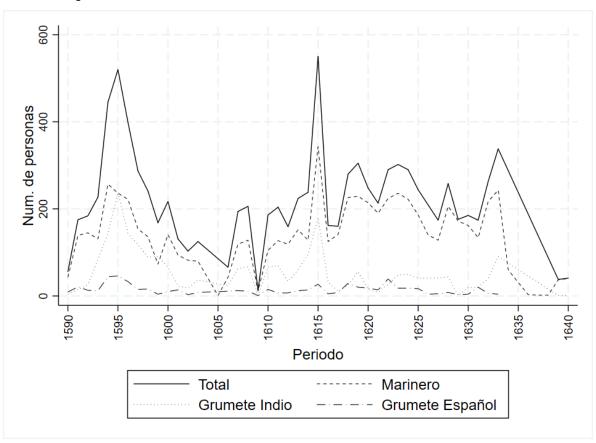
Table 3.4: The quinquennial number of royal ships leaving Acapulco, 1590-1640.

Period	No. of
1 criou	ships
1590-1595	15
1596-1600	23
1601-1605	15
1606-1610	15
1611-1615	17
1616-1620	18
1621-1625	13
1626-1630	13
1631-1635	10
1636-1640	8
Total	147

Note and Sources: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640. For more detailed records of the number of ships departing from and arriving in Acapulco, various sources can be used for comparison. For Table 3.3, for years 1564-1700, we consulted Oropeza, "Los indios 'chinos'", pp. 197-202 and the websites accessible online: for the period between 1520 and 1809, see "Transcriptions of documentary information relevant to the voyages of the Manila Galleons, from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain," in the Narrativa Histórica Web while for the period 1565-1815, see Cruikshank, "Manila galleon listing". They based their data on archival sources, principally from Archivo General de las Indias (Seville) and other published sources.

Table 3.4 shows that from 1590 to 1640, two to three ships were departing from Acapulco, but there are years, especially between 1596 and 1600 and between 1616 and 1620, when the number of galleons leaving was between four and nine. Other years also registered a high number of ships: four ships in 1595 and 1609, respectively; eight ships in 1615, and five ships in 1622. Although in the 1630s, the Crown started restricting it to one ship nevertheless, a regular number of two vessels were annually leaving Acapulco. The number was reduced to one or two galleons in the last five years

(1636-1640). On the other hand, there were years when no ship departed from the port, as happened in 1614, 1627, and 1637. These ships served as capitana, almiranta, avisos, and conservas. It is not always clear where the dispatch ships that were not destined for Manila would proceed, but most likely, they were sent to get supplies that Manila ships needed for their journey back to the Philippines; usually, they obtained provisions from American ports like Sonsonate, Peru, Costa del Mar, Tehuantepec, Huatulco, and Zacatula. Perhaps some of them were sent for explorations or expeditions since, as we will see later, the sailors of the Pacific were also hired to provide service in these activities. Unfortunately, it is not always mentioned in the records which ship they took or when exactly the ship left Acapulco.



Graph 3.1: The number of sailors and their distribution, 1590-1640.

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

Graph 3.1 presents the statistical data of sailors from 1590 to 1640 and reveals the three highest periods: 1594-1596, 1615, and 1633. Their figures are also relatively high for the years 1618-1619 and 1622-1624. Taking the number of ships into account as presented in Table 3.4 (The quinquennial number of royal vessels leaving Acapulco, 1590-1640), the peak period for sailors' participation coincides with the years when a high number of ships going to Manila were registered in Acapulco. As an illustration, let's examine the period 1594-1596, particularly the year 1595 when four ships crewed by more than 500 sailors left Acapulco. The reason for sending four ships was to compensate for the two galleons from the Philippines that shipwrecked in 1593 and did not reach Acapulco.

As a result, the following year, they sent five ships to bring merchandise, which arrived in Acapulco in December 1594 and January 1595. Three of these five ships left Acapulco in March 1595 to deliver the merchandise returns to Manila, while another one served as dispatch ship. We don't have information on what happened to the fifth ship, but it seems it did not leave Acapulco. The year 1615 is another peak year concerning the number of sailors. This time, Acapulco's ships failed to depart the previous year (1614) to send subsidies to the Philippines. Hence, in 1615, Acapulco sent two ships as flagship (capitana) and admiral's ship (almiranta) and another two as *avisos*, all destined to Manila. They also sent one ship to Japan while another three served as dispatched ships. In total, eight ships departed from Acapulco in 1615.

The second factor that could have affected the number of sailors in a given period is the budget for their salary. If we look into Graph 2.1 [Sailors' (un)paid salary, 1590-1640] from Chapter 2, the peak periods are for the following years: 1635 (56,153 pesos), 1615 (50,127 pesos), 1628 (42,202 pesos), and 1633 (36,804 pesos). The maximum totals of salary budget match the period when the number of sailors is highest: 1615 and 1633.

Lastly, it might have to do with the rise of the triangular commerce of Peru-Acapulco-Philippines between 1590 and 1604. Following the argument of Bonialian

that despite the prohibition of Peru's participation in the Asian market starting in the 1580s, it continued to trade informally through contraband traffic and royal officials' connivance. As a result, a big chunk of the surplus of Peruvian metal that was sent to Acapulco ended up in the Philippines. To demonstrate, there was a surge in the number of ships set to sail from Peru to Acapulco in 1593-1594. These years were also the peak of silver importation to China (estimated at 6,000,000 pesos). Thus, the decade of 1590 appears to be an auspicious period given the high number of ships that arrived from Peru to Acapulco, the peak of silver importation to China, the highest number of sailors employed, and the increased budget for their salary.

For the times where the number of sailors declined significantly, the pre-1591 and post-1635 periods are remarkable. During these periods, only one to two ships were going to the Philippines. During the last five years (1636-1640), they restricted the annual number of ships to one. Under Pedro de Quiroga's leadership as visitor-general at Acapulco, the inspection became so rigorous that it paralyzed the trade from 1636 to 1639. The Philippine representative in the Spanish court, Grau y Monfalcon, had to petition the King to prohibit the physical examination of goods. Finally, an order of 1640 prohibited any innovations in the opening of packages. Other periods with noticeable declines, such as 1605-1606 and 1609, raise some questions, especially that regular ships (two to four ships) departed Acapulco during this time. In this case, there seem to have gaps in records.

Spatial mobility of sailors

The Pacific sailors served in various Spanish American ports as the demand for workers increased. During the period under study, the routes and ports of Manila and Acapulco dominated as the principal recruiter of sailors. However, we must not overlook other areas where the royal vessels were dispatched for various motives, mainly Acapulco's

³¹⁴ Bonialian, *La América española*, pp. 85-90.

³¹⁵ SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, pp. 376 and 380.

royal treasury funded (or borrowed) the expenses incurred for ships, crew members, and provisions.

Graph 3.2 specifies the other circuits where the Pacific sailors were employed. We can categorize them based on the nature of works the sailors carried out: (1) to get supplies needed for the naos and the port of Acapulco: Zacatula, Huatulco, Tehuantepec; Realejo, and Sonsonate; (2) for exploration or descubrimiento (discovery): Cape of Mendocino and Islas Rico Plata y Oro) (3) dispatch ships (Peru, San Lucas, and California) and (4) expeditions in Asia (Maluco, Japan, Singapore, Playa Honda, and Terrenate). The date on the table pertains to when the sailors received salary and ration for serving in the royal ships while in the designated destination. We should also mention that it was common for the port's authorities to hire a private ship (particular) and pay its owner for its rent and the *flete* (transport) of supplies they brought from the aforementioned areas to Acapulco port. For example, Nicolas Jacome, master of the ship San Pedro, went to Huatulco in 1593 to pick up the tars provided by Juan Antonio de Branbilla, its port's mayor. For his service, Jacome was paid 631 pesos and seven tomines for the flete of 505 quintales and two arrobas of tars, worth ten tomines each quintal.³¹⁶ The rent of the boat cost 2.5 pesos each day. These owners were active in trading in other ports, while others were soldiers or military officers in Acapulco.³¹⁷

As an illustration of the sailors serving to royal ships outside the Manila-Acapulco route, from August 1594 to November 1595, a crew that consisted of a pilot and master, shipmaster, notary, storekeeper, caulker, diver, and eleven sailors served in *San Bartolome*. This ship was designated to go to Sonsonate and load the necessary supplies for the port of Acapulco, such as *cacao* and other merchandise. The royal official paid them their salary amounting to 1,485 pesos, seven tomines, and five granos and provided them ration while waiting at the port of Acapulco.³¹⁸ In addition to *cacao*,

³¹⁶ AGI, Contaduría 898: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1592-1593.

³¹⁷ AGI, Contaduría 903: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

³¹⁸ AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

Sonsonate and Realejo provided Acapulco with ammunition, supplies, and other merchandise.³¹⁹

Lastly, the royal ships staffed by Pacific sailors (officials, marineros, grumetes, and grumetes indios chinos) regularly visited other ports such as Huatulco and Tehuantepec for its tars, riggings, anchors, artilleries, and supplies necessary for the preparation and dispatch of naos to the Philippines.³²⁰ In addition, during the discovery of Islas Rico de Plata and Oro, Zacatula also supplied ammunition and supplies.³²¹ During these visits, the number of officials and sailors working in each ship would not be more than thirty, while the duration of their service could last for a year; moreover, they received the same amount of salary when serving in the ships going to Manila. Table 3.5 below shows the other routes visited by the royal ships and manned by Pacific sailors:

Table 3.5: Other routes where the royal sailors served.

Year	Destination	Date
1592	Peru	March
1593	Peru	April - December
1594	Peru	April
1594	Tehuantepec and	
	Huatulco	
1594-	Sonsonate	August 1594 - November 1595
1595		
1595	Sonsonate, Peru, and	
	Costa del Mar	
1597-	Peru	November 1597 - January 1598
1598		
1600	Peru	October - December

³¹⁹ AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

³²⁰ AGI, Contaduría 899: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1593-1594; AGI, Contaduría, 902.

³²¹ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

1601-	Realejo to Acapulco	August 1601 - January 1603
1603		
1601-	Discovery	April 1601 - April 1603
1603		
1602	Discovery of Cabo de	April - December
	Mendocino	
1.600	m l	A :1 N
1603	Tehuantepec	April - November
1606-	Peru	December 1606 - December
1607	m l	1607
1608	Tehuantepec	0.1.1600.16.1610
1609-	Maluco	October 1609 - May 1610
1610	_ ,	
1609-	Tehuantepec	December 1609 - March 1610
1610	_	
1610	Tehuantepec	
1610	Huatulco and	
	Tehuantepec	
1610	Discovery of Las Islas	July - October
	Rico de Plata y Oro	
1611	Huatulco and Huantepec	
1610-	Zacatula to Acapulco	November 1610 - February 1611
1611		
1611	Japan	
1612	Tehuantepec	
1615	Tehuantepec	January - April
1616	Singapore	January - June
1617	Playa Honda	April - May
1616-	Terrenate	August 1616 - May 1617
1617		
1623	California, San Lucas,	
	and Navio de Aviso for	
	Manila ships	

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

The other missions of royal ships included exploration, expedition, or dispatch to notify the port authorities of the danger of attacks from pirates. The role of sailors in these activities as sailors-soldiers and as agents of the Spanish empire will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV; however, to have a general panorama of the spatial distribution of sailors, we present in this section the number of sailors employed in a specific area and designated period.

Graph 3.2: Spatial distribution of sailors: Acapulco-Manila, Acapulco-Peru, and Other routes.³²²

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

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 $^{^{\}rm 322}$ AGI, Contaduría, 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

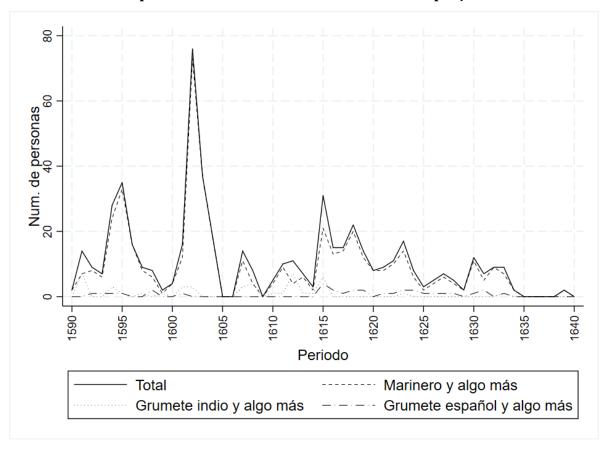
Graph 3.2 indicates the consistency of the percentage of sailors serving in the Acapulco-Manila route, which has the most outstanding share of its workforce. However, it has periods of decline, with the year 1601-1603 as the highest drop. It corresponds to the years of exploration or discovery where many sailors were hired to participate in navigation and defense of ships, primarily in other routes and in Peru. The period with an average decline in the number of Manila-Acapulco sailors is registered across the quinquennial period 1606-1610, reflecting the employment of sailors in other American ports, especially in Peru, for the routine activities of procuring supplies and merchandise for the King's ships.

The same can be said for other years, with a low decline during the first decade of the seventeenth century. The different periods with reduction, which are almost unnoticeable, but should not be disregarded, are 1616-1617 and 1623. They match the years of military and commercial expedition and exploration to Asia and California. Other helpful data to complement Graph 3.1 (The number of sailors and their distribution, 1590-1640) for a deeper understanding of the nature of their jobs are provided in Graph 3.3 (The number of sailors with multiple jobs) and Graph 3.4 (Statistics of sailors' job longevity).

Multiple jobs

As sailors, they assumed traditional roles aboard the ship: carriers of bureaucratic missives (such as royal appointments, orders, certifications, and awards, among others); movers of commodities of exchange; and deliverers of an amount of money not exceeding 500,000 pesos for the returns of the merchandise previously brought to Acapulco, for the payment of *socorros* (salary of infantry soldiers and expenses for ammunitions and supplies needed by the Real Campo de Manila), for the cost of transfer of the convict galley laborers, and the provisions of Philippine and Mariana residents. Their other functions included defending the ships and the Spanish stronghold in the Philippine Islands and East Indies.

Out of demand for the workforce or the necessity of sailors to make ends meet, crewmembers in the *Carrera* shifted between jobs (seaman-artillery man-carpenter) or served two positions simultaneously (seaman/soldier). Another significant reason for resorting to multifaceted jobs was the consistently empty royal treasury. In rendering service to His Majesty, three observations about the sailors and other crewmembers can be made. First, they often shifted between two or three jobs, the most common between serving as sailors and soldiers. Second, they could be employed in two to three posts at the same time. Lastly, they could be hired for a specific job but still serve in a different position.



Graph 3.3: The number of sailors with multiple jobs.

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

In Graph 3.3, the peak periods when the sailors were employed in two to three jobs are 1601-1603, followed by 1594-1595, then 1615. These registers follow the pattern of the graphs above: for 1594 to 1595, there was a high demand for sailors because of the peak of the Pacific trade (including Peru, Acapulco, Manila, and China) and a need to compensate for their insufficient number. To address this problem, assuming multiple jobs became necessary for the sailors. For the peak period of 1601-1603, given that there was a decline in the number of sailors working for the Manila-Acapulco, we cannot correlate this peak period to the demand for the trade workforce. If we examine, the second job where most of the sailors were hired during this period was as a soldier, followed by a gunner. It makes sense since the sailors were participating in the expedition and exploring other routes during this time. The same can be said for the year 1615, the period of exploration of Asia and California. It also explains why one of the standard practices in the Carrera del Pacífico and Carrera de Indias was training the sailors as gunners and requiring the gunners to have experience as a sailor. The artillero mayor (main gunner) would sometimes go to the port to teach and train the sailors to handle artillery. To qualify for an examination for gunners, experience in traveling was a requirement. For that, they preferred and encouraged the sailors to take the exam as a gunner. In the Indies, since the gunners had an essential role in the *Armada* ships, it's the first position that should be filled. 323 In fact, for a gunner, they preferred experienced sailors than qualified gunners.³²⁴

Graph 3.3 also reveals that among marineros, grumetes españoles, and grumetes indios, there is a significant mobility among marineros. In our records, they have assumed all the positions: piloto mayor, piloto de segundo mayor, contramaestre, acompañado de contramaestre, despensero, alguacil de agua, balanzario, barbero and cirujano, buzo, escribano, constable, condestable and artillero, as well as other military

³²³ Recopilacion III. Libro IX. Título XXII. Del capt. Gen. De la artillería, artilleros mayores, y otros de las armadas y flotas, artillería, armas, y municiones

³²⁴ Recopilacion III. Libro IX. Título XV (sic). De los generales, almirantes, y gobernadores de las flotas, y armadas de la Carrera de Indias. Ley cxxxiii. Instr. que han de guardar los generales de la Armada y Flotas de Indias, y los demas ministros a quien toca el apresto, y despacho de ellas, pp. 233-247. La R.G. en Madrid a 26 oct 1674. D. Carlos II en esta recopilación.

posts. The grumetes españoles follows the marineros in terms of share of having multiple jobs and eventually, they would become marineros. On the other hand, the mobility among the grumetes indios is almost imperceptible. The other jobs identified with the latter are: indios carpinteros, pajes indios, and real servicio (port workers or day laborers).

For sample cases of sailors with shifting or multiple jobs, we can start with Nicolas de Padilla, who worked for more than a decade and whose history was characterized by moving between jobs. His service as a seaman began onboard the almiranta San Luis, which left Acapulco on 13 April and remained in the same position until 20 February 1648. Although he already rendered service as shipmaster from 21 February to 30 April 1648, he went back to working as a seaman from 1 May 1648 until 20 May 1661. Thus, his employment as a seaman lasted for twenty-five years and 130 days while as a shipmaster for sixty days. After serving as a sailor and shipmaster, he took a despensero (storekeeper) post in the nao San Joseph. 325

The royal officials also appointed crewmembers to two or three positions simultaneously to address the lack of personnel. Theoretically, the crew should receive salaries for all the jobs performed, but this might not always be the case. The case of those who worked both as sailor and soldier was more common in Acapulco-Manila voyages than the contrary route, given that many of them were assigned to serve in the Real Campo de Manila upon arrival in the Philippines. Domingo Bautista was another crew member who worked in the nao La Contadora as a storekeeper and seaman, positions that could be strategic to do business. Following the employment history of some of these sailors reveals the anomalous activities that the royal officials were engaged in, which compromised the interests of the shipmates. Although Christoval Mujica had been receiving a salary of a seaman from 1633 to 1649 (from 28 July 1640)

³²⁵ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 466, fs. 1: Nicolás Padilla. Alférez de servicio en las islas y en la nao capitana *San Luis Rey de Francia*, 1661.

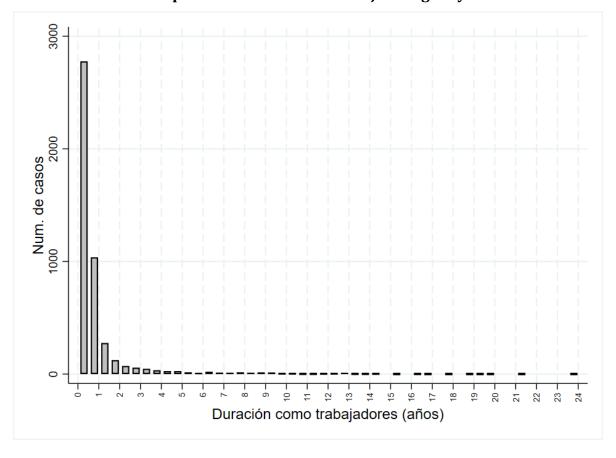
³²⁶ AGN, Consulados 131, exp. 2, fs. 19–154: Pleito de Domingo Bautista, despensero de la nao "Contadora," contra Francisco Rodríguez de León, señor de la mitad de la nao, que le debe 200 pesos de oro en mercancías y sus intereses, México y Manila, 1601.

aboard the nao capitana San Juan Bautista on its journey to New Spain to 21 October 1641 on a return trip to the Philippines), he served as alguacil de agua, which should have afforded him a higher salary. ³²⁷

Job longevity

To measure the duration of their service, we computed the *mediana* (median) and *promedia* (average) number of years of their service. As a result, the average number of the year(s) the Pacific sailors had served in the Carrera was one year, which means annually, there was a new set of workforces for the King. However, a few sailors worked for decades, with twenty-four years of service as the longest duration in our record. On the other hand, the median number of their service is 5.4 months, equivalent to one trip.

³²⁷ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 600, exp. 3, fs. 1: Cristóbal Mujica Marinero. Mandamiento para la paga de su salario, 1651.



Graph 3.4: Statistics of sailors' job longevity.

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

There are many factors to explain why the job longevity in the *Carrera* was so short: the distance of the Pacific, the danger and harshness of life at sea, and low and unpaid salaries. In one of the inquisition trials in the Philippines, the accused was heard by one of the witnesses expressing his perception about their job: "I have been thinking to leave this job as quickly as possible since I am so poor. I would want to be a soldier so that I could earn more money and eat."³²⁸ Unfortunately, some of these sailors were not given the option to leave the job as they died during one of the Carrera's shipwrecks. Even the supposedly safe two-month passage from Acapulco to Manila had its share of these tragic incidents in San Ildefonso in 1591, Santo Tomas in 1601, Remedios in 1616,

³²⁸ AGN, Inquisición 135, 13ff: Proceso contra Manuel Rabelo, marinero portugués, por casado dos Veces, Manila, 1582.

San Nicolas in 1620, and San Ambrosio in 1639. While for the Manila-Acapulco passage, at least six ships did not reach the open sea.³²⁹

Another crucial factor has to do with their age. From the information provided in Table 3.2 (1621), their age ranges from 15 as the youngest to 50 as the oldest. ³³⁰ While on Table 3.3, for the years 1591-1592, the youngest is 20, the oldest, 44. ³³¹ Since this is selective information, we cannot identify the average age of a sailor. However, we can surmise that the age was not rank-specific for the period under study, especially that the highest position that the Philippine natives—experienced sailors—could reach was grumete. Hence, we could find an indio grumete aged forty or a Spanish marinero aged twenty. We also observed that a sailor's relatively young age could give him more flexibility to switch jobs once he experienced the hard labor in the ship and choose to work outside the *Carrera*. As presented in the work of Oropeza, there's an opportunity to work in various parts of New Spain. ³³²

At the other end of the spectrum, we have a few sailors whose job history spanned decades. They had been switching jobs inside the Carrera: for example, from marinero to gunner to dispenser, they would go back to marinero. While some of them would temporarily leave the job in the Carrera, then they would return. Juan Ramirez, alias El Montañez was one of these sailors who lasted for a decade in the Carrera. He was a man of old age, of average stature, with a sparse beard and gray hair, who came from the mountainous area of Reynosa (Cantabria). He lived in the Philippines for twelve years and was regularly embarking on the galleon except when he stayed in New Spain for a year; hence, he never skipped a journey except for two. Then, in what would be his last journey (he died aboard the flagship in 1620), he uttered the following:

³²⁹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640; OROPEZA "Los indios 'chinos'", pp. 197-202; "Transcriptions of documentary information relevant to the voyages of the Manila Galleons, from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain", in *the Narrativa Histórica Web*; and CRUIKSHANK, "Manila galleon listing".

³³⁰ AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 1245, exp. 1: Listas de las gentes de mar y guerra que fue a las Islas Filipinas, 1618-1629.

³³¹ AGN, Marina 2, exps. 1-23: Nombramientos, 1591-1592.

³³² OROPEZA, "Los Indios 'chinos".

Dada que ya no estaba para aquellos trotes y pensaba si no le habría llegado ya la hora de retirarse. Pero si lo hiciera, ¿a qué podía dedicarse el si no sabía hacer otra cosa? [I am no longer fit to do those jobs, which are for the younger ones. I am thinking if it is time to retire from working. But if I do, to what will I dedicate myself if this is the only thing I know?"].333

The use of quantitative data for this section gives some general characteristics of the Pacific workforce and demonstrates how various factors affected the trends in the numbers of the crew: commercial, legal, and personal. The global nature of the Pacific trade was reflected in the intricate process of hiring them, converting them "ideal" sailors, and getting them to stay in the Carrera. The Spanish Crown's imposition of the established "hierarchy" in the early modern period can be seen in our statistical data; the total composition of the Pacific workforce (where the majority were the "ideal" Spanish Europeans, the limited mobility of the grumetes indios between ranks, and the exclusion of the extranjeros. Even the absence of native sailors (grumetes indios) in the official register of the Contaduría articulates well their invisibility.

By following the navigation of Pacific sailors in various spaces, we can capture the nature of their job, its multiplicity, and longevity. The peak of trade in Hispano-American-Asian circuits implied more demand for sailors; the more the activities of the Spanish Crown in the Pacific for the conservation and defense, if not expansion, of its empire. With the increasing demand for the labor force, the port authorities demanded its crew to assume multiple jobs or switch jobs depending on the nature of the activity. This environment of the sailors became a crucial factor for most of them to leave their employment after two trips. Despite the efforts of the Spanish monarch to alleviate their condition, it stayed the same for fifty years.

To sum up, the nature of a sailor's job discussed in this chapter reflects the overall reality regarding the oficios during the early modern period in the Spanish

³³³ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, p. 352.

Pacific. First, with the absence of professionalization, the oficios in the Carrera could not be considered a long-term or permanent career. Thus, it explains the multiplicity and longevity of the service of the sailors—who were in continuous search of part-time jobs within and outside the port areas—that resulted in the scarcity of maritime labor force. Secondly, to supplement wage labor, tributary labor and slave labor coexisted with it. While some were recruited through the hiring of free wage labor, others were forced into royal service through repartimiento or polo y servicios, or were slaves of the King, the royal port officials, or the residents of Acapulco. They hired the slaves' service for a fee.

We can safely assume that the sailors from the Philippines (who made up the majority of the crew) were recruited from the maritime communities of Spain and the Philippines, which served as the consistent labor pool for the *Carrera*. However, we must also point out that very few American sailors (Novohispano, Peruvian, and others) were enlisted due to various factors earlier mentioned. For example, the absence or weak presence of navigation culture/maritime communities, the prohibition of galleon trade outside the Philippines and New Spain (which restricted the direct recruitment as well, for example, from Peru, of Pacific royal sailors), and the decline of population in case of Mexico.

Thirdly, for the basis of the "promotion" of the sailors, the worker's naturaleza or eminence was given more weight than his "professional" qualification. This was manifested with the appointment as ship general or captain of an individual with no knowledge about navigation. For other ship officials, aside from excluding the natives (Philippine and American), it was probable for a European sailor (*marinero* and *grumete español*) to take any position from surgeon to pilot. This lack of labor division seems unimaginable, but it was not until the 18th century through *matricula* that the Spanish authorities in the Pacific thoughtfully implemented professional examinations and started to incentivize the royal sailors regularly. In the absence of *matricula*, the early sailors tried to make up for their poor condition by taking advantage of the Pacific trade (i.e., in royal ships plying Manila and Acapulco and private ships of Acapulco-Peru

trade) through participation as traffickers themselves (legal and contraband) or as intermediaries of traders.

CHAPTER IV: THE ROYAL SAILORS IN THE DEFENSE OF THE PACIFIC (1571 to 1630s)

Francisco Ruiz left Spain aboard a caravel under the command of General Ruiz Gonzalez de Sequiera. They traveled to the Philippines via the Cape of Buena Esperanza route in an early effort to establish the direct Sevilla-Manila way and omit Spanish America from the galleon trade.³³⁴ As Ruiz arrived in Manila on 19 August 1614, he started working as a port sailor until 7 August 1615, when he enlisted to crew an Acapulco-bound ship. The following year, on 30 January 1616, he returned to the Philippines by embarking on the Carrera's flagship. However, it shipwrecked in Japan and ended up in Pangasinan, a northern Philippine province. From there, they moved down to Manila under the command of Luis Vela, the ship captain-master. Ruiz joined the company under Vela and entered the Real Campo (encampment) of Manila on 25 January 1617. He then became part of the expedition against the Dutch in Playa Honda from 6 April 1617 to 10 May 1618. Afterward, Ruiz enlisted again as a Cavite port sailor from 11 May to 20 July 1618. Finally, on 21 July, he boarded the Philippine ship as a sailor and reached Acapulco on 23 December 1618.³³⁵

While it appears exceptional, Francisco Ruiz's itinerary and detours are typical from the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Pacific sailors' experience. They usually followed the Europe-America-Asia route, but by the seventeenth century, the Europe-Asia-America also became common. With various maritime commercial networks on both sides of the Pacific, multiple players would sometimes cooperate but usually compete for the strategic areas. To preserve the control of the Spanish empire in the region, sailors and soldiers became indispensable, which the Carrera del Pacífico partly provided. For instance, the Carerra's recruitment mechanisms—recruiting officials, place, payment, and use of voluntary or forced workers—supplied a labor pool for Spain's naval and military activities in Spanish America and Asia-Pacific. 336

³³⁴ CENTENERO DE ARCE, "La política asiática de Felipe III", pp. 417, 421-422.

³³⁵ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

³³⁶ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

This chapter discusses the participation of the royal sailors in the Pacific twin defense system, consisting of the Real Campo of Manila and the Philippine Armada. It also highlights how the Carrera del Pacífico's sailors helped sustain the Spanish Pacific network by serving in times of war and military expeditions. It is organized chronologically into two parts: (1) from 1571 to 1600s and (2) from the 1600s to 1630s. The first period focuses on the funding, functions, and nature of the early Pacific defenses. Because of the Iberian Peninsula's limited military assistance, the colonial officials had to resort to temporary, improvised, and localized strategies. This set-up motivated the Carrera sailors' participation as sailor-soldiers during early explorations and continued until the subsequent century. The second period covers the shift of war from Europe to Asia, which affected the Pacific defense tactics, especially in Acapulco and Asian presidios.

Despite the peace in the Iberian Peninsula at the outset of the seventeenth century, the challenges in the Spanish Empire's "frontiers" never disappeared, particularly in the Pacific. More so that the battleground shifted to Asia, its ports, and garrisons. The lack of voluntary professionals in the royal armies resulted in the forced conscription of the natives and the formation of local militias. Like in the Spanish Peninsula, the Pacific local militias and coerced civilians should have served on a part-time basis during an emergency. ³³⁸ But with the continuous war, they became a "permanent" part and the largest contingent of the military troops. ³³⁹ Regarding the galleon crew, during *estada* (the period between trips), they became another reliable source of military labor. The distance of Manila from the contested Asian zones made them and the Philippine natives an easy target of recruitment. Finally, the Spanish Crown had commenced enlisting European and Mexican vagrants and levy prisoners since the sixteenth century, complementing the Philippine Armada and local militia in providing armed service.

³³⁷ See BAUDOT MONROY, "La construcción de la Real Armada en Filipinas", pp. 161-190; GALLEGOS RUIZ, *Fuerzas de sus reinos*.

³³⁸ White, "Spain's Early Modern Soldiers", p. 39.

³³⁹ Mathes, "Non-Traditional Armies in New Spain", p. 27. See also Gallegos Ruiz, *Fuerzas de sus reinos*.

The sailor-soldiers from 1571 to 1600s

Spain sought to control both sides of the Pacific through early explorations and military missions in the Philippines and Asia in the 1570s. As we will later see, during this time, the Mexican government provided an occasional aid called *situado* for the Philippine defense and preservation, a significant part of which went to the Real Campo de Manila and the Carrera del Pacífico. The Carrera also called the Philippine Armada, became more popularly known as the Manila-Mexico or galleon commerce. These designations imply that its operations prioritized military and commercial pursuits and needed stable funding for naval construction, soldiers and crew recruitment, food supplies, arms, and other provisions. In the sixteenth century, several factors, such as technological improvements, road constructions, and an efficient financial system, converged and provided the Habsburg Empire with the means to finance and supply a more significant army size.³⁴⁰ However, Spain was preoccupied with its war in Europe and concentrated there its finances and military forces. As a result, the Mexican Treasury shouldered the expenses of the galleon trade and its accompanying military mission. Alonso Álvarez observed that the Mexican situado became regular with the consolidation of the galleon trade in the last decades of the sixteenth century.³⁴¹

The realization of the Spanish dream of expansion lay on the Philippines' enduring and growing networks in the Asia Pacific and Spanish America. Consequently, it became one of the nuclei of regional and, perhaps to a certain extent, global economic circuits. With the union of Spain and Portugal, the Philippine strategic commercial position also served as the Pacific defense system base. On the one hand, Manila and Moluccas' *real campos* (encampments) converted into the crucial defense of Asia; on the other, these forts became the occidental flank that protected Spanish America from the Dutch and English incursions. Grau y Monfalcón confirmed this as he justified the preservation of the Philippines as a Spanish colony. It could serve as a diversionary

³⁴⁰ PARKER, "The 'Military Revolution' 1560-1660--a Myth?", pp. 209-212.

³⁴¹ ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático*, pp. 262-270.

tactic against the European enemies, who would have to concentrate all their efforts in Asia and save Spanish America.³⁴²

The Philippine Armada and the presidios

From the 1570s, the Mexican Treasury had started contributing to the Philippine Armada and its military expenses: ship construction and repairs, sending men, munitions, and money.³⁴³ Mexican situado (monetary assistance) administration fell under Acapulco port's castellano or governor's obligations. He also had to supervise the dispatch of sailors and soldiers to the Philippines and Manila encampment, pay their salary and other expenses of the port garrison and attend to any emergencies.³⁴⁴ To secure the colonization and conversion of Philippine natives, the port officials annually sent three to six ships to Manila.³⁴⁵ Similarly, the Philippine role in preserving the Spanish Empire in the Pacific manifested in tribute, labor, and troops.³⁴⁶ In 1590, the Indies Council adjusted the Philippine native tax from eight to ten silver reales. The additional tax, also known as situado real, went to the soldiers' payment in Manila's encampment and religious stipends. 347 Secondly, the natives became the leading suppliers of the labor and materials needed for royal works in the shipyard and garrisons. In the 1580s, they shouldered the expenses in Manila's artillery foundry and provided their service from cutting timbers to contributing firewood and charcoal. They also had to bring them to Manila via their canoes without a guarantee of collecting money from the royal officials for their services.³⁴⁸ Finally, the Spanish rulers actively enlisted the natives to join the troops in local explorations. Their services vary from rowing the galleys, crewing the ships to fighting. For instance, to survey the Cagayan

³⁴² ALONSO ALVAREZ, El "Alivio de las Indias", p. 45; BAUDOT MONROY, "La construcción de la Real Armada en Filipinas", pp. 167-168; ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático*, p. 272; ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 45-56.

³⁴³ OROPEZA, "Los Indios 'chinos'", p. 50; GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La expansión mexicana", pp. 64-65.

³⁴⁴ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeón de Manila", 45-47; SALES COLIN, *El movimiento portuario,* p. 59.

³⁴⁵ PALAZUELOS MAZARS, "Acapulco y el galeón de Manila", p. 49.

³⁴⁶ ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático*, pp. 243-246.

³⁴⁷ Alonso Alvarez, *El costo del imperio asiático*, p. 193.

³⁴⁸ GALLEGOS RUIZ, *Fuerzas de sus reinos*, pp. 276-277.

Province in the northern Philippines, Governor Luis Perez de Dasmariñas dispatched 80 Spanish soldiers and 1,400 Indian bearers. The same happened in the conflict with the Mindanao Muslims in 1602, where the royal authorities sent 200 Spaniards and 200 Philippine natives.³⁴⁹

The Philippine Armada and presidios became inextricable when it comes to the Pacific defense. The Carrera ships that plied the Pacific annually to connect New Spain with the Philippines formed part of the Royal Armada as *capitana* and *almiranta* (captain and admiral's ships). Although they strictly followed the Manila-Acapulco highway as a conduit of the Pacific trade exchanges, the port officials could also launch exploratory and military missions in America and Asia-Pacific. More importantly, the Carrera sustained the Philippine presidios by transporting its necessary crew, troops, provisions, and salaries. Their structures as artillery-laden ships with armed soldiers on board for their defense fit their mission of safeguarding territories and commercial routes in the Spanish Pacific.³⁵⁰ However, we should emphasize that the Carrera still qualifies as an improvisational response of the colonial officials due to the lack of—strictly speaking—a genuine military armada in the Pacific.

During military campaigns and invasions in Asia, the captains and corporals would recruit from different parts of New Spain the soldiers, gunners, and sailors, collect ammunition and other supplies and organize infantry and naval squadrons. For the enlistment of soldiers, the officials issued a public decree on the ongoing recruitment, followed by beating of drums and playing fife or piccolo. Then the officials raised banners in enrolment areas such as Mexico, Puebla, Veracruz, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Celaya, Cuernavaca, Tlaxcala, and Acapulco. The recruitment commenced a few months before the arrival of Manila galleons and could last for up to five months.³⁵¹ Given that some came from distant places, the military officers provided for their travel needs until they reached Acapulco. To illustrate, in 1615, during their fourteen-day trip from

³⁴⁹ BORAO MATEO, "Contextualizing the Pampangos (and Gagayano) Soldiers", p. 588.

³⁵⁰ BAUDOT MONROY, "La construcción de la Real Armada en Filipinas", p. 166.

³⁵¹ MAWSON, "Convicts or conquistadores?", pp. 470-471.

Mexico City and Puebla to Acapulco, an infantry corporal and commissary disbursed 653 pesos and two tomines to pay the town governors and principals for the food they ate in the following stopovers: Xochimilco, Cuernavaca, Ystla, Tesmalaca, Mayanala, San Francisco del Rio de las Balsas, Cipango, Tixtla, Mazatlan, Coacoyula and Tistlancingo. Other expenses included their lodging and the freight charge of mules that carried them from Cuernavaca to Acapulco.³⁵²

Upon arrival in the Philippines, the crew and infantry soldiers could be assigned either in Manila's real campo (encampment) or in the Moluccas fortification. The Manila encampment extended from its principal base in Fort Santiago in Intramuros to the presidios in Cagayan in the north, in the Visayan provinces of Cebu and Iloilo, and the Isla de Formosa (in present-day Taiwan). Manila and Formosa had two galleys each, while Ternate had two, manned by more than 1,000 native penal workers. Also, around 140 Pampango soldiers, experts in land combat, guarded the presidios outside Manila. Standing armies, these natives had separate companies with corresponding officers and received salaries. In addition to Pampangos, Tagalog and Camarines natives also participated as soldiers.

The Manila officials stationed the second group to the Malukan fort, consisting of seven Spanish companies and two Pampango companies, each with an estimated eighty to one hundred men. Manila and Moluccas' standing armies started hiring native soldiers in 1603 and 1606, respectively. However, according to José Eugenio Borao Mateo, the military officials commenced drafting them as early as the last quarter of the sixteenth century to fight. They took part in defending the Philippines from external threats—from the raids of Limahong and Taifusu to Borneo's civil wars, the Malukan

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³⁵² AGI, Contaduría 903, file I: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615.

³⁵³ BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", p. 95.

³⁵⁴ BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", pp. 95-96.

³⁵⁵ BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", pp. 95-96.

³⁵⁶ MAWSON, "Philippine Indios in the Service of Empire", p. 386.

war, and Cambodia's expedition—and during local conflicts, such as what happened in the military missions in Cagayan and Zambales.³⁵⁷

The royal sailors in the military expeditions

The royal sailors of the Carrera received their payment by installments from multiple treasuries: Mexico City, Acapulco, and Manila. It reflects their geographical and occupational mobilities, as they responded to the local or external exigencies of war and commerce. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, it became a practice for the crew to shift between jobs, the most common of which was alternately serving as Carrera sailor, gunner, and sailor-soldier in Manila encampment, the Moluccas fort, California, and the Mar del Sur (South Seas). It became evident between 1594 and 1603 the early military and exploratory missions in the Pacific.

Asia-Pacific.

The 1560s voyages to the Philippines primarily comprised 150-300 sailors and soldiers. In the Carrera de India, the master gunner and the gunners comprised ten percent of the merchant ships and were responsible for issuing gunpowder for the artillery pieces and the soldiers and seamen's muskets harquebuses. During an attack, they had to take charge of the artillery pieces and munitions, aided by the sailors, grumetes, and soldiers. ³⁵⁸ In comparison, in the Carrera del Pacifico, gunners constituted less than five percent of the naval personnel. ³⁵⁹ Hence, although the sailors mainly served as crew in the Philippine Armada, they should also know how to use arms and defend the ships and their cargo on the trip. Once they reached their destination, royal officials could delegate the sailors to other tasks, including shipbuilding and fortification. The crew's waiting period between trips became convenient for the colonial officials since there would always be available labor for three to six months.

³⁵⁷ BORAO MATEO, "Contextualizing the Pampangos (and Gagayano) Soldiers", pp. 587-588.

³⁵⁸ MATHES, "Non-Traditional Armies in New Spain", p. 18.

³⁵⁹ AGI, Contaduría 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

For this reason, they regularly enlisted the sailors to join the real campo in Manila or Ternate. Sometimes, it would take years before the latter could embark again on the naos.

Likewise, the soldiers formed the Philippines' initial reinforcements for its conquest and settlement.³⁶⁰ With regards to their origin, they were mostly Spaniards and young Mexican creoles and mestizos. For instance, Legazpi's expedition to the Philippines was made possible with the participation of Mexicans.³⁶¹ While in 1575, of 178 recruited soldiers for the Philippines, 140 were Spaniards (50% from Andalusia, the rest from Extremadura, Canarias, Leon, Old Castile, New Castile, Basque, Asturias, Aragon, Galicia, Navarra, and Valencia) and the remaining 38, natives of New Spain (95% from Mexico, the others from Peru and Santo Domingo).³⁶² When the Spanish military campaigns extended to Asia, the Philippine officials had to widen recruiting among the European, American, and Asian populations.

According to Borao Mateo, who provides quantitative data on the subject, in 1581, the incoming Philippine governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa brought 600 Spanish soldiers and civilians from Mexico to organize a Bornean expedition. Moreover, the Philippine officials sent three missions to the Moluccas Islands between 1582 and 1593. Lastly, the Manila governor allowed two military trips to Cambodia, the first in 1596 with 130 Spanish soldiers and the second in 1598, with soldiers assisted by Philippine Pampangos.³⁶³ In the 1603 Chinese rebellion, the Manila forces that crushed it had the following soldiers: 220 Spanish arquebusiers, 400 Japanese, 2,000 Pampangos, 200 Philippine Moros, and 300 blacks.³⁶⁴ The repeated use of the term "Spanish soldiers" should be taken with a caveat since it could refer to joint Spanish-Mexican forces and include the crew accompanying the troops.

360 Muro, "Soldados de Nueva España a Filipinas ", pp. 469-479.

³⁶¹ QUIRINO, El primer mexicano en Filipinas", pp. 253-256 and 259.

³⁶² Muro, "Soldados de Nueva España a Filipinas", pp. 469-479.

³⁶³ BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", pp. 85-86

³⁶⁴ BORAO MATEO, "Contextualizing the Pampangos (and Gagayano) Soldiers", p. 588; BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", p. 89.

American Pacific.

The sixteenth-century wars of Spain with the English and Dutch resulted in the constant menace of their intrusion in the Pacific, particularly in the Mar del Sur. Sending warning ships from Acapulco port and obliging the Mexican natives to defend the Pacific coastal areas became the government's stopgap measures. Hence, every time foreign vessels appeared in Mar del Sur, the prompt reaction of port officials was to send a royal messenger (paid per hour) to the *justicias* (local official) in the Pacific coastal areas. They could also send a boat crewed by the blacks for 1.5 pesos to examine an unknown ship close to the port until it left.³⁶⁵ Also, they rented dozens of mules to move the provisions and other items from the royal warehouse to a safer place. After the threat subsided, the vessels would return to Acapulco while the military forces would disperse.³⁶⁶

In August 1594, with the news of the presence of English pirates in the Mar del Sur, royal officials hired caulkers and boat builders to prepare a ship in Acapulco. Another option was to rent a vessel, whose price varied from 150 to 400 pesos monthly. Once the craft was ready, they dispatched it with the Carrera sailors to warn the Philippine galleons. For the defense of Acapulco port, the officials enlisted natives from Chilapa (35 men), Zacatula (35 people), and Mexico City (50 people), each jurisdiction, under a captain.³⁶⁷ The same incident happened in 1597 and as a course of action, the Mexican viceroy sent San Bartolome as a warning ship, crewed by the Carrera's sailors: Francisco Rolon as master of the ship; Juan Bautista, shipmaster; Miguel Gonzalez, carpenter; Juan Ponce, caulker; Bartolome de Bazozaval, sailor and steward; Lucas de Rosales, scribe; Juan Garcia, Sebastian Gutierrez, Pedro Ballezilla, Nicolas Rodriguez, Francisco de Braga, Alonso Martin, Alonso Chacon, Francisco Hernandez, Francisco de Arboleda, and Tomas Perez Machado as sailors; and Francisco Ramirez, Juan Canal de

³⁶⁵ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁶⁶ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁶⁷ AGI, Contaduría 899: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1593-1594.

Malate, and Alonso Lubao as chinos grumetes. As a precautionary move, Acapulco officials would transport the money deposited in the Treasury to other ports in times of danger. In this case, they carried the silver money amounting to 12,000 pesos in six boxes and hired three mules to transfer them to Xaltianguez.³⁶⁸

The Carrera's sailors also participated in the defense of Peru as the crew of the warning ships dispatched from Acapulco to assist its Armada (Armada del Peru). To cite a case, on 8 September 1600, thirteen soldiers, three officials, four sailors, and two grumetes embarked Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación for two months to aid the Armada del Peru commanded by General Don Juan de Velasco. The royal authority dispatched a second warning ship, named Catalina, on 12 September 1600, to carry a letter from the Mexican Viceroy and provisions for the Armada, comprised of meat, salted fish, chickens, and others. It navigated for three months with twenty-two men of war and sea. The sailors are sailors as a sailor of the sailor of

A third ship, Santa Catalina de Sena, sailed between September 1600 to January 1601 with twenty-one crew and officials. It included Rodrigo Poles, master; Juan de Morgana, pilot; Simon Mongal, ayudante de piloto; Alonso Gomez, shipmaster; Alonso Martinez de Vera, scribe; Mateo Sanchez, Gaspar Viafara (black), Domingo Viafara, Domingo Mandinga, Anton Viafara, Cristobal Bran, and Francisco Mandinga, and Juan Jorge de Candia sailors; and Diego Martin Rezio and Amador Gonzalez, as gunner and grumete, respectively. Also, they could recruit sailors into a military company in Mexico City, such as what happened to Antonio Gonzalez, Juan Luis, Juan de Herrera, Bartolome

³⁶⁸ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁶⁹ The ship officials and sailors were the following: Vicente Diaz, pilot; Juan Vazquez, master; Francisco de Prado, a sailor serving as shipmaster; sailors Juan Fernandez, Agustin Diaz, Pantaleon de Genova, and Sebastian Moron; and grumetes Francisco Tibao and Pedro Poca. AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁷⁰ The men of the sea were consisted of the master and pilot Nicolas Jacome, shipmaster Juan Alonso, chino grumete Perico Moncholo, and sailors Cristobal Gomez, Cristobal Rodriguez, Alonso Fernandez Torino, Domingo Gonzalez, Domingo Juan, and Nicolas Condocalle. AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

Baez, Juan de Rodas, and Francisco de Ybarra.³⁷¹ Another boat crewed by the Carrera sailors went to Peru on 30 November 1600 to send a dispatch to its viceroy.³⁷² Finally, a frigate went there in October 1600, crewed by Nicolas Simon, master; Hernando de Salazar, pilot; and Juan de Lima, sailor.³⁷³

The royal sailors in the exploratory missions

This section discusses how from the viceroyalty of New Spain, royal officials launched explorations that generally aimed to extend Spain's imperial dominion. Under Don Sebastian Vizcaíno, the Spanish Crown sent exploratory quests to California and Japan. Although the missions missed their target, they succeeded in surveying the coastal area above Monterrey's Bay. The team sent to California in 1596 and 1601-1603 intended to establish intermediary ports between Acapulco and Manila and make the Pacific crossing safer. Most of Vizcaíno's crew served as sailor-soldiers, with a monthly salary of eighteen pesos. Since a seaman's salary was fifteen pesos and that of a soldier's, eighteen pesos, the royal Treasury saved up some money by having the crew performed two jobs. And yet, they had to suffer from cold, hunger, and disease. The record of black and mulatto slaves' death in these expeditions highlights the perennial problem with recruiting men of sea and war in the Pacific.³⁷⁴

On the other hand, the motives for the early seventeenth-century expeditions to Japan were a response to changing economic and political policies from the Iberian Peninsula: the attempt of the metropole to replace the American galleon trade by rerouting it from Manila-Acapulco to Manila-Sevilla. As an alternative, the Americans initiated the triangular trade link with Japan. The other objective was to find the Islas

 $^{^{371}}$ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603

³⁷² The men of war and sea included a soldier named Martin Sanchez, the boat master and pilot Domingo Leonisio, and sailors Bartolome Rizo, Marcos Martin, and Miguel Nicolas, and grumetes Matheo de Vallecilla, Juan Dominguez, and Antonio Diaz. AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁷³ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603

³⁷⁴ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1597-1603.

Ricas de Plata y Oro, which they searched under the guise of looking for a galleon stopover in Japan. Like what happened in California, it is most likely that the Carrera sailors accompanied the 1611-1612 embassy to Japan.

The Spanish Crown failed to match its naval and military activities with a permanent army; instead, they continuously depended on recruiting men into local militias, free companies, coastal guards, and provincial and city militias as the need arose. ³⁷⁵ As a result, the Carrera crew became one of the government's constant working populations in its naval and military undertakings in the Pacific.

California.

In New Spain, Don Sebastian Vizcaíno, shipmate of a galleon Cavendish took in 1588, requested Viceroy Luis de Velasco to engage in pearl fishing in California. In exchange, he would supply him with information about the region. After obtaining the license, he launched his expedition to California Gulf in March 1596, composed of three ships (San Francisco, San Jose, and San Sebastian), 230 sailors and soldiers, arquebusiers, four Franciscans, wives of soldiers, fourteen horses, twelve pieces of light artillery.³⁷⁶ In this two-month expedition, he lost fifty of his men for desertion and another forty because of skirmishes with the natives during the exploration of the California gulf's northern shore. The first California expedition failed due to the place's unsuitability and the soldiers' discontentment.³⁷⁷

In May 1602, Vizcaíno's California exploration resumed.³⁷⁸ This time, the King tasked Don Sebastian Vizcaíno as the expedition's captain-general to survey California,

³⁷⁵ MATHES, "Non-Traditional Armies in New Spain", p. 27.

³⁷⁶ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603; MATHES, "Non-Traditional Armies in New Spain", p. 22; CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", pp. 287-288. ³⁷⁷ CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", pp. 287-288; BAENA REINA, "Rumbo al oeste", pp. 14 and 17-18; NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations between Mexico and Japan*, p. 11.

³⁷⁸ The Mexican authority postponed the discovery until 1602 because of the foreign threats to the Pacific headed by Oliver Van Noort. Two Dutch fleets that crossed the Magellan Strait entered the Pacific in 1599 and 1600. Led by Olivier Van Noort, they assailed South America's west coasts and made some captures. Because of fear of their attacks on Manila ships from Cabo de San Lucas, New Spain sent a Spanish fleet

stretching from Cape Mendocino to San Lucas. By sailing from Acapulco, he attempted to find an intermediate port where the Manila-Acapulco ships could stop replenishing their supplies and attending to the sick.³⁷⁹ For this mission, the Mexican viceroy provided him with three excellent ships: San Diego and Santo Tomas as capitana and almiranta, and a frigate named Tres Reyes. They purchased San Diego from Realejo and hired Pacific sailors and officials to bring it to Acapulco. They consisted of eleven ship officials, seven sailors, three indios chinos grumetes and carpenters, three grumetes morenos, one grumete español, three pajes españoles, and six sailor-soldiers. They sailed for two to seven months (August 1601 to March 1602) and received 2,600 pesos for their service.³⁸⁰ After arrival in Acapulco, most of them kept working and joined Vizcaino's contingent from Acapulco to California. The second ship, Santo Tomas, was embargoed and prepared for the expedition through a month of caulking and careening, while they built the third one, Tres Reyes, in Acapulco, for two weeks. The port officials also hired someone to paint the royal arms in four banners used for this expedition, for four pesos each. 381 Finally, an expert map maker, several officers, and special counselors, Carmelite friars (one of whom was a pilot/cosmographer), and an estimated 200 sailors and soldiers constituted Vizcaíno's expedition.³⁸²

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north from Peru to look for Van Noort's troops. They searched for days in September 1600 from La Paz to Cabo San Lucas but failed to find the enemies. Chapman, "Sebastian Vizcaino", pp. 289-290.

³⁷⁹ BAENA REINA, "Rumbo al oeste", pp. 14 and 17-18; NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, p. 11.

³⁸⁰ The crew and officials were Nicolao Jacome (pilot and master), Esteban Rodriguez (master chief pilot's assistant), Anton Flores (assistant pilot), Juan Rodriguez Quintero and Esteban Lopez (shipmasters), Phelipe de Santiago (scribe and sailor), Juan Dominguez (steward), Juan Gomez Prieto and Bartolome Verde (carpenters), Juan de Castillo, (caulker), Cristobal Corbelo (blacksmith, locksmith, and arquebusier), and sailors Pablo Ventura, Macias Hernandez, Enrique Juan, Manuel Griego, Bartolome Jimenez, Juan de Llanes, and Domingo Mendez. Also present were indios chinos grumetes and carpenters, namely, Cristobal Catuya, Lucas Cate, and Agustin Longalo; Juan de Baldonado, Anton de Silva, and Agustin as grumetes morenos; grumete Pedro Dominguez; Tomas Coca, Lorenzo Gentil, and Juan de Espinosa as pajes españoles; and sailor-soldiers including Simon Cardoso, Juan Pinero, Manuel Cesar, Juan de Berbeo, Domingo Rodriguez, and Pedro Gonzalez. AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁸¹ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603

³⁸² CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", pp. 290-292.

Table 4.1: The military crew and officials of Vizcaino's California expedition, 1601-1603

1 Don Sebastian Vizcaino, captain general corporal (1,500 pesos/year) Toribio Gomez de Corban, captain and corporal (1,500 pesos/year)		Military and Naval Officers		Sailor-Soldier (18 pesos/month)
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pesos/month) 27 Esteban Diaz Cabello, barber and surgeon 91 Griego, Manu	uel
	arrasco, Pedro
	astillejo, Alonso
and soldier (21 pesos/month)	astinejo, monso
	alencia, Francisco
31 Antonio Luis, squadron corporal, sailor, 95 Herrera, Bau	
and soldier	
96 Hozes, Juan o	le
Soldiers (18 pesos/month) 97 Jimenez, Bar	tolome
32 Carrera, Luis de la 98 Llanes, Juan	de
33 Carrera, Alves 99 Lopez, Diego	
34 Leal, Andres 100 Lopez, Juan	
35 Marchena, Juan de, soldier during 101 Luca, Francis	sco de
outbound, sailor soldier during return trip	
36 Sabcedo, Juan de 102 Marquez, Jua	
37 Vizcaino, Juan 103 Martin, Alber	
104 Mendez, Don	
Friars 105 Melendez Pa	
38- Fray Tomas de Aquino and other three 106 Navarro, Mig	ruel
41 friars of the Order of Nuestra Señora del	
Carmen (each received an allowance of four	
reales per day while at the port waiting for	
embarkation)	
42- Fray Antonio de la Ascencion, Orden de 107 Ollero, Anton	110
44 Nuestra Señora del Carmen, with his two criados T	
108 Pedraza, Juan	n de
Drummers (18-22 pesos/month) 109 Pedro, Andre	
45 Francisco Rodriguez, mulato esclavo, died 110 Pinero, Juan	es ue
46 Sebastian 111 Ramirez, Die	gn
112 Roman, Juan	
Indios Chinos Grumetes and Carpenters (16 113 Reyes, Cristo	
pesos, 5 tomines, 4 granos/month or 200	but de 105
pesos/year)	
47 Cristobal Catuya 114 Riberos, Juan	1
48 Lucas Cate 115 Rios, Sebasti	
49 Agustin Longalo 116 Rodriguez, C	
117 Rodriguez, D	
	e Camora, Juan
50 Miguel, Francisco, Japón 119 Rojo, Hernan	
51 Ningala, Antonio de 120 Roman, Juan	
52 Sao, Agustin 121 Ruiz, Luis	
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58	Cruz, Anton de la	131	Villaran, Alves de
59	Dominguez, Pedro		
60	Merino, Juan		Pajes (10 pesos/month)
61	Miguel, Francisco, japón	132	Balino, Alonso de
62	Pinero, Miguel	133	Espinosa, Juan, died
63	Sanchez, Andres	134	Gentil, Lorenzo
64	Silva, Antonio, "negro" or black		

Source: AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1597-1603.

By December 1602, they arrived in a large bay later known as Monterrey Bay, named after Mexican Viceroy. Manila ships could anchor in this location since it had a good harbor and excellent water, wood, and timber supplies. They were into seven months of exploration when their provisions became scarce, forty-five or more men contracted scurvy, and several men died. Consequently, they decided that the admiral's ship should return to New Spain to report on the voyage and bring the sick. Unfortunately, twenty-five out of thirty-four crew of Santo Tomas died on board. He Is January 1603, the remaining ships continued sailing north, and when they reached Cabo de Mendocino, they encountered intense cold and violent storms. As their food had become rotten and more men got so sick of scurvy, they decided to give up exploring California Gulf. On 18 February, they stopped in Mazatlan to receive help, and on 21 March, they reached Acapulco. In the end, they succeeded in exploring the coast above Monterey Bay but lost forty-two to forty-eight men. He are large to a large through the coast above Monterey Bay but lost forty-two to forty-eight men. He are large to a large through the coast above Monterey Bay but lost forty-two to forty-eight men.

Upon arrival in Acapulco, the port hospital's brother (hermano) treated the nineteen sick crew aboard Santo Tomas. The royal expenses for their healing, gifts, medicines, and other things necessary to save them reached 262 pesos. Unfortunate for others, especially the blacks who served as grumetes, pajes, and drummers, died while

³⁸³ CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", p. 294

³⁸⁴ CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", p. 295.

³⁸⁵ NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, p. 11. However, the plan to colonize Monterrey and use it as a port of refuge did not materialize as Marques of Monteclaros succeeded the Count of Monterey as the new viceroy. He argued that when the ships reached California, the voyage was almost over. Also, it was too far from New Spain to fortify, and settling it meant providing the foreign enemies a port to refit and resupply. Instead, the Marques of Monteclaros diverted the funds for Islas Ricas de Plata y Oro's search, the objective of Vizcaino's 1611-1613 Japan trip. CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", pp. 295-300.

on the sea. Those black grumetes brought by Captain Toribio from Sonsonate by paying 7½ percent tax for each, namely Agustin, Juan de Baltonado, and Antonio de Silva, died during the expedition. Another slave, a mulatto who served as drummer and whom Vizcaíno owned, also died. Other deceased individuals included in the list are the sailor-soldiers Domingo Mendez and Juan Flores and the paje Juan de Espinosa. Flores died in the port's royal hospital. The last one, Espinosa, had been present in the expedition since the purchase of San Diego in Realejo and working for one year and five months when he died. However, although enlisted as paje, Espinosa served as a soldier. As it always happened, even after death, he did not receive the just pay due him. ³⁸⁶ For others who finished the mission, it means waiting to embark on another ship.

To illustrate, after the arrival of Vizcaino mission in April 1603 in Acapulco, port officials launched another voyage to procure anchors and artilleries from Tehuantepec. Some of the crewmen who accompanied Vizcaíno went straight off to this trip, such as Antonio Ollero, from Vizcaíno's sailor-soldier to shipmaster, and Miguel Francisco, from grumete to sailor. Other crew joined them, principally the chinos grumetes with a monthly salary of five pesos: Alonso Bumban, Sebastian de Tondo, Alonso Lizar, Sebastian Vargas, Bartolome Tangal, Miguel Alian, and Andres Martin.³⁸⁷

On the other hand, if we look at one of the positive effects of the continual recruitment of sailors, it must have given them prestige, especially that they could wear ammunition clothes and carry arms. As part of an exploratory mission, they received their advance payment and salary earlier. They did not have to wait for years or decades, which they usually experienced when rendering service in the Carrera. They also received *ropa de munición* as part of their salary since all the men of war and sea, from the chinos grumetes to the ship captain, had to wear it. The only description in the documents regarding their clothes is that "they are worn with respect" [que se lleva de

³⁸⁶ AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁸⁷ The other sailors who participated were Benito de Nola, Antonio Hernandez, Francisco de Goiti, Juan Morales, and Diego Lopez, for 150 pesos/month payment. AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

respeto]. Their price also varied, depending on the wearer's rank, but it would not be lower than ten pesos for the sailor-soldiers.³⁸⁸

Juan de Marchena was one of the crews who participated in this expedition as a soldier, sailor, and diver, with a monthly salary of eighteen pesos. In addition to the ammunition clothes, the royal officials deducted from this salary his *zapatos de baqueta* (worn shoes), which cost four reales. ³⁸⁹ Charles Chaman also mentioned that a significant number of men who participated in 1596 wore heavy leather armor. ³⁹⁰ We can compare it with the Manila soldiers during the same period. Each one carried a uniform, consisting of a *cota* (coat of mail) and three defensive weapons: arquebus, sword, and dagger. ³⁹¹

Islas Ricas de Plata y Oro.

Felipe III attempted to improve the metropole's economy through the failed attempt to establish a direct Sevilla-Manila commercial link and cut New Spain from the loop. Opening a new *Carrera de Indias* had been one of the aims in throwing out the Dutch from Maluku by combined Spanish- Portuguese forces under Juan de Silva's command. On their part, the Novohispano and Manila elites, with the help of mendicant orders, responded by launching a triangular trade network with Japan.³⁹²

This undertaking went back as early as the 1590s; however, a disaster happened. When the galleons San Felipe and Espiritu Santo shipwrecked in Japan while sailing towards New Spain, the Japanese official seized them and confiscated their cargoes. It gave way to the prosecution of Christian the following year, which affected

³⁸⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603

³⁸⁹ AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

³⁹⁰ CHAPMAN, "Sebastian Vizcaino", pp. 287-288. In the report of the shipowner who participated in 1596, he mentioned the price of each sword at three pesos; a harquebus with flasks, ten pesos; arm shield at three pesos; and an arm pick at two pesos, MATHES, "Non-Traditional Armies in New Spain", p. 22.

³⁹¹ Muro, "Soldados de Nueva España a Filipinas", p. 472.

³⁹² CENTENERO DE ARCE, "La política asiática de Felipe III", pp. 417, 421-422.

the early attempt for diplomatic trade relations.³⁹³ When Don Rodrigo de Vivero, a nephew of the then Mexican Viceroy Luis Velasco, became Philippine governor in 1606, he resumed the talks with Japan. In 1608, he wrote to Tokugawa Ieyasu, the Japanese leader who had been interested in external commercial relations with Manila and New Spain. Vivero informed the latter of the Japanese revolts in the Philippines and their deportation. But he added that the Japanese merchants and other migrants of goodwill could stay and requested him to authorize only the Japanese merchants and sailors.³⁹⁴

Vivero and Ieyasu's talk resulted in opening a Japanese port to Manila galleons and sending a Japanese embassy to New Spain. 395 Vivero's endeavor also helped advance Mexican commercial interests by integrating it into the Philippines-New Spain triangular link.³⁹⁶ After Vivero retired from the governorship and on his way to New Spain, his ship named San Francisco with two escort galleons, wrecked on Japan in September 1609. Ieyasu offered him a vessel named San Buenaventura and lent him money to spend for manning and provisioning it. In November 1610, a year after the accident, they arrived in New Spain, bringing around twenty-three Japanese noblemen and merchants who stayed in Mexico for five months.³⁹⁷ In 1611, the Mexican Viceroy Velasco sent a complimentary mission to thank the Japanese government. Vizcaíno, along with some Franciscan friars, a commissary, and some fifty-two crew members for the San Francisco vessel, accompanied the Japanese merchants to return to Japan. As Spanish vice-regal ambassador, Vizcaíno's role was to obtain the Japanese emperor's permission to survey Japanese ports. Once authorized, the actual purpose of this expedition was revealed to be the Islands of Silver and Gold (Las Islas Rica de Silver and Gold). They believed the said islands, which could serve as a stopover for Manila ships, existed in the Pacific on the way to Japan.³⁹⁸

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³⁹³ Borao Mateo, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", p. 9.

³⁹⁴ BORAO MATEO, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", pp. 13-14.

³⁹⁵ KAWAMURA, "Llegada de productos japoneses a Manila", p. 46; NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, pp. 2-9.

³⁹⁶ CENTENERO DE ARCE, "La política asiática de Felipe III", p. 423.

³⁹⁷ NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, pp. 9-10 and 46.

³⁹⁸ BORAO MATEO, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", pp. 14-15; NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, pp. 12-14 and 23-29.

In Japan, with thirty Spaniards, five junks, muskets, and arguebuses, Vizcaino started searching for the two islands. In the end, a series of unfortunate events took place: the pilot declared that the said islands did not exist, the crew mutinied, the storm overtook their ship, and for eleven days, they suffered from hunger and thirst. Their failure to find the said islands from 1611 to 1612 compelled them to return to New Spain the following year.³⁹⁹ They did so through Lord Masumane of Oxo, who had a great interest in Spanish musketry. He offered to employ Vizcaíno and his crew to build the vessel San Juan Bautista that they would use to return to New Spain and give them free board and lodging during the trip. Owing to desertion, only twenty-six of Vizcaino's team remained, consisted of pilots, a royal constable, a surgeon, officers, carpenters, and other crew, while Masumane and his fellow ambassador were with 180 Japanese samurais and merchants. They arrived in New Spain in January 1614 and became the first and last embassy sent to Japan.⁴⁰⁰ In the subsequent years, these diplomatic efforts appeared to be in vain. Iyeyasu died in 1616, and his grandson, who succeeded him, ordered in 1624 the prohibition of Christianity and foreigners in Japan. In 1636 and 1638, Japan cut commercial relations with New Spain and closed its ports to foreigners, except for the Dutch.⁴⁰¹

The sailor-soldiers from the 1600s to 1630s

Spain's "peaceful period" with the English (1604-1625) and the Dutch (1609-1621) resulted in the battlefield's shift from Europe to Asia: in the Moluccas (1616), the Philippines, and Taiwan (1626). 402 As the Spanish-Dutch war threatened the preservation of the Spanish empire in Asia in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the latter necessitated considerable funding for military and naval projects in

³⁹⁹ BORAO MATEO, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", pp. 14-15; NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, pp. 16 and 36-38.

⁴⁰⁰ NUTTALL, *The earliest historical relations*, pp. 36-41.

⁴⁰¹ KAWAMURA, "Llegada de productos japoneses a Manila", p. 47; Nuttall, *The earliest historical relations*, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁰² MURTEIRA, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", pp. 239-252; CENTENERO DE ARCE, "La política asiática", pp. 409-438; Centenero de Arce and Terrasa Lozano, "El Sudeste Asiático en las políticas de la Monarquía Católica. Conflictos Luso-Castellanos entre 1580–1621", in *Anais de História de Além-mar* 9 (2008), pp. 289-302; Borao Mateo, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", pp. 74-93.

the Pacific, centered on the Philippine Armada and Real Campo de Manila. This period coincided with the official allocation of Mexican situado to the Caja de Manila, with the primary purpose of financing its military needs, including Manila fortification and payment of soldiers assigned to defend it.⁴⁰³ Although initially funded from Mexican tax, the galleon levies such as alcabala, fletes, and almojarifazgo, eventually paid for Mexican situado.⁴⁰⁴ However, in times of need, the royal decree of 1607, which would be in force until the latter part of the seventeenth century, ordered the Mexican Treasury to:

[S]ubsidize the governor and captain-general of the Philippines in times of calamity and grant him if he requests and appears to need troops, arms, ammunition, and money to sustain those islands, the salaries, and forts, and other things under his charge.⁴⁰⁵

As previously mentioned, the military camps in the Philippines served as the first vanguard of the Pacific defense system. To weaken the presence of the Dutch in America, the Spanish Crown had to divert the former's military efforts to Asia by converting the Philippine Islands into a massive stronghold. In the 1592 data of the Philippine Treasury, Alonso Álvarez shows that outlays for defense constituted twenty-four percent of the expenses and were used to protect the building of the Manila wall and Fort Santiago (1590-1593) and regular payment of soldiers. However, it dramatically increased to forty-five percent with the opening of the seventeenth century, when the defense of the Moluccas, the preservation of East Indies, and the overthrow of Dutch forces became inextricably dependent on the Mexican situado. During this time, Mexican subsidy reached almost 300,000 pesos, making up fifty percent of the Treasury earnings and twice the average yearly aid (equivalent to

⁴⁰³ ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático*, pp. 265-273; CENTENERO DE ARCE Y DOMINGO, "La política asiática de Felipe III", pp. 412-413.

⁴⁰⁴ ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático*, pp. 265-273.

⁴⁰⁵ ALONSO ALVAREZ, *El costo del imperio asiático*, p. 278.

⁴⁰⁶ ALONSO ÁLVAREZ, Luís, "El 'Alivio de las Indias", pp. 41 and 45.

⁴⁰⁷ Alonso Álvarez, Luís, "El 'Alivio de las Indias", pp. 55-57.

⁴⁰⁸ GALLEGOS RUIZ, Fuerzas de sus reinos, p. 258.

180,000 pesos). The Maluku garrison alone, which needed 150 to 200 soldiers, annually spent 230,000 pesos of it. 410

This period also witnessed the urgent appeal for soldiers and crew to join the expeditions in the Spanish territories in the Asia Pacific. Stephanie Mawson indicated that 156 men were sent annually from Mexico to the Philippines in the seventeenth century, albeit the Philippine governor regularly requested the Mexican viceroys to send up to 300. In 1633 alone, there was a need for 2,200 soldiers to maintain its dispersed presidios in the Spanish Asia Pacific.⁴¹¹ The colonial officials assigned most of them to the leading port cities in Manila and Cavite, while others, in the rest of the Philippines presidios, located in Cagayan, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Quezon, Palawan, Cebu, Panay, Cagayan, and Mindanao region. The Philippine government also had to send troops to the Moluccas Islands, Formosa, and Celebes.⁴¹² Among the Carrera sailors, we identified more than 100 sailors assigned to Asian presidios or military encampments between 1607 and 1621.⁴¹³

The defense from America to Asia: the Acapulco fort

One of the principal considerations in choosing Acapulco as the chief port of the Carrera was its suitability as a fort. As Eder Gallego Ruiz argues, its terrain and the nearby towns' population were valuable to facilitate defense. Like other Spanish shipyards in the Pacific, it did not need permanent infrastructures for protection. To a certain extent, this port, with its simple installations, converted into a base from which to launch Spanish commercial and military projects. The foreign encroachments from Francis Drake to Olivier van Noort in the last quarter of the sixteenth century

 $^{^{409}}$ Alonso Alvarez, *El costo del imperio asiático*, pp. 261-262; Alonso Alvarez, Luís, "El 'Alivio de las Indias'", p. 66.

⁴¹⁰ XU, "Junks to Mare Clausum", pp. 208-209; Mawson, "Convicts or conquistadores?", p. 112.

⁴¹¹ MAWSON, "Convicts or conquistadores?", pp. 97-98.

⁴¹² MAWSON, "Convicts or conquistadores?", p. 106.

⁴¹³ AGI, Contaduría 902; AGI, Contaduría, 903; AGI, Contaduría, 904, file I: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1621.

⁴¹⁴ GALLEGOS RUIZ, Fuerzas de sus reinos, pp. 264.

⁴¹⁵ LEÓN SÁENZ, "Los astilleros y la industria maritima en el pacífico americano", pp. 54 and 58.

occasioned attempts to fortify Acapulco. However, it was not until Joris van Spilbergen's threat in 1615 that the Mexican and Peruvian viceroyalties the urgent need for the permanent defense of Spanish America's west coast. 416

With the absence of a port garrison to confront the Dutch forces under Spilbergen, Acapulco officials employed improvised approaches. First, according to Engel Sluiter, they had to remove from the naos their cannons and mount them on Acapulco's temporary fortification. Secondly, the mayors of nearby towns from Tehuantepec to Chiametla called for the emergency military enlistment of their natives. The port officials succeeded in gathering four hundred men, arms, and supplies in Acapulco, placed under the command of the viceroy's lieutenant. Finally, they expedited the recruitment of soldiers bound for the Philippines under its governor Juan de Silva's request. These soldiers were recruited from Puebla and other towns and served in the temporary garrison set up in Acapulco port for a month (for a daily 1.5 realessalary), from 8 February to 8 March, when they sailed for Manila. However, it ended up in the defeat of the Spanish Armada because of miscommunication.

After the Dutch intrusion, the Mexican Viceroy and Audiencia started funding the Acapulco fort's permanent construction as a long-term solution. They began the six-year imposition of two percent and one percent taxes on the imported merchandise and Peruvian silver for its finances, respectively. They expected to accumulate 48,000 pesos to pay the cost of the fortification. As the project's architect and engineer, they appointed the Dutch Adrian Boot, who forwarded his final report on the project in February 1617. The Acapulco authority also assigned to the port presidio the following: fort governor, captain-sergeant major, company sergeant, company ensign,

⁴¹⁶ GALLEGOS RUIZ, *Fuerzas de sus reinos*, pp. 262; SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", pp. 70-71.

⁴¹⁷ SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", p. 75.

⁴¹⁸ SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", p. 75.

⁴¹⁹ SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", p. 76.

chief gunner and gunners, kiln overseer, drummer, flag bearer, apprentice caulker, and around 300 soldiers. 420

However, we must highlight that most improvisational strategies, which had been in use in the Pacific defense system from the sixteenth century, endured as the Acapulco authority adapted them to the seventeenth-century changes. From the start, the Mexican officials had depended primarily on Acapulco port's royal workers, crew members, officials, and the neighboring towns' natives and residents. The natives had become dependable on accommodating military and labor needs to defend the Pacific commercial routes and served as effective intermediaries of distributors of raw materials. The transfer to Acapulco of war supplies and other provisions was of utmost concern since the colonial rulers needed them to defend both America and the Asia Pacific.

When Pedro de Acuña sailed for the Philippines in 1602 as its incoming governor, the port officials mobilized the wage workers had to transport to Acapulco not only its war supplies but also those of Manila. They included eight arrobas of primers to finish the molding of artillery pieces; nineteen big planks, eight wheels, and other woods from Tehuantepec for the gun carriage; more than 2,500 arrobas of firewood needed to finish casting artillery; a load (carga) of *tulcapote* and stone for the clay mixture of artillery pieces; fifteen pounds of wax for the trunnion of artillery pieces; hundreds of eggs and some *chicubites* for the clay of the artillery's bore. ⁴²² The Spanish port residents took this opportunity to supervise the indios for several weeks to get firewood from mountains such as Acamalutla. They received a daily wage of two pesos

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⁴²⁰ AGI, Contaduría 903, file III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1617. Under the command of a field marshall, a Spanish tercio comprised between 1,200 and 1,500 men, further divided into companies of 120-150 men each. A captain headed a company and accompanied by an ensign, sergeant, chaplain, quartermaster, piper, drummer, and page. Its members could increase up to 250 soldiers each company, divided further into ten squads that comprised 25 men each, under the command of a corporal (cabo). The smallest unit was called a cuadrilla, four to five soldiers who shared food and a military bed. MATHES, "Non-Traditional Armies in New Spain", p. 17; WHITE, "Spain's Early Modern Soldiers", pp. 44-45.

⁴²¹ GALLEGOS RUIZ, *Fuerzas de sus reinos*, pp. 259, 266-267, 271-272 and 297-298.

⁴²² AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

while the natives earned one tomin per day. Carpenters, blacksmiths, and other workers were also in demand for the foundry works in the port. Many of them were indios chinos and mulattos working for three to four months in the foundry with a monthly salary of seven pesos, lower than the standard ten-peso payment of a Spaniard but higher than what the natives usually earned.⁴²³

As the construction of a permanent fort in Acapulco commenced, the natives, chinos, and blacks kept working as principal wage laborers. The royal officials recruited the Mexican natives from different provinces such as Tixtla, Tlapa, Chilapa, Chalco, Xicayan, Igualapa, and Zacatula. They employed them in various jobs, such as dismantling the site to build the fort and working as construction workers, woodcutters, and sweepers. ⁴²⁴ In 1617, the port officials hired more than 1,300 Mexican natives for temporary jobs in the fort that lasted forty to sixty days. ⁴²⁵ As woods converted into an essential material in the fortification and other works for the defense of the port, cutting and carrying them from the mountain had become a laborconsuming activity for the natives. In addition to overwork, the distance from their town to the workplace resulted in accidents and illnesses. As a response, the Mexican natives, with their cheap labor of 1.5 reales daily, started to escape. ⁴²⁶

The alternative but a more expensive source of labor for the fortification was the blacks and chinos. The latter worked in the port as carpenters and grumetes since the sixteenth century. With the fortification in the seventeenth century, its officials hired them on a more permanent basis. They entered as carpenters and workers at Acapulco's foundry and warehouse or became assistants to a blacksmith, mason, or caulker and received a quarterly salary.⁴²⁷ On the other hand, the slave mulattos, blacks,

⁴²³ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

⁴²⁴ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1617.

⁴²⁵ AGI, Contaduría 903, file III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1617

⁴²⁶ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615.

⁴²⁷ AGI Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

and sometimes chinos, owned by the port residents, served as woodcutters, coal makers, and demolition workers.⁴²⁸

The defense of Asia-Pacific

The root of the conflict between the Spanish-Portuguese and the Dutch powers had been more commercial in nature: the battle for contested spices-producing zones. The Moluccas Islands, specifically Maluku, Ambon, and Banda (clove and nutmeg producers), became the first contested zone. Although they fell under the Portuguese sphere of influence, owing to the union of Iberian Crowns, the former implored Spanish Manila's help to assist their expeditionary team and track the Dutch forces in these islands. As a response, in 1602, Manila officials sent provisions and 200 men. The contingent blockaded Ternate for eight months but had to withdraw for lack of ammunition. Despite this retreat, Spain succeeded in maintaining the Iberian military presence in Maluku, centered on Ternate and Tidore, in subsequent decades. They achieved it by launching military operations and resupplying from Spanish Manila rather than the more distant Portuguese Goa/Malacca. 429 For example, in 1605, to recuperate Ternate, the Spanish King ordered recruiting Spanish and Mexican soldiers and sending them to the Philippines. Under Pedro de Acuña, Spain won Ternate and Tidore in 1606, with 1,423 Spaniards and 960 Philippine natives (340 soldiers and 640 sailors, primarily Pampangos and Tagalogs).⁴³⁰ As a result, the Spanish troops helped the Lusitanian Crown keep its clove trade and focus its military forces on the Malaccan Strait and West India, other Portuguese territories in Asia challenged by the Dutch.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ AGI, Contaduría 903, file III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1617.

⁴²⁹ MURTEIRA, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", pp. 241-244; CENTENERO DE ARCE AND TERRASA LOZANO, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 244.

⁴³⁰ CENTENERO DE ARCE AND TERRASA LOZANO, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 91.

⁴³¹ MURTEIRA, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", pp. 241-244; XU, "Junks to Mare Clausum", pp. 208-209.

Throughout the Spice Wars, the Spanish Crown would continue to mobilize the Mexican and Philippine soldiers, crew, and natives, forming companies and procuring and transferring war supplies. For instance, in 1609, the incoming Philippine governor, Juan de Silva, brought five companies of Spanish infantry from Mexico. 432 They went aboard the three ships crewed by 250 men: San Juan Bautista (capitana), Santa Anna (admiral), and San Juan Buenaventura (conserva). Preparing for this voyage entailed procuring materials needed to dispatch ships to the Philippines: tar, rigging, ammunition, and supplies from Huatulco, Tehuantepec, and Zacatula. For this purpose, six officials, nineteen sailors, and five chinos grumetes made a trip to Huatulco and Tehuantepec in January 1611.433 Another galleon crew undertook a similar operation in Zacatula from December 1610 to February 1611. It was to recuperate the ten artillery pieces the Peruvian viceroy sent in July 1610 but got lost. Captain Manuel de Macedo, the ship corporal, commanded a crew formed by a pilot (Esteban Rodriguez), a sailorshipmaster (Sebastian de la Garaga), and sailors (Juan Antonio Gomez, Diego de Castro, Gaspar Hernandez, Manuel de Rivera, Hernando de Urtayfe, Pedro Freyle, and Benito Lopez).⁴³⁴ As can be observed, the sailor regularly participated in supply procurement, which could last from two weeks to three months or more. For their work, they received the same salary as galleon sailors.

After securing artillery, they returned to Acapulco, where around twenty blacks and natives waited for them. The port officials hired them as daily laborers for two weeks and paid them two tomines per day for native; one peso for black. Their tasks were to remove the ballast and artilleries pieces the sailors brought from Zacatula and

⁴³² CENTENERO DE ARCE AND TERRASA LOZANO, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 244; BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", p. 91.

⁴³³ Including Domingo Hernandez, the shipmaster; Juan de Balverde, scribe; Cristobal de Medina, steward; Francisco Gallardo, dispenser; Juan Diaz, caulker and sailor; Don Diego Cagayan, carpenter; Antonio de Paz, Mateo Jacome, Silvestre Trebacio, Bernardino Corzo, Gonzalo Bidal, Baltazar Rodriguez, Francisco Diaz, Francisco Perez, Jaime de Ribas, Antonio Luis, Antonio de Costa, Alonso Perez, Hernado Buenafe, Iñigo de Vida, Luis Suarez, Antonio de Aguilar, Antonio Ferer, Francisco Zamorano, and Juan Andres as sailors; and Juan dela Cruz, Domingo de Mercado, Francisco Leyte, Pedro de Lantao, and Juan Alonso as grumetes chinos. AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

⁴³⁴ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

transfer them to the Philippine naos. ⁴³⁵ Once Silva's Armada was ready, the port officials had to complete the crew for Manila's voyage. An estimated 250 sailors were in active service during this year, whom the Acapulco Treasury paid them 12,240 pesos as advanced payment. Upon arrival in the Philippines, those crew and infantry soldiers aboard Silva's ships joined the native soldiers and fought the Dutch in the 1610 Battle of Playa Honda. ⁴³⁶

In 1613, the Dutch occupied the Spanish forts in Maluku through the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC). This event led to a more rigorous campaign to draft troops, sailors, and civilians from Mexico and the Philippines in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The Spanish Crown first retaliated against the Dutch by sending sixteen large ships with 300 cannons organized by de Silva. According to Borao Mateo, 2,000 Spaniards, 2,500 Philippine natives, and around 500 Japanese comprised the Spanish forces, while Centenero and Terrasa mentioned that 150 men from New Spain participated.⁴³⁷ The Mexican Viceroy also promised another 1,500 men, primarily vagrants and undesirable people.⁴³⁸ In the documentation, as previously stressed, they always classify the Novohispano soldiers and the Carrera crew joining the troops as the "Spanish soldiers."

Regarding the Japanese, Governor de Silva sent them as part of Manila and Japan's diplomatic relations. Since the Japanese population in Manila already reached 1,500, de Silva offered to enlist them in the military campaign against the Dutch in the Moluccas.⁴³⁹ They also expected the Portuguese Crown to correspond this effort with a comparable contingent; however, they failed to reunite with the Manila forces as they

⁴³⁵ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615

⁴³⁶ The clash with the Dutch started when Admiral Van Wittert appeared in Manila to intercept the Chinese junks. Centenero de Arce and Terrasa Lozano, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 244; Borao Mateo, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", p. 91.

⁴³⁷ BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", p. 92; CENTENERO DE ARCE AND TERRASA LOZANO, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 251.

⁴³⁸ CENTENERO DE ARCE AND TERRASA LOZANO, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 251.

⁴³⁹ CENTENERO DE ARCE AND TERRASA LOZANO, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 251; BORAO MATEO, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", pp. 12 and 18.

got lost on their way from Goa.⁴⁴⁰ Unfortunately, less than a month after, Silva and many troop members died because of disease and an unhealthy environment.⁴⁴¹

With the departure of Silva's fleet, Manila became vulnerable to attack.⁴⁴² During this time, the Dutch naval commander Joris van Spilbergen intruded into Spanish America to divert the attention of the Iberian forces from Southeast Asia.⁴⁴³ A naval battle took place on the Peruvian coast in July 1615, defeating the Spanish Pacific Armada led by Rodrigo de Mendoza. Spilbergen's forces then sailed northward, arriving in October 1615 in Acapulco, where they released twenty prisoners to exchange food supplies.444 Afterward, they sailed northwestward and captured a pearling vessel that had just returned from California Gulf. When they arrived in November in Zalahua, Colima, Vizcaíno's forces fought against them in a six-hour battle. 445 Spilbergen's squadron retreated, and from Pacific America, they moved to Manila in 1616 and initiated a naval blockade to prevent the Chinese junks from trading with the Philippines. To confront the Dutch in Manila, the debilitated Spanish forces that just returned from Malacca reorganized their forces. 446 Since de Silva died already, Manila's Royal Audiencia ordered the defensive operation in Playa Honda. It organized seven galleons, one patache, three galleys led by 200 Spanish officers, 963 Spanish soldiers, 227 Pampangos, and more than 600 crew: 149 artillerymen, 426 sailors, 53 caulkers and divers, and 23 religious. Lastly, 430 boatswains, 456 servants, and 480 galley slaves accompanied them. 447 In the end, they defeated the Dutch again in the Battle of Playa

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⁴⁴⁰ Murteira, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", pp. 245-246.

⁴⁴¹ MURTEIRA, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", p. 246.

⁴⁴² MURTEIRA, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", p. 246.

⁴⁴³ GALLEGOS RUIZ, "La circulación oceánica de tecnología artillera", p. 265; SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", p. 71.

⁴⁴⁴ The Mexican authorities thought the threat of foreign ships was false and disbanded the troops they formed only to find out later that the Dutch had arrived on the Chilean coast. Consequently, they failed to gather enough reinforcement (men, munitions, and heavy artillery) and lost. SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", pp. 71-74.

⁴⁴⁵ SLUITER, "The Fortification of Acapulco", p. 72.

⁴⁴⁶ Silva's squadron went to Malacca instead of Maluku to confuse the Dutch. Murteira, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", pp. 245-247; Centenero de Arce and Terrasa Lozano, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 255; and Borao Mateo, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", p. 12.

⁴⁴⁷ BORAO MATEO, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army", p. 93.

Honda in 1617.⁴⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the campaign against the Dutch in the Moluccas resulted in the demise and desertion of soldiers. For instance, in 1619, the Ternate governor reported that more than 200 soldiers died. At the same time, others deserted their posts to escape to Portuguese India or Dutch presidios.⁴⁴⁹

The Carrera Sailors in Asian Presidios

André Murteira argued that the Spanish intervention in Maluku on Portuguese behalf entangled it with the Iberian-Dutch war in Asia.⁴⁵⁰ Even the twelve-year truce from 1609 to 1621 signed by the two powers did not help end the hostilities between them, which endured throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. That explains how Francisco Ruiz's itinerary, the sailor we mentioned at the start of the chapter, turned into a labyrinth. The detours from the Manila-Acapulco route had become so common that even the colonial rulers encouraged or coerced the crew to enlist in military expeditions. It was to address the colonial defense system's inherent problem: recruitment and circulation of military personnel.

The series of expeditions launched from Manila to the Moluccas in the second decade of the seventeenth century coincided with the Carrera sailors' recorded service in the Spanish military encampments in Asia. These sailors already had the experience as soldiers as they frequently participated in the Pacific exploration in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. However, the Malukan war brought them to another environment: from ship to military encampment. The military officials also implemented rotation of companies in different encampments, especially that no soldier wanted to serve in the Real Campo of the Moluccas.⁴⁵¹ The Contaduría record of

⁴⁴⁸ Silva's squadron went to Malacca instead of Maluku to confuse the Dutch. Murteira, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", pp. 245-247; Centenero de Arce and Terrasa Lozano, "El Sudeste Asiático", p. 255; and Borao Mateo, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", p. 12.

⁴⁴⁹ MAWSON, "Convicts or conquistadores?", pp. 112-113.

⁴⁵⁰ Murteira, "Filipinas y las guerras luso-neerlandesas", p. 244.

⁴⁵¹ MAWSON, "Convicts or conquistadores?", pp. 114-115.

the Acapulco Treasury reveals that many sailors assisted in Manila's Real Campo and a few in the Moluccas, as shown in the following table:

Table 4.2: The Carrera sailors in the Real Campo of Manila and Moluccas.

Year	Number
1607	1
1608	2
1609	3
1610	8
1611	26
1612	54
1613	64
1614	63
1615	26
1616	21
1617	8
1618	7
1619	1
1621	1
Total	285

Sources: AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1606-1615; AGI Contaduría 903: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620; AGI Contaduría 904: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1621.

The registered number of sailors is far from complete since we extract the information above from the individual record of the Treasury's debt owed to the sailors. However, the sample cases we have can give us hints about the year, duration, and type of service the sailors provided in the real campo.

We have Juan Rodriguez, who occupied different jobs in the Carrera before being designated as a steward to Real Campo of Manila (from 22 October 1610 to 11 June 1612). Afterward, Governor Silva assigned him to the Moluccas Islands. However, instead of obeying him, Rodriguez immediately embarked on a ship bound for New Spain and served as a steward for forty days from 12 June to 21 July 1612. He remained in his post in Acapulco until he returned to the Philippines on 30 July 1613. Upon arrival, Rodriguez continued working at Cavite port until 25 April 1614, when finally,

he was transferred to the Manila encampment (until 10 July 1615). Subsequently, he enlisted as a diver on the outgoing ship and made a Cavite-Acapulco trip from 6 August to 1 January 1616.⁴⁵² The following year, the port officials hired him a sailor of the Carrera's warning ship.⁴⁵³

Like Rodriguez, some were fortunate to return from the Moluccas to the Philippines as soon as they could. Gaspar Rodriguez was one of the Carrera sailors who arrived in Cavite port on 9 June 1610. But instead of returning to Acapulco, he stayed in Manila to serve intermittently in its Real Campo for the next two years and 315 days: from 27 July to 26 August 1610; from 6 September 1610 to 26 May 1611; and from 23 September 1611 to 12 January 1612. Finally, on 13 January, Rodriguez embarked on a ship and transferred to the Real Campo of Terrenate, where they assigned him eight months. Immediately after, he went back to Real Campo de Manila, serving from 14 September 1612 to 13 June 1614. The next day, he started working again as a Carrera sailor and, aboard the ship, sailed back to Acapulco.

In contrast, some sailors did not escape the military encampments sooner, like Domingo Diaz. He had the longest years of service since he stayed at length in both the encampments in Manila and Moluccas. He started as a Carrera sailor and served in a flagship going to Manila from 21 January to 24 March 1611. Then, from 3 November 1611 to 20 July 1618, he worked intermittently for five years and 113 days in Manila's Real Campo. In the remaining years, Diaz served as a sailor in the Moluccas Islands' encampment. With the same post, he finally boarded the ship bound for Acapulco on 21 July 1618 and arrived on 23 December. There was also Antonio Villegas, who had to serve one after another expedition. He was a Spanish grumete, who joined the Singapura Strait expedition for 224 days (from 1 February to 3 June 1616), then the

 $^{^{452}}$ AGI, Contaduría 903, file II: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1616.

⁴⁵³ AGI, Contaduría 903, file III: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1617.

⁴⁵⁴ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615.

⁴⁵⁵ AGI, Contaduría 903, file V: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1619.

Battle of Playa Honda for thirty-six days (7 April to 12 May 1617). He then worked for three months (14 September to 15 December 1617) in a shipyard to repair and prepare their Armada vessel lost due to a typhoon. Finally, he sailed for New Spain from 21 July to 23 December 1618.⁴⁵⁶

Besides the war, the crew members also had to struggle with the Asian typhoon and sea accidents. Agustin de Velasco was another galleon sailor who arrived in the Philippines in 1608. He then worked in the Real Campo of Manila for the next 362 days. On 25 July 1609, he boarded the ship San Francisco, which left for Acapulco. However, while on the sea, it got lost on the Japanese coast. It took years before he finally returned from Japan. But as he arrived in Manila, the military officials recruited him as a sailor for Manila's Real Campo from September 1614 to July 1615. After his appointment in the encampment ended, he embarked on a nao and served as a sailor. He finally reached Acapulco in December 1615.457 For our last case, we have Pedro Martin. He was a nao sailor but also served as an onboard surgeon from 20 March 1616. However, Remedios, the ship he was in, got lost in Japan. They transferred to the flagship Angel de La Guardia, where he continued working as a surgeon while sailing from Japan to the Philippines. The ship took refuge in the Islas de Murcielagos in Ilocos, a northern Philippine province, from 20 November 1616 until 23 January 1617. While in the islands above, he started curing the people guarding the Treasury their ships brought from New Spain, in case the Dutch appeared. On 8 February, he shifted to working as a Cavite sailor; and from 21 July to 16 December, he took the Manila-Acapulco journey as a sailor.458

⁴⁵⁶ AGI, Contaduría 903, file V: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1619.

⁴⁵⁷ AGI, Contaduría 903, file II: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1616.

⁴⁵⁸ AGI, Contaduría 903, file V: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Enero 2 hasta Diciembre 31, 1619.

CHAPTER V: THE ROYAL SAILORS' COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES (1570s to 1630s)

This chapter is organized into four sections. The first part tackles the trade activities of the sailors during the initial period of the Pacific trade, particularly their participation in the first Manila-Peru commercial trip. It enumerates the type and volume of merchandise they brought, giving a glimpse of the nature of trade during this period. The second section, which covers the decades from the 1580s to 1600s, identified in this study as the Pacific trade's ambivalent period, focuses on creating and reinforcing royal policies that eventually shaped the Pacific trade. The data reconstructed in Appendix C (Sailors as Merchants of the Pacific Trade with Commercial routes in Manila, Acapulco, Peru, and other Parts in the Last Decade of the Sixteenth Century) analyzes the relationship among the sailors' service gap, their ship rank, and commercial benefits. The third part discusses the contraband trade that became prevalent after the imposed restrictions on the Pacific trade. Lastly, it reflects on the role of the sailors, in addition to being royal servants, merchants, and smugglers —as consumers of the Pacific trade goods.

The sailor-merchants and the initial period of the Pacific trade (1570s to 1580s)

The first decade of Pacific commercial activities, characterized as open and unregulated, witnessed the local-global transformation of spaces with the increased movements of ships, peoples, and goods. 459 If we look at this trade from the Asian standpoint, an essential factor that accommodated it was the Philippines' preexisting commercial networks with its Asian neighbors, particularly China and Japan, who needed Philippine gold, wax, cotton, and ceramics. These trade routes continued to function during the Spanish colonization, as reflected in the minimum tax imposed on Asian traders from the 1570s to 1581.460 In Manila, the only tax the Chinese junks had

⁴⁵⁹ Regarding the early phase of the Pacific comercial activities, see IWASAKI, *Extremo oriente y Perú*; BORAH, *Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú*.

⁴⁶⁰ IACCARINO, "'The Centre of a Circle", pp. 102-109.

to pay was the *derecho de anclaje* (mooring tax levy), which ranged from twenty-five to fifty pesos depending on the vessel's size.⁴⁶¹

Another factor that facilitated the Pacific trade was the silver boom in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, increasing the public spending power, with which the Spanish textile industry failed to keep up. 462 Before the inauguration of the Manila-Acapulco commerce, Spain had already monopolized trade in Spanish America. For example. in Puebla, its shipments consisted of leather goods and harness ware, home furnishings, food, kitchenware, weapon, hardware, and other items. However, its principal exports were fabrics, sewing accessories, and clothing. Among these raw or manufactured textiles, they were either made of silk, woolen, or cotton. 463 We have to examine the composition of the Spanish trade monopoly to explain the sudden shift in New Spain to Philippine-Chinese goods once the Pacific trade commenced. There had always been consistent demand for fabrics, but the declining Spanish textile industry could not provide enough supply. In addition, what it offered was more expensive compared to its Mexican counterpart. Based on the survey of textile goods that arrived in Puebla between 1549 and 1562, Boyd-Bowman revealed that they retailed Mexican silk for less than a third of those Spanish imports (chiefly from Granada) while the local taffeta, for twenty-five percent less than the average import.⁴⁶⁴

With the nexus between Manila and Acapulco, the intra-Asian trade expanded to American and European regions. For example, in 1570, when two Chinese junks sailed for Manila, they registered goods such as silk, gold thread, musk, gilded porcelain bowls, water jugs, cotton cloth, and other curious articles. Rather than for Philippine domestic use, these goods were exported to New Spain or Europe. Similarly, Peru needed a sustained and cheap supply of primary and luxury goods. Thus, the cargoes of the first

⁴⁶¹ LI, "Trade and its historical trend between China and the Philippines", p. 9.

 $^{^{462}}$ See the work of Flynn and Giraldez regarding the importance of American supply of silver and Chinese demand for it, which led to silverization of trade.

⁴⁶³ BOYD-BOWMAN, "Spanish and European Textiles", pp. 335-336.

⁴⁶⁴ BOYD-BOWMAN, "Spanish and European Textiles", pp. 339-340 and 357-358.

⁴⁶⁵ TRUSTED, "Survivors of a Shipwreck", p. 451; CLOSSEY, "Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries", p. 42.

ships that arrived in Acapulco in 1573 must have been transshipped to this viceroyalty. They included cinnamon, silk, gold, cotton textiles, wax, *lozas* (earthenware), and trinkets. With the implementation of a royal cedula in 1579, allowing the Philippines unrestricted trade with New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, and Tierra Firme, the expansion of the Pacific trade became official. Subsequently, the number of Chinese junks multiplied to meet the galleon demands. By 1581 Chinese products had already comprised half of the Pacific trade cargoes, while the rest were of the Philippine produce. It can be seen in the first direct traffic between Manila and Lima when the Philippine Governor-General Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa sent the Cinta to Peru.

The 1581 Manila-Peru commercial trip

Historians pointed out that Cinta was loaded with silk, porcelain, spices, iron, and wax, among others—trade goods owned by Governor-General Ronquillo and his intermediaries. Moreover, 100 quintals of iron and 100 quintals of spices such as cinnamon, pepper, and cloves were listed under the account of the King.⁴⁷⁰ On the other hand, it must be emphasized that from the initial phase of the Pacific trade, its ship officials and sailors had also been actively participating as merchants and sellers of commercial goods. Their job provided them easy access to the sources of the trade goods, the ships transporting them, and the merchandise buyers in the destination market. Before regulating the galleon space, its crew could bring two to three chests and register saleable goods on their account or partner with other merchants. In this case, the Carrera's pilot in 1586 received 1,000 pesos in Mexico to invest in the Asian products. For his remuneration, he received twenty-five percent of the profits.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁶ ALONSO ALVAREZ, "E la nave va", pp. 30-31; IWASAKI, *Extremo oriente y Perú*, pp. 32-33; BORAH, *Comercio y navegación*, pp. 225-226.

⁴⁶⁷ BONIALIAN, "La Contratación de la China", p. 16.

⁴⁶⁸ BONIALIAN, "La seda china", p. 152; Alonso Álvarez, "E la nave va", pp. 38 and 71.

⁴⁶⁹ IWASAKI, Extremo oriente y Perú, pp. 23 and 47.

⁴⁷⁰ Alonso Alvarez, "E la nave va"; Iwasaki, *Extremo oriente y Perú*; Borah, *Comercio y navegación*.

⁴⁷¹ VALLE PAVÓN, "Los mercaderes de México", p. 229.

By including the merchandise that the crew and private individuals brought aboard the ship Cinta in 1581, we can provide additional information regarding the goods traded in the Pacific during the period under the study. From the 1570s to 1580s, Alonso Álvarez observed a shift in goods being sold between Asia and America, which was previously dominated by spices. They were slowly being replaced by Philippine merchandise such as gold, wax, cotton fabrics, and Chinese silk and ceramics. 472 Correspondingly, the registered goods in Cinta were primarily Philippine and Chinese produce divided into iron, wax, spices, textiles, and dishware.⁴⁷³ For the first two items, it consisted of 34 lios (bundle), 697 quintals and 300 caracoles[?] of iron and eight lios, one petaca, and two cajones (crates) of machete and bolo and 173 lios and 33 panes (cakes) of wax and three cajas of candle wax. For the victuals, they listed three fardos (bundle) of spices; 51 fardos and five *cajas* (boxes) of pepper; 112 tinajas, three cajas, and two barriles (barrels) of sugar; and five fardos of cinnamon. For the dishware, they traded 690 pieces of large escudilla (bowl); 56 lios, seven cajones, 42 cajas, 11 tinas (large jars), and approximately 10,000 pieces of all types of loza; and one petaca of golden salero (salt-shaker) and 50 caracoles[?] The textile register shows one fardo and 12 cajas of silk, five cajones of raw silk, 54 fardos and one petaca of manta, one petaca of thread, and six fardos and three cajas of *ropa de China* (Asian fabrics). The other items in the list were categorized in more general terms: mercaduría and cosa de China (Chinese stuff) contained in six cajas, 33 petacas, 11 cajones, and one *escritorio* (desk). Lastly, some articles are hard to quantify since they were mixed in containers, such as two cajas of cinnamon and loza; and three cajas of loza and ropa de China.⁴⁷⁴

Table 5.1 shows a more detailed manifest of merchandise that the twelve ship officials and twenty-seven crew members traded on their accounts. Their traffic goods consisted of iron bars and nails and other tools including *clavazón de hierro* (spikes), machetes, bolos, and *batonillos de cobre* (copper truncheons) as well as all types of loza (earthenware) described as *grande* (large), *basta* (broad), *gruesa* (thick), *fina* (thin),

⁴⁷² ALONSO ALVAREZ, "E la nave va", pp. 35-37.

⁴⁷³ AGI, Patronato 24, r.55: Relación productos de Filipinas al Perú, 1581.

⁴⁷⁴ AGI, Patronato 24, r.55: Relación productos de Filipinas al Perú, 1581.

pequeña (small), dorada (golden), and blanca (white) and manufactured textiles including Chinese silk, blue caniquís (muslin), and Philippine Lubao manta, white manta, and medriñaque (abaca fabric). Their buyers included Peruvian viceroyalty officials, merchants, residents, tailors, and the religious. Their customers were not limited to Lima, like those from Tucuman, Quito, and Panama also appeared in the record.⁴⁷⁵

Table 5.1: Officials and sailors of Santa María de la Cinta and their merchandise, 1581.

No	Post	Name	Products	Quantity
01	Chief pilot	Pedro Rodriguez	64 lios of plate	21 arrobas
				and 8 libras
			300 small plates and 25 porcelains	5 arrobas
			310 caracoles[?]	8 arrobas
			4 petacas of machete, Chinese stuff and his personal clothes	12 arrobas
			3 iron spikes with five uñas (nail) each	6 arrobas
	Total			52 arrobas
				and 8 libras
02	Master	Francisco de	3 desks with Chinese stuff	6 arrobas
		Santana		
			134 lios of plates and bowls	44 arrobas
			70 1 507	and 16 libras
			50 caracoles[?]	2 arrobas
			2 cubos (bucket) of golden and white	6 arrobas
			loza	
			48 quintals of iron (21 quintals in bar)	48 arrobas
			6 petacas of merchandise	18 arrobas
			320 machetes	8 arrobas
			7 cajas and cajones of merchandise	28 arrobas
			(Chinese sugar and other stuff) and	
			golden and white loza	
			11 fardos of manta and Chinese stuff	55 arrobas
			1 small fardillo	1 arroba
	Total			216 arrobas
				and 16 libras
03	Assistant pilot	Juan de Ozina	12 cajas of loza and merchandise (silk and others)	48 arrobas
04	Shipmaster	Miguel de Quevedo	87 lios of broad loza	35 arrobas

⁴⁷⁵ AGI, Patronato 263 no. 1, r. 2: Navíos de Filipinas que fueron a Perú y no a Nueva España, 1581-1583.

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			2 cajuelas of loza including golden, thin, and broad lozas; porcelains; and big plates, among others	6 arrobas
	Total			41 arrobas
05	Accountant	Francis de Urca	1 cajuela of loza and 200 pieces of broad loza, many of them broken	12 arrobas
06	Steward	Melchor Martin		
07	Water bailiff	Gaspar Lorenzo	A number of cajones and 1 caja of loza	12 arrobas
80	Dispenser	Alonso de los Rios	Loza	15 arrobas
09		Andres de Urieta		
10	Carpenter	Juan de Sosa	2 cajas of loza	8 arrobas
			1 bed and 1 cajoncillo (small box) with cinchona	3 arrobas
	Total			11 arrobas
11	Caulker	Maestre Antonio	56 lios of large plates	18 arrobas and 16 libras
			1 lio of <i>bacinica</i> (small chamber pot)	12 libras
			54 bundle of plates (each bundle had 5 pieces), 8 copper truncheons, 8 quintals of iron bar, 1 caja containing 36 pieces of Chinese silk and other stuff, 1 cajon with 40 blue muslins, 2 cajones of [?], 3 cajones of white plates and bowls, 1 caja with 15 pieces of silk and other Philippine stuff	
	Total		and other rimppine stuff	
12	Total Barber and	Gabriel de Gelasa		
12	surgeon	dabi lei de delasa		
13	Sailor	Juan Aleman		
14	Sailor	Rodrigo Arias	3 tinas of loza	9 arrobas
			1 big caja of merchandise	6 arrobas
			3 cajas of loza	12 arrobas
			7 lios of porcelain	2 arrobas
				and 8 libras
	Total			29 arrobas
				and 8 libras
15	Sailor	Francisco de la Cierra		
16	Sailor	Juan Diaz		
17	Sailor	Juan Garcia		
18	Sailor	Joseph Gutierrez		
19	Sailor and artilleryman	Juan de Sanmartín	14 cajas and cajones of lozas (included 6 cajas with thin and golden loza, 4 cajones of Chinese iron spikes weighing 10 quintals); medriñaques, caniquís, and silk; 4 cajas of albayalde (white lead), 500 abanillos (small fan), 2 wax cakes, 2 pieces of Lubao manta, two white mantas, and others	56 arrobas
20	Sailor	Juan de Lorca		

21	Sailor	Antonio Luis	Loza and iron	68 arrobas
22	Sailor	Guillermo de Mapa		
23	Sailor	Antonio Martin	54 lios of thick loza	18 arrobas
			3 cajas of loza and fabric	12 arrobas
	Total			30 arrobas
24	Sailor	Pedro Matias	12 cajas of loza	60 arrobas
			4 cajas of cinnamon	8 arrobas
	Total			68 arrobas
25	Sailor	Francisco Mendez		
26	Sailor	Juan Perez de Arbolanche	22 lios of thick loza	7 arrobas and 8 libras
27	Sailor	Cristobal Rendon		
28	Sailor	San Juan de Reten	3 cajas of loza	12 arrobas
29	Sailor	Diego Santana		
30	Sailor	Pedro de Taleche		
31	Sailor	San Juan de Urasandi		
32	Sailor	Gregorio de Vargas	10 white cajas with 4,000 pieces of Chinese loza	
33	Sailor	Francisco Lipe Hernandez		
34	Sailor's apprentice	Juan de Berica		
35	Sailor's apprentice	Juan de Buyn	2 cajones of loza	8 arrobas
36	Sailor's apprentice	Francisco Ramirez		
37	Sailor's apprentice	Juan de la Rea [?]		
38	Page	Hernan Rodriguez		
39	Page	Francisco de Triana		

Source: AGI Patronato 263 no. 1, r. 2. Navíos de Filipinas que fueron a Perú y no a Nueva España, 1581-1583.

Note: 1 quintal = 4 arrobas = $100 \text{ libras.}^{476}$

The data based on ship officials and sailors' registered cargoes corresponded to the analysis of Alonso Álvarez with the Chinese and Philippine products complementing each other to supply the Pacific trade during its early course. In Mexico, Asian

 $^{^{\}rm 476}$ Alonso Álvarez, "E la nave va"; Iwasaki, Extremo oriente y Perú.

merchandise such as fabrics (silk, linen, and manta) provided abundant supply and offered its merchants 200% earnings or more.⁴⁷⁷

The sailor-merchants and the Pacific trade's ambivalent period (1580s to 1600s)

The unauthorized transshipment of goods from Manila to Peru in 1580-1581 resulted in a preliminary inquiry on the direct trade's impact. It resulted in the first prohibition through a royal order in 1582. In the next two decades, what followed was the issuance, reinforcement, and reformulation of various decrees and policies to control the Pacific trade. Yet, the concept of traditional exports between colonies created a loophole that the officials and merchants exploited to circumvent the laws. To illustrate, despite the prohibition of direct trade between the Philippines and Peru, they could still bring the galleon merchandise via New Spain by reclassifying them as the latter's traditional export to Peru.⁴⁷⁸

In 1591, the Crown stepped back from its colonial policy and allowed New Spain to reexport galleon trade goods to Peru. Two years later, it decided to prohibit the shipment, sale, and use of Chinese goods in any colony except New Spain. Then in 1604, another royal order permitted annual navigation between Callao and Acapulco of three ships (300 tons each) to exchange goods of each viceroyalty. Until 1609, this trade excluded silver and was confined to some bottles of wine and vinegar, wool, and salt for fifty people residing in Acapulco. For its return trip to Peru, the ships could bring some local products of little value. 479 This royal ambivalence emanated from the failed colonial design of protecting the Spanish monopoly in America and the Philippines. In fact, there were numerous reports in the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade)

⁴⁷⁷ ALONSO ALVAREZ, "E la nave va", pp. 31-35; ALONSO ÁLVAREZ, "El daño de la tierra en desfrutarla de plata".

⁴⁷⁸ BORAH, *Comercio y navegación*, pp. 229-231.

⁴⁷⁹ SUAREZ, "Sedas, rasos y damascos", p. 125; BONIALIAN, "La Contratación de la China", pp. 17-21; BORAH, *Comercio y navegación*, pp. 239 and 242.

beginning in the seventeenth century on the decline of Atlantic commerce as the galleon traffic increased. 480

In the case of the royal trade between Acapulco and Manila, before establishing the 1593 monopoly, three to four ships weighing 250-300 tons were making trips each year. When the authority imposed restrictions limiting ships to three (one of which would serve as conserva), the royal officials in New Spain and Manila compensated it by increasing the vessels' size and number. It also became a common practice if the ships from the previous year suffered shipwrecked. Another loophole was the designation of King's vessels to other routes for purposes such as dispatch, exploration, expedition, and supply procurement. Sometimes, a dispatch ship would go to Manila in the guise of bringing aid but was, in fact, not licensed. It happened to the *Nuestra Señora* de la O that arrived undocumented in Manila in 1604.481 On the Asian side of the trade, a notable change was the higher tax imposition. In 1582, the Spanish royal court received a report stating that Governor Ronquillo imposed a three-percent tax on imported goods, affecting the Chinese merchants. By 1606, the tax rate was raised to six percent and stayed the same until the 1640s. In addition to this, export goods heading to New Spain were charged with a two-percent tax and twelve-peso ship freightage for each ton.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸⁰ SUAREZ, "Sedas, rasos y damascos", p. 107. See also the work of BONIALIAN, "La historia económica del Pacífico", pp. 77-99.

⁴⁸¹ "Transcriptions of documentary information relevant to the voyages of the Manila Galleons, from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain", in *the Narrativa Histórica Web.*

⁴⁸² LI, "Trade and its historical trend between", pp. 10-11 and 13.

Sailors as merchants

The piecemeal approach of the Crown to regulate the Pacific traffic benefitted the royal ship officials and sailors to a significant degree. When the 1593 royal order started to forbid the participation of residents of New Spain and other parts of Spanish America in the trade, the sailors took advantage of their privilege to carry and trade goods. It must be remembered that among the 300 tons of a load of each galleon, they allotted space for officials, crew, and gunners, together with those sent to expeditions and embassies. All Secondly, their salaries were not included in the permissible annual monetary earnings of 500,000 pesos from the ships' merchandise. All Further, they were allowed to bring slaves, a trunk for their clothes, and an extra piece for their merchandise aboard.

With these entitlements, they could earn money by selling their right to purchase a galleon space to non-Manila residents or by serving as intermediaries or consignors and receive a commission from those ineligible to trade.⁴⁸⁵ Del Valle Pavon cited in her study this arrangement. A particular merchant named Alonso de Torres became Philippine attorney-general in 1598 and represented the merchants trading in the Philippines. He paid 30,600 pesos as averia tax, 18,600 pesos for the merchandise he traded, and another 12,000 pesos on behalf of another six individuals, most probably, the ship captain and crewmen. The latter customarily loaded goods on their account or in partnership with other merchants.⁴⁸⁶ Another way for the crew to obtain goods to trade in Spanish America was by renting their habitation aboard the ship. For example, Domingo Bautista, dispenser and marinero of nao Contadora, was given a cabin below the ship's forecastle. Instead of using it, he rented it for 200 pesos to one of the

⁴⁸³ ÁLVAREZ, *Galeón de Acapulco*, pp. 190 and 203; ALVAREZ DE Abreu and Yuste, *Extracto historial*, pp. 44-104.

⁴⁸⁴ ALVAREZ DE ABREU AND YUSTE, *Extracto historial*, pp. 39-43. *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú.

⁴⁸⁵ CAÑO ORTIGOSA AND CHUNG LEE, "Comercio y cargazón en el Galeón de Manila", pp. 123-124; Goode, "Merchant-Bureaucrats", pp. 182-184;

⁴⁸⁶ VALLE PAVÓN, "Los mercaderes de México", p. 229.

shipowners, Captain Francisco de Leon. After they arrived in Acapulco, de Leon paid Bautista with Chinese clothing at the price he paid for them in Manila.⁴⁸⁷

The data reconstructed in Appendix C (Sailors as Merchants of the Pacific Trade with Commercial routes in Manila, Acapulco, Peru, and other Parts in the Last Decade of the Sixteenth Century) show the most comprehensive account regarding the sailors' participation in the Pacific trade. For most of the seventeenth century, Contaduría records no longer specify the names or positions of almojarifazgo payers, making it difficult to assess their involvement. Nevertheless, based on the details presented in Appendix C, during the last decade of the sixteenth century, among 1,500 sailors who served in the Pacific, approximately ten percent officially participated in the trade while serving in Manila-Acapulco royal ships and Peru-Acapulco and Acapulco-Peru private ships. 488 This section elaborates on the commercial activities of Pacific sailors in different routes.

As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the royal sailors presented in this study served as marinero, grumete, or paje in the royal ships, primarily in the Manila-Acapulco route. It means that they were hired by the Spanish Crown and received a salary from the royal treasuries of Acapulco or Manila. The study also considered those with other plazas (such as pilot, shipmaster, and dispenser, among others) but was once or later became sailors. Moreover, by tracing the job history of the Pacific sailors, it appears that some of them had previously or eventually served in other routes, both in royal and private ships. Those included in this study—Manila-Acapulco sailors who also worked in Acapulco-Peru and Peru-Acapulco commercial routes—took the opportunity to traffic the goods available in their workplace.

⁴⁸⁷ AGNM, Consulados 131, exp. 2, fs. 19–154: Pleito de Domingo Bautista, despensero de la nao "Contadora," contra Francisco Rodríguez de León, señor de la mitad de la nao, que le debe 200 pesos de oro en mercancías y sus intereses, México y Manila, 1601.

⁴⁸⁸ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

For example, Marco Antonio served as a sailor of the private ship San Juan de los Reyes, which arrived in Acapulco from Peru on 7 September 1593. He brought six cargas of cacao and paid the 5% almojarifazgo worth five pesos, three tomines, and four granos. In the years to come, he became employed as a sailor in the Manila-Acapulco route. 489 On the other hand, some sailors temporarily left their post to focus on trading. After some time, several went back to serving as royal sailors, while others did not. For instance, Francisco Diaz was a sailor in 1591. Then, he became a *consignatorio* (broker) in 1593, then he became employed again as a sailor in 1594 and continued to do so until the seventeenth century. Another case is Benito Juarez, who previously served as a sailor in 1591. Then, in 1594, he appears as consignatorio in Contaduría. Francisco de Bolaños and Bernabe de Vera were in a similar situation. The former worked as a sailor while trading in 1592. Then in 1594, it seems he left working and dedicated to commerce as his name would repeatedly appear no longer as a sailor but rather as a trader until 1598.490

Another observation is the active engagement in the trade of both the European marineros and indios grumetes. Several grumetes indios in 1592 jointly traded goods valued at 350 pesos while traveling from Manila to Acapulco. 491 However, it is the higher positions that helped to have a more significant investment. Francisco de Landia started as a sailor on 28 February 1591 and became a sailor-boatswain the following year, on 10 February 1592. In the same year, he began participating as a trader in the Manila-Acapulco route. He stayed as a sailor-boatswain until 19 May 1594, then became a pilot from 20 May until 1 July 1595. At the same time, he was participating in the trade with higher capital. He would continue serving in various positions: as a gunner, sailor, grumete español, shipmaster, and steward until 1622. 492 Another trader, Antonio Rodriguez, started his career as a pilot-merchant in the Manila-Acapulco route

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⁴⁸⁹ AGI, Contaduría 898: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1592-1593.

⁴⁹⁰ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

⁴⁹¹ AGI Contaduría 898: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1592-1593.

⁴⁹² AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

on 8 July 1592. On 9 April 1593, he remained as a pilot while trading in the Acapulco-Peru route. In 1594, he continued serving at dispatch ship of galleon trade, with his galleon trade goods on board. Toward the end of 1594, he shifted again to the Acapulco-Peru route, and when he returned to Acapulco, he brought products from Peru and paid the five-percent almojarifazgo. In 1595, he returned as a pilot of royal ships going from Acapulco to Peru. At the same time, he bought goods from Acapulco, paying two and a half percent tax.⁴⁹³

Our third example, Gaspar Ramirez, began his career as a steward and served for the Acapulco-Manila-Acapulco route from 1 December 1590 to 21 June 1591. Although not in the record, he must have come back to Manila at the latter part of the year, given that on 8 July 1592, he was on his way from Manila to Acapulco, serving as a sailor. At the same time, he took advantage of his job by bringing many trade goods. He continued as steward until 26 January 1593; then, he became a dispenser from 27 January 1593 to 31 December 1594. Within this period, he registered trade goods. Evidently, the officials and crew used their job to participate in the trade and continued until the end of their service. However, as a general trend, the record of the sailors' commercial activities slowly disappeared from the seventeenth century. Perhaps, to conceal the contraband trade, the register of *flete de ropa* no longer detailed the payees, but only the amount they paid for the galleon commodities they brought aboard.

Concerning the quantity of the products they trafficked, among the 300 tons of load distributed in each nao, 100 tons were reserved for the officials and crew, wherein each of 25 Spanish or creole sailors had a right to half a ton; while the grumetes, a fardo.⁴⁹⁵ Half a ton should be equivalent to four boletas. Each boleta corresponded to one pieza or fardo. For each pieza, the owner was allowed to bring merchandise whose value should not exceed 125 pesos. But given that each pieza could be sold as much as 300 pesos implied that they could load more than the allowed limit. In addition, a sailor

⁴⁹³ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁴⁹⁴ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁴⁹⁵ ÁLVAREZ, Galeón de Acapulco, pp. 190 and 203.

was permitted to carry goods in his chest worth sixty pesos, which was raised to 100 pesos in 1608.⁴⁹⁶ Considering that a chest could contain as much as 250 pounds of silk or 1,140 pairs of stockings and that a pair of silk stockings cost two pesos, the capital invested by sailors should go way beyond the limit.⁴⁹⁷

As shown in Appendix C, one of the principal merchants is Damian Jorge, a sailor of the private ship San Juan Bautista that traveled from Peru to Acapulco in 1594. He brought with him 180 cargas of cacao worth 3,600 pesos oro comun. Another chief trader is the pilot mentioned above, Antonio Rodriguez. He started as a trader while serving in the Manila-Acapulco route in 1592. His merchandise worth 417 pesos de oro de minas included textiles, both raw (such as cate de hilo) and manufactured (manta, pabellon, and sobrecama); and utensils (e.g., loza, plato, escudilla, and bandeja de palo). In 1593, he brought his goods valued at 1,125 pesos de oro comun in a private ship going from Acapulco to Peru. In 1594, a 660-peso amount of merchandise from Manila to Acapulco was registered under his name. In the same year, he trafficked 25 cargas de cacao (eighteen pesos per carga) from Peru to Acapulco. Finally, in 1595, he traded an almost 2,700 peso-worth of goods from Acapulco to Peru. 498

Sometimes, the products were registered under the names of the sailors, although they had different owners, or the sailors shared their ownership. For example, it happened to Juan Marquez, who served as a sailor in the Manila-Acapulco route in 1594 and brought goods on behalf of other people. In another example, the sailor Gabriel Mateo Griego owned half of the goods registered under his name, while the other half belonged to the other three individuals. In the case of the Bernabe de Vera mentioned above, a sailor who started trading goods while serving in the Manila-Acapulco route in 1592, high profile official Secretary Alonso de Torres entrusted to him his goods valued at 753 pesos oro de minas. At the same time, he brought his goods,

⁴⁹⁶ CAÑO ORTIGOSA AND CHUNG LEE "Comercio y cargazón en el Galeón de Manila", pp. 123-124.

⁴⁹⁷ SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, p. 182; AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

⁴⁹⁸ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁴⁹⁹ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

consisted of *rasos* (satin), *gorgoranes* (grogram), sedas (silk), and *damascos* (damask)—worth more than 2,000 pesos de oro de minas. In 1594, albeit de Vera already left working as a royal sailor, he continued trading Manila-Acapulco trade goods such as wax and lozas valued at around 1,000 pesos oro comun. His name appeared again in the 1598 Contaduría record of almojarifazgo for the merchandise he had aboard Rosario, which arrived in Acapulco in December 1597. Much like in 1594, the majority of his commodities were lozas.⁵⁰⁰ Another leading trader is a galleon sailor named Francisco Gutierrez. With an *encomendero* (grantee) named Bernardino de Angulo, he registered almost 1,300 pesos de oro comun worth of merchandise.⁵⁰¹

Sailors' trade goods

Between the 1580s and 1600s, among the Manila-Acapulco sailors' trade goods, cinnamon was the only spice registered. Solar As a whole, manufactured goods were complemented with cheaper raw materials such as cotton, hilo (thread), seda floja (loose silk thread), and seda torcida (thrown or twisted silk thread). They were sold by cate, with twisted type costing more than the loose one. The Philippine fabrics and dishware remained essential components of export goods, but the Chinese-made products became more remarkable in quantity and variety. Indian muslins and Japanese-made articles such as cangan (cotton cloth), garter, and ordinary silk also appeared in the register. Standard Japanese silk cost two pesos and can be white, black, or colored (with white as the most expensive). Solar Furniture including escribanía (escritoire) and escritório (chest of drawers) also became common trade goods, together with other decorative objects such as peinede palo (wooden comb) and peine de tortuga (tortoiseshell comb), rosary, abanillo (small fan), and all sorts of boxes (small, golden, needle box). Other items were lanterna (lanterns), pajara (birds), and

⁵⁰⁰ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰¹ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰² AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰³ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰⁴ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

albayalde (white lead). Slaves sold for 120 to 150 pesos also started to appear in the crew's manifest of goods.⁵⁰⁵

The Philippine local produce included raw cotton and finished goods such as Moro and Ilocos mantas, medriñaque fabric, and other mantas.⁵⁰⁶ Among mantas and fabrics, those from the islands were the cheapest, with the price ranging from two to four tomines depending on the thickness, size, color, and technique used. For example, those striped with blue and maroon colors were valued at two tomines, white mantas were two tomines, and the painted ones cost four tomines. The most expensive Philippine fabric that appeared in the register was sinabafa, which cost six tomines.⁵⁰⁷ On the other hand, Caniquí (India's thin muslins) and Sangley's thin mantas, which could have been made in Manila, were as cheap as native-made mantas with its two tomines-price.⁵⁰⁸

Other Chinese mantas were also affordable, albeit costlier than those from the Philippines. They comprised Canton's mantas, which can be either black or white and described as *cruda* (unrefined), *ordinaria* (ordinary), and measured approximately seven yards (eight varas) cost six tomines; Chincheo's *angosta* (thin) and unrefined manta, six tomines; Lanquin's thin manta, one peso; and finally, silk manta for two pesos per piece. Other textiles that cost from one peso and two tomines to one peso and six tomines are made of *telilla común* (ordinary light wool), ordinary damask-like cloth (damasquillo ordinario), ordinary or *tafetán de color o común* (colored taffeta), and *gorgorán de color o negro* (colored or black grogram). The most expensive components in the list include *telilla de oro y seda* (fabrics woven from gold or silk) and *raso de Lanquín de color fino o negro* (Lanquin's black or fine-colored satin), both sold at six pesos; *damasco ordinario o común de 11 varas* (ordinary damask that measured

⁵⁰⁵ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰⁶ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰⁷ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰⁸ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁰⁹ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵¹⁰ AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

ten yards), black or colored satin (usually from Canton), and *tafetán de Lanquín* (Lanquin tafetta), each for five pesos. Other types of manta that the sailors registered were *manta de cordoncillo* (braided) and *manta de ojo perdiz* (with bird's eye pattern), each for six tomines.⁵¹¹

There was also an influx of various types of clothing articles, for instance, those that were usually made of manta, there were painted pañuelo (kerchief), pañuelo de nariz (handkerchief), paño de mano (hand cloth), and pañuelo de rostro (sweat cloth) whose price ranged from one to two tomines. While mantilla (painted scarfs) were sold for two tomines, the embroidered ones were valued higher at two pesos. For toca o toquilla (headcloths), the unrefined and ordinary piece measuring around six and a half yards (seven varas) cost two tomines and six granos. They could also be colored or white with the same price. Toca de espumilla (loosely woven headcloth) cost two tomines and six granos; toca de red (hairnet), three tomines; and those from Lanquin and toca de puntilla (those with narrow lace edging) were both valued at one peso.⁵¹² Buratos or headcloths made of silk or wool had the most expensive price, valued at three pesos. Among the upper garments, the sailors traded each piece of camisa de manta llana (plain manta shirt) for seven tomines, jubón de lienzo sin mangas (sleeveless linen jacket) for one peso, ropilla de raso negro (black satin and doublesleeved short jacket) for one peso, jubón de tela (linen jerkin) for one peso and two tomines, and a pair of satin sleeves for one peso and two tomines. For calzones (breeches), the ordinary white ones and made of manta, were sold for three tomines, while the high-priced black satin breeches amounted to three pesos. Regarding the stockings, linen-made cost one tomín, cotton for two tomines, while silk-made could be considered an expensive item with its two-peso price each pair.⁵¹³

In addition to fabrics and garments, beddings and curtains are also standard among sailors' merchandise. *Almohada de manta* (pillow covers), *sabana de manta*

⁵¹¹ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵¹² AGI Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵¹³ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

(bedsheets), and *sobrecama de manta* (bedspreads) made of manta are worth two tomines, four tomines, and two pesos, respectively. Bedspread made of *damasquillo* and damask or embroidered could cost between four and six pesos per piece, while embroidered blankets were priced at seven pesos. For *pabellón* (curtains), the ordinary kind made of manta cost three pesos, and those of taffeta were sold at fifteen pesos.⁵¹⁴ Table 5.2 shows the dishware traded by the sailors and the price of each piece or dozen.

Table 5.2: Earthenware and others, 1590-1600.

Quantity	Product	Description	Price in oro de minas
1 piece	Almirez (mortar)		6 tomines
1 piece	Limeta (long-necked bottle)	small	1 peso and 6 tomines
1 piece	Bacía de metal (metal basin)	medium	2 pesos
1 dozen	Cuchara de concha (shell spoon)		2 tomines
1 dozen	Cuchara de nácar (mother of pearl spoon)		2 tomines
1 dozen	Bowl	ordinary	6 tomines
1 dozen	Loza	ordinary or broad	6 tomines
1 dozen	Plate	ordinary, small, or broad	6 tomines
1 dozen	Golden loza		1 peso and 2 tomines
1 dozen	Escudilla de bejuco (bejuco bowl)	small	1 peso and 2 tomines
1 dozen	Plato de gallina de loza (loza plate)	ordinary or broad	1 peso and 6 tomines
1 dozen	Loza slim		2 pesos
1 dozen Macanese loza			2 pesos

Source: AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

Note:

1 oro de mina = 13 ¼ reales or 450 maravedis

1 real = 34 maravedis = 1 tomín

1 grano = 12th part of a tomín.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁴ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵¹⁵ MATEUS, *Doctrinas y parroquias del obispado de Quito*; BOYD-BOWMAN, "Spanish and European Textiles".

The type of sailors' trade goods also depends on the direction of their journey. For example, when Flemish sailor Juan Joseph died in the sea in 1589, he was aboard Santa Maria traveling from the Philippines to Mexico. 516 Among his possessions was an enormous and cumbersome box weighing eight arrobas (sold for two pesos and five tomines each libra) and labeled Juan Joseph. It contained 111 skeins of while loose silk, some of which were stained and dampened, sold in an auction held in Mexico City for 315 pesos. He also carried a "negro" or black named Sebastian sold for 310 pesos. His other goods were grograms and white wraps. For the Peru-Acapulco trade goods, the common commodities traded by sailors between 1582 and 1605 were *cacao* (cocoa), raisin, fig, vinegar, and wine. However, for the Acapulco to Peru route, the trade goods were not specified; instead, the register would list the two and a half percent-almojarifazgo that the sailors had to pay. Sometimes, they would list the quantity such as the number of fardos, fardillo, caja or cajon of the merchandise going to Peru. 517 Undoubtedly, among them were Chinese textile, given that they were marketed in Peru at a price equivalent to the ninth part of Spanish-made goods. 518

Lastly, we have goods brought from Europe to be sold in New Spain. The Portuguese Sebastian Baez was another crew member who must have served in the Carrera de Indias in 1594 and ended up in Acapulco, enlisting again as a sailor for the Carrera del Pacífico. However, he became very ill while lodging in the house of a Francisca, a port resident. After hearing the news, the Acapulco mayor and ship captain went to her house to ensure Baez would leave a testament and confess before dying. He was found lying down in the bed and looked as if he were dying that it became impossible to ask him questions. The port mayor asked Francisca about his possessions, who answered that he had one white *caja* (trunk) with a lock and key, a *petaca* (suitcase) made of venison leather, and trinkets. When they opened his trunk, they found 441 pesos and three tomines in *reales de a ocho y de acuatro y de a doce y sencillez*

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⁵¹⁶ AGI, Contratación 234, N.1, R.2: Bienes de difuntos, Juan Joseph, 1590.

⁵¹⁷ AGI, Contaduría 897-901: AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵¹⁸ BORAH, Comercio y navegación, pp. 234-235.

⁵¹⁹ AGI, Contratación 488, N.3, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Sebastian Baez, 1594.

(eight, four, and twelve reales). They opened the other container and prepared an inventory of his goods. After Baez died ab intestato, they sold his possessions in a public auction. ⁵²⁰ Table 5.3 shows his belongings, which appear to be trade goods from Europe. Certainly, Baez was a sailor-merchant, planning to sell these goods in New Spain.

Table 5.3: Inventory of goods of Portuguese sailor Sebastian Baez, 1594

Goods	Bidding Price
Three baricillos of pink sugar	14 pesos
One bottle of oil	5 pesos and ½
One blue frescada [?]	20 reales
An old hoe (ligon)	3 pesos and ½
Three dry-cured hams (jamon)	2 pesos
Two pockets (cajetas) of preserved food, whole and slice	1 peso and ½
30 rolls (panecillos) of small soap	1 peso and ½
Two pairs of old boots and some worn shoes (zapatos de baqueta)	1 peso and 1 tomines
Five old collars	4 pesos
Some saddlebags (alforja) and other trinkets	1 peso
Two pairs of old garters	3 tomines
Some woolen (lana) socks and old worn shoes	6 tomines
A handful of sarsaparilla (monojo de zarzaparilla)	2 tomines
A shirt from Ruan	4 peso and ½
Another shirt from Ruan	5 peso and ½
Five old shirts	3 pesos
Some woolen breeches (calzones de lana) and a rag	6 reales
One bara and a half of white, local (de tierra) handkerchief	3 pesos and ½
Five books of romance	5 pesos and ½
One sword and dagger and sword belts (talabares)	10 pesos
One box of butcher's knife	5 tomines

 $^{^{520}}$ AGI, Contratación 488, N.3, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Sebastian Baez, 1594.

One pair of breeches, a short jacket, and a cape of brown	14 pesos
cloth (capa de paño pardo a medio)	
A small trunk for dry grass (yesca) and flint (pedernal	2 pesos
de palo), some gloves, and an old hat	
A small suitcase (petaquilla) containing trinkets	6 tomines
A knife to cut quill (cuchillo de cortar plumas) and some	2 pesos and ½
scissors	
One rosary	4 reales
One white trunk with lock and key	6 pesos
One big suitcase	4 reales

Source: AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Sebastian Baez, 1594.

The sailors and the Pacific's extragovernmental trade until the 1630s

On the third and fourth of January in 1637, two ships named San Juan Bautista and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción arrived in Acapulco. However, instead of observing the customary procedure (a brief inspection of cargo's size and registration of merchandise and its payable tax based on the ship's accompanied manifest of goods), its present inspector, Pedro de Quiroga, introduced abrupt changes. He ordered the opening, inspection, and weighing of each package, confiscated the excess merchandise, taxed them, and sold them on behalf of the King. Upon returning the ships to Manila, they brought 500,000 worth of silver and lost the expected 1.5 million profit. In addition, the Manila Treasury had to pay 900,000 pesos for duty. It brought the Philippine trade to ruin in the next two years. Moreover, it caused extreme poverty to its residents since they relied on the actual revenue of the business (that is, from the excess cargoes) rather than the permitted 500,000 pesos.⁵²¹ Recognizing the collapse of the colonial economy because of digressing from the normal conduct of trade, the inspector who followed Quiroga was forbidden from making any innovations in the opening of packages. The King of Spain, Philip IV, favored minimal regulation of the trade by prohibiting the opening and weighing of registered packages and high appraisal of its duties. 522

⁵²¹ McCarthy, "Between policy and prerogative", pp. 163-183; Schurz, The Manila galleon, 380.

⁵²² McCarthy, "Between policy and prerogative", pp. 163-183; Schurz, The Manila galleon, 380.

In the most recent studies on the irregularities in the galleon trade, academics have given a more nuanced analysis of the otherwise traditional divide between legal and illegal commercial activities. As a result of the regularization of the Pacific trade, its actors resorted to different modes of participating. Antonio Picazo Muntaner used the term "resistencia moral" to refer to the response of the Spanish officials in the Philippines to the decrees that inhibited them from participating in the trade. Instead of implementing the laws, they became part of highly-factional and competing "invisible" trade networks, which in some cases, had connections with Asia (Canton and Manila), America (New Spain and Peru), and Europe (Seville and Cadiz). 523 Another scholar, Catherine Tracy Goode, explained the practice of colonial functionaries whom she called merchant-bureaucrats as extra-governmental rather than simple corruption. The colonial bureaucracy functioned because of unwritten contracts connecting government bureaucrats at local and regional levels to the global economy. Goode reiterates, "fraud, illegal trade, and contraband are a part of unwritten contracts: bureaucrats defy the letter of the law for personal gain while maintaining the overall stability of the colonial bureaucracy for the benefit of the Crown."524

This trend in the literature reveals the need to redefine the prevalent activities in the Carrera. The 1637 incident proved that the irregular practices had been the usual conduct throughout the trade consented to by the King and acknowledged connivance between colonial officials and merchants. The extent of fraud and complicity of the Philippine officials and with those of China, New Spain, and Peru guaranteed the perpetuation of an informal trade of galleon goods between Asia and the Spanish Pacific up to the seventeenth century.

The illegal circuits

On the other side of the Pacific, the galleon goods circulated in abundance from New Spain to America's Central and Southern parts through various mechanisms, such as

⁵²³ MUNTANER, "Redes invisibles", pp. 140-152.

⁵²⁴ GOODE, "Merchant-Bureaucrats, unwritten contracts, and fraud", p. 190.

disguising the contraband activity as medium-size coastal trade, rechanneling the flow of unregistered items, assuming the distribution centers and circuits of permitted goods, and hiding the actual origin of ships. In addition, contraband trade took various forms, such as using as façade the supply procurements for the King's ships to bring unregistered goods or through the private vessels, which always exceeded the permitted quantity for exchange of Novohispano and local Peruvian produce.

Pinzón Ríos demonstrated that cabotaje medio (medium-size shippings) in Novohispano ports intended to obtain ship provisions or transmit correspondences between Peru and New Spain were utilized to exchange Asian products illegally. For example, the Central American ports, where the coastal trade between New Spain's local manufactures and silver and Guatemala's maritime provisions and indigo took place, could be used to camouflage the shipment of Chinese goods to Callao. 525 Using Lima's notarial documents, Suarez discussed the illegal trade between Peru and Central America to the detriment of the Panama market. She attributed the illicit traffic of galleon goods to the inefficient trade circuit of American colonies with the Atlantic. As a result, the trade ban between Acapulco and Peru did not halt but only rechanneled the flow of contraband goods.⁵²⁶ Through the traffic of Peruvian wine and supply of silver currency to Central America, the former secured from the latter Castilian and Chinese commodities. Even after the prohibition of Peruvian wine, it was not effective. The royal officials in Paita, Guayaquil, Manta, Panama, and other colonial ports were complicit in the trade that the policies concerning the entrance of unregistered goods became lenient. They were transferred from entry points to other destination areas through minor ports or coastal trade routes.⁵²⁷

Finally, Bonialian—locating the extent of the informal road of the Chinese silk as far as Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires—explained that they could bypass the trade monopoly by assuming the areas allowed to trade goods and stimulating the American

525 PINZÓN RÍOS, "Desde tierra y hacia el horizonte marítimo", p. 82

⁵²⁶ SUAREZ, "The alternative circuits of silver", pp. 244-245.

⁵²⁷ SUAREZ, "The alternative circuits of silver", pp. 252-254.

intercolonial, regional, and short-distance circuits. ⁵²⁸ To illustrate the *ruta Indiana* (Indian route) of the Chinese silk, the author explained that from Callao, the products reached Valparaiso port. From here, the Chinese silk reached the terrestrial juncture between Santiago and Tucuman, where goods from Castille, Mexico, and Quito also circulated. On the other hand, from Lima, the galleon goods also arrived south through the terrestrial route. They followed the course from Lima to Potosi (with stopovers in La Paz and Oruro) to Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, and Cordoba. From Cordoba, the commodities could either reach Santiago de Chile via Mendoza or the Atlantic port of Buenos Aires. ⁵²⁹

The commercial routes mentioned above ranged from medium-size coastal trade to intercolonial commerce and provided a venue for the continuous illegal trade between Asia and America. After the 1604 trade restriction, the Peruvian ships entering the Acapulco port also utilized these circuits, which converted these vessels into the principal conduit of unregistered goods. As Ramiro Flores elucidated, instead of going directly to Acapulco, Peruvian ships docked first at intermediary ports such as Sonsonate, Realejo, and Huatulco. With the Central American ports as points of departure, it would be easier to get a permit to enter Acapulco, obtain Chinese goods, and return to Peru. Signature of the ships, which, like Peru, taking their chance to trade galleon goods.

In Appendix B.1 (The entry of ships to Acapulco, 1590s-1630s), the following ports of origin appear in the register of vessels entering Acapulco between 1590 and 1630s with their local, sometimes contraband goods: Chametla and Navidad (chicken, honey, and smoked beef); Tehuantepec (salt and smoked beef); Huatulco (dry shrimp and tar); Colima (local hen, Castillan chicken, and grease); Realejo (cacao, indigo ink, and Nicaraguan tar); Guatemala; Guayaquil (cacao, Castillan chicken, and indigo ink);

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⁵²⁸ BONIALIAN, *China en la América colonial*, pp. 90-91.

⁵²⁹ BONIALIAN, *China en la América colonial*, pp. 103-104.

⁵³⁰ FLORES, "El secreto encanto de Oriente", pp. 388-391.

Acajutla and Sonsonate (cacao, Guayaquil cacao, indigo, wine, vinegar, honey, tobacco, and others); Celagua; Compostela; Culiacan; Chuchetengo; Paita, Lima, and Callao, Peru (soap, candle, cordovan, iron, tin, tar, rigging, honey, olive, chicken, salted meat from Colima, wine, cacao, Guayaquil cacao, and vinegar, indigo, balsam, raisin, and silver); Panama (cacao, wine, Peruvian wine, grease, cordovan, twisted cord, loose cord, and shoes); Costa del Mar; Caldera and Costarica (cacao); and Villa de Trinidad (cacao and others).⁵³¹

The data of duties of imported goods to Acapulco (taxed at five percent) inform us of the number of ships, their origin, and types of trade goods. However, the exported goods (taxed at two and a half percent) do not show the products. Sometimes, they were labeled as a garment (ropa), local merchandise (mercadurias de la tierra), or package of goods (petaca/baul/caja/fardo de mercadurias). Evidently, the number of goods and their presented value do not correspond to reality. For example, the ship Ave Maria arrived in Acapulco on 13 March, paying 661 pesos and two tomines for the 5% almojarifazgo of unnamed products (with a total value of 13,220 pesos). When it left for Callao on 7 August 1602, it carried unidentified goods (with a total value of 119,520 pesos) and paid 2,988 pesos and six granos for its 2-½% tax.⁵³² But to assess the actual value of its trafficked goods would be impossible to gauge.

From Flores' investigation (based on the evidence left by the trial dispute between the merchandise owners), this ship carried 564,699 pesos of ocho reales, 11,835 bottles of wine (valued at 6 pesos each), and 3,268 bottles of vinegar (valued at 2 pesos each) to Acapulco. It was a magnified amount of what they presented in the tax records. From Acapulco, it carried 8,301 arrobas of textile, which most likely, were Chinese.⁵³³ Once the illicit products were obtained from various Pacific ports, Peruvian

⁵³¹ AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

⁵³² AGI, Contaduría 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640.

⁵³³ FLORES, "El secreto encanto de Oriente", pp. 402-405; BONIALIAN, La América española, p. 87.

and other ships started their journey to one or several ports located in Mar del Sur, circulating the Chinese silk.⁵³⁴

The baratillo smugglers

Many scholars have studied the involvement of colonial bureaucrats, religious, and elite merchants in the circulation of unregistered Asian goods along the trade routes mentioned above. The current work focuses on the role of the sailors in the informal distribution of galleon commodities. They might not have a substantial share of unlicensed trade goods like the colonial elites, yet, their manifold participation was necessary for the extra-governmental operations to succeed. Until the 1630s, in principle, the sailors could preserve the privilege of gaining profits from trade and letting their chests untouched.⁵³⁵

Those ineligible to trade, such as Manila officials and non-Manila residents, could participate by looking for accomplices who could reside in Manila or partner with ship officials and crew to represent them in the trade.⁵³⁶ It was the principal aim of forming the complex, invisible networks where they had to integrate the colonial authorities, capitalist partners in the metropole and the colonies, direct suppliers from China, and the ship officials and sailors.⁵³⁷ Through the crewmen, unlicensed merchants could "legally" ship and register their goods. Also, the sailors became responsible for visiting ports and transporting contraband goods.⁵³⁸ However, the extent of their contraband activities would be hard to quantify, given the incomplete or underreported data on illicit goods.

⁵³⁴ BONIALIAN identified Sonsonate, Acajutla, El Realejo, and Panamá as the end destinations of Central American ships while those of Peruvian continued to Panamá, Guayaquil, Paita, El Callao, Coquimbo or Valparaíso. With these routes, Chinese goods obtained from Acapulco or Central America were finally unloaded in Callao, to be redistributed up to Buenos Aires. In *China en la América colonial*, pp. 97-102.

⁵³⁵ AGN, California 26, exp. 79, f. 323-323v: Al virrey de Nueva España ordenándole que guarde y cumpla la cedula real acerca del tratamiento de las gentes de mar de la vía de Filipinas, 1663.

⁵³⁶ VALLE PAVÓN, "Los mercaderes de México", p. 228.

⁵³⁷ MUNTANER, "Redes invisibles", pp. 140-152.

⁵³⁸ GOODE, "Merchant-Bureaucrats", pp. 182-190.

Circumvention of laws.

The collaboration of sailors engaging in the unregulated trade began with the handling of ship cargoes. Each package had to be sealed, labeled, and registered for taxation in the *libros de contabilida*d (manifest of goods). In addition, the law required a detailed inventory of the merchandise boarded in the ship as the basis of taxation. In Acapulco, the port officials headed by the castellano would board and inspect the vessel, collect the official manifest of goods, dispatch them to the royal treasury, and then facilitate the unloading of the cargo to be transferred to and kept in the warehouse until the Acapulco fair. Theoretically, the fair was the only venue to legally sell the trade goods and use silver, accompanied by a sale certificate. ⁵³⁹ However, the leniency in the implementation of these measures increased everyone's propensity to smuggle goods. Since the packages were not opened, it was hard to verify if what was registered in the manifest corresponded to the actual type, quantity, and merchandise value. Usually, the officials and crew would erroneously identify their articles to evade high tax. For example, they could list silk as manta and, considering that silk cost eight times more than mantas, it implied paying lower almojarifazgo. ⁵⁴⁰

In addition to almojarifazgo, the merchants had to pay the *flete de mar* or trade goods' freight, based not on the value of goods but rather on its container. The designated flete was twelve pesos each ton until 1586, when it was increased to forty-five pesos or thirty-two ducados.⁵⁴¹ One ton could be filled with approximately eight fardos or six cajas, or twelve cakes of wax, depending on the container. However, the latter had no standard form and instead could vary in size, weight, or capacity: fardo, fardo grande, fardo chico, fardillo, fardillo chico, cajuela, cajon, caja, cajoncillo, petaca, ranquel, balsa, riachuelo, and lio. Sometimes they even utilized escritorio to pack the

⁵³⁹ GOODE, "Merchant-Bureaucrats", pp. 181-182; McCARTHY, "Between policy and prerogative", pp. 177-178.

⁵⁴⁰ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

⁵⁴¹ McCarthy, "Between policy and prerogative", p. 167; AGI, Contaduría 898: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1592-1593.

goods.⁵⁴² These non-standardized containers provided an occasion to randomly assign flete by reclassifying the containers from larger to smaller or from several to one piece. For example, Alvarez Martinez, one of the port's encomendero, had registered under his name four cajoncillos that contained four escribanias. Upon assessment of its flete, the officials changed it to one cajon.⁵⁴³ Likewise, a particular merchant brought two cajas with five arrobas of cloves spice valued at three reales each libra. The authorities reasoned out that the said cajas were too small and adjusted the flete to one cajon.⁵⁴⁴

Another fraudulent activity was to declare the cargo as damaged, which could mean stained, wet, corrupted, or semi-rotten in the case of textiles, and broken if dishware. It must be the case of the sailor Gaspar Ramirez who brought two cajones and five fardos. However, he declared the last fardo as rotten and opened it in the presence of the officials, who ascertained that the fabrics inside were wet and stained. Once the appointed officials, usually port encomenderos, verified the claim of damaged items through sworn statements, they would report the goods as *decomisado* or *perdido* (confiscated) and sell them through public bidding. They were then auctioned off to honorable persons residing in Acapulco. There was strong evidence of connivance in public bidding, given that the port's encomenderos commonly appeared in the register as buyers of seized goods. For example, Alonso Diaz de Tavera, a *correo mayor* (postman), brought three fardos with rotten silk and mantas. After being declared as *perdidos* (contraband), they were sold to Manuel de Encinas, the port's encomendero.

Regarding the identified contraband goods, they could quickly be boarded to the ship once it left Cavite port, especially that between Cavite and the open sea, it made

⁵⁴² CAÑO ORTIGOSA AND CHUNG LEE "Comercio y cargazón en el Galeón de Manila", pp. 127-128; AGI, Contaduría 897-901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

⁵⁴³ AGI, Contaduría 904, file I-XII: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1621-1632.

⁵⁴⁴ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

⁵⁴⁵ AGI, Contaduría 897: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1592.

⁵⁴⁶ AGI, Contaduría 898: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1592-1593.

⁵⁴⁷ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

several stops to replenish supplies. They could then drop off the smuggled goods in ports such as Mazatlan, Salagua (present-day Manzanillo), and San Blas.⁵⁴⁸ Since no one was allowed to embark or leave the ship until it docked at Acapulco and completed the *visita* (inspection), they used as a pretext the need to send an official dispatch to the Mexican viceroy informing him about the ship and its cargo. Sickness and hunger among sailors and passengers, which were common during the journey, the need to replenish the ship's provisions or disembark the sick could also be used as excuses to stop at ports other than Acapulco. It availed the ship crew a chance to start visiting unauthorized ports and transporting the contraband goods.⁵⁴⁹

It must be emphasized that laws restraining the sailors' participation in the unregulated trade existed, although infrequently obeyed. Those who were caught visiting the ship before its inspection had to pay a penalty charge, which the port officials spent for royal works. 550 Upon arrival in Acapulco, the crew was the last to leave the ship since they had to unload the merchandise. After doing their job, they were bound by a *bando* (law) to stay in the port unless their contract already ended. If they were rehired for the return trip to the Philippines, illness was the only ground to leave the dock. They also had to present an official permit and medical certificate, lest their salary would remain unpaid. Those who broke the bando were charged with twenty pesos as a penalty, as what happened with Juan de Denia, Damian Marin, and Antonio Matheos, the Carrera's sailors in the 1600s. 551 The main reason for confining them was to prevent desertion and make sure they pay the almojarifazgo and other taxes of the merchandise they brought, smuggled or not.

When contraband goods were found among ship cargo, processing of offenders, testification of witnesses, and certification of judges and fiscals had to be conducted.

⁵⁴⁸ MACHUCA, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres", p. 103; MUNTANER, "Redes invisibles", pp. 140-152; GARCIA-ABASALO, "Filipinos on the Mexican Pacific coast", p. 125.

⁵⁴⁹ MACHUCA, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres", p. 103; MUNTANER, "Redes invisibles", pp. 140-152.

⁵⁵⁰ AGI, Contaduría 899: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1593-1594.

⁵⁵¹ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615.

Then, the unregistered goods were confiscated and deposited in the warehouse and later sold in public auction on the King's account. After that, the port officials would inform merchants and residents regarding the auction through official announcements or direct communication.⁵⁵² With the sale of contraband and unregistered goods, they charged a penalty fee known as condenación de contrabando y fuera de registro, which was then collected by the *alguacil ejecutor* (bailiff).⁵⁵³ From this fee, the port officials deducted the scribe's fifteen-peso charge for certification and another six pesos for the service of the pregonero (auctioneer or herald). They also had to collect the merchandise almojarifazgo, the two-percent entrada de la nueva imposicion, and the fletes de mar de mercadurias y esclavos. In what remained, one-third went to the King, another third to denunciador (informer), and the remaining one-third to the judges. Acapulco port's teniente de alcalde mayor (deputy mayor) and teniente del factor (agent's deputy) served as judges. At the same time, the informers were composed of justicia mayor (chief magistrate), alcaide de la real aduana (royal custom's warden), juez del despacho de naos (ship's dispatch judge), comisario de juez del despacho de naos (ship's dispatch inspector-judge), guarda mayor (chief guard), and bailiff. Finally, the usual and "small-time" smugglers were the ship officials and crewmen.554

The smugglers' usual goods.

In 1602, the sailor Diego Gonzalez brought aboard the ship Rosario unregistered goods comprised of four cajones of loza and *abalori*o (trinkets). After being caught, he was initially charged with 445 pesos or two *tercias* of the penalty fee (two-thirds of the actual value of the merchandise). But since he served as a sailor for 295 days, his salary was deducted from his penalty and paid 233 pesos.⁵⁵⁵ The tercia was one of the four components of *cargo* (earnings) from the public sale of contraband goods. The other

⁵⁵² MUNTANER, "Redes invisibles", pp. 148-150; SCHURZ, *The Manila galleon*, p. 380.

⁵⁵³ The bailiff received an annual salary of 200 pesos for his service. AGI, Contaduría, 900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Diciembre 20, 1594 hasta Noviembre 18, 1595.

⁵⁵⁴ AGI, Contaduría 901-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1597-1640.

⁵⁵⁵ AGI, Contaduría 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

three were taxes, including the ten-percent almojarifazgo, the three-percent flete, and the two-percent *nueva imposicion* (new charge). After the penalties were deducted from the total sale of the goods, the remainder was then divided into three tercias to be received by the King, the informers of the contraband activity, and the judges.⁵⁵⁶

Table 5.4 presents the register of the annual total earnings from the sale of contraband goods. It is far from complete since only one or two tercias (out of three) were annually collected and included in the list. The table did not also cover the more significant part of the 1630s, given that the contraband earnings components changed during this time. In addition, no ships sailed from the Philippines in the latter part of the decade. It also appears that there are years with no record of contraband goods, which should not be accepted at face value. Notwithstanding the shortcomings of the data presented, it can still provide details regarding the unregulated activities of the sailors and other merchants.

Table 5.4: Total Earnings from the Sale of Contraband Goods, 1600s-1630s.

Year	Earnings in	Year	Earnings in
	pesos		pesos
Oct 1601 - Nov 1603	622	Jan 1617 – Dic 1617	948
Aug 1606 – Jul 1607	2,430	Jan 1618 - Dic 1618	3,048
Aug 1607 – Sep 1607	25	Jan 1619 - Dec 1619	1,051
Dic 1607 – Dic 1608	918	Jan 1620 - Dec 1620	425
Dic 1609 – Dic 1610	5,463	Jan 1621 - Dec 1621	2,404
Dic 1610 - Sep 1611	12,686	Jan 1622 - Dec 1622	1,343
Sep 1611 - Nov 1612	5,243	Jan 1625 - Dec 1625	610
Nov 1612 - Mar 1614	913	Jan 1628 - Dec 1628	12, 138
Jan 1615 - Dec 1616	253	Jan 1629 - Dec 1629	648
Jan 1616 - Dec 1616	541	Jan 1631 - Dec 1631	4,300

Source: AGI, Contaduría 901-904. Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632.

⁵⁵⁶ AGI, Contaduría 901-904: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632.

The total amount indicated in Table 5.5 does not always include all the tercias, but rather, one-third or two-thirds of the entire value of seized goods after paying the taxes. Hence, the value range of unregistered goods is from 25-75 pesos (lowest) to 12,000-36,000 pesos (highest). However, even if all the tercias were considered, the table would still show a glaring underreporting of the actual value of the confiscated merchandise. As witnessed in 1637, when a thorough inspection of goods was conducted, the sales value of goods exceeded the 500,000-peso limitation by 1.5 million pesos. It can be assumed that registering confiscated goods was just a formality for the port officials and by no means represented the magnitude of contraband trade. The smuggled goods of sailors and other individuals (including ship officials, passengers, port encomenderos, and residents) were dominated by the usual Pacific trade goods such as fabrics, dishware, wax, spices, furniture, and other Chinese goods. 558

As an illustration, in 1618, unregistered goods that the port officials seized consisted of various merchandise worth a thousand pesos, 432 libras of clove spices, 56 libras of pepper, one fardillo, and twenty pieces of mantas. ⁵⁵⁹ Concerning the Peru/Other parts-Acapulco contraband goods, they were still consisted of botijas of wine (from Peru and Panama) and vinegar and cargas of cacao (from Peru and Guayaquil). In addition, other commodities appeared, such as *cordobanes* (cordovan leather), gold, cloves, and Realejo's tobacco and *suchicote* (rolled cigarette). ⁵⁶⁰ To illustrate, in 1610, a port resident bought smuggled merchandise from Peru that comprised of twenty fardos of cordovan leather, equivalent to six dozen and a half of black color and a hundred dozen of white cordovan. In 1615, an alférez (military official) was fined five percent almojarifazgo for bringing from Peru to Acapulco 600 botijas of wine. The officials also caught a ship passenger in 1622 carrying unregistered a golden *tejuelo* (book label), two chains, and a *saquillo* (small sack) of *oro en polvo* (gold

⁵⁵⁷ McCarthy, "Between policy and prerogative", pp. 163-183; Schurz, The Manila galleon, 380.

⁵⁵⁸ AGI, Contaduría 901-904, Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632.

⁵⁵⁹ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

⁵⁶⁰ AGI, Contaduría 901-904, Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632.

powder).⁵⁶¹ On the other hand, some products appeared to be more recurrent by the seventeenth century than previously, such as the slaves and Japanese goods.

Table 5.5: Smuggled goods from Manila-Acapulco ships, 1600s-1620s.

Year	Owner	Product	Value	Penalty fee	
Crew and officials					
1603	Diego Gonzalez, marinero	4 cajas of loza and trinkets	675p	445p 5t (2/3)	
1607	Mateo de Landa and Francisco Jorge (master)	2 fardillos with 96 white mantas, 10 reales each	145p	48p (1/3)	
		1 fardillo with 50 (libras?) of pepper, 4 reales each			
1607	Andres Perez, marinero	30 manta shirts, 7 reales and a half each 30 pairs of manta	127p 4t	42p 4t (1/3)	
		breeches, 7 reales and a half each			
		3 manta curtains, 24 pesos each			
		2 mantas de arpillera (sackcloth), 3 pesos each			
1607	Francisco Agua, Agustin Pilar, and Alonso Tumban, grumetes	3 fardillos with Chinese stuff		369p 8g (2/3)	
1607	Pedro de Canas, shipmaster	1 fardillo with 2 arrobas and a half of pepper, 3 tomines each libra	23p 3t	7p 6t 4g (1/3)	
1607	Juan Bautista Fontana, dispenser	329 small and big plates, 4 reales each	164p 4t	52p (1/3)	
1607	Martin de Olajandigui, deceased marinero	1 cajuela with Chinese stuff		63p 5t 4g (2/3)	
1608	Different persons, most probably, crewmen	1 Chinese big caja and 3 small cajuelas with some clothes of indios chinos that died on the sea	44p	28p (2/3)	
1609	Domingo Velez, dispenser	1 Chinese big caja		771p (2/3)	
1609	Pedro Martin, marinero (?)	2 petacas of <i>terciopelo</i> (velvet)		550p (1/3)	
1609	Martin de Zamudio, master	1 Indian <i>colcha</i> (bedspread) and 1 fardillo of Chinese stuff			

⁵⁶¹ AGI, Contaduría 901-904, Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632.

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1609	Cristobal Rodriguez,	5 fardos of pepper		62p (2/3)
1007	shipmaster	3 lai dos or pepper		02p (2/3)
1617	Cristobal Sanchez,	Various merchandise	702p	70p 1t 7g (10%
	deceased marinero		•	almojarifazgo)
1617	Manuel Gonzalez,	1 esclavillo, 100 pesos	125p	12p 4t (10%
	deceased marinero(?)	_	_	almojarifazgo)
		5 dozen of loza,		
		5 pesos each dozen		
1617	Juan del Barrio,	Various merchandise	200p	20p (10% almojarifazgo)
1.1.	shipmaster	170		- (120)
1617	Mateo Jacome,	150 mantas, 6 reales		7p 6t (10% almojarifazgo)
	marinero	each		
1617	Antonio Perez,	1 escribania at 40 pesos	100n	10n (100/ almajarifarga)
1017	marinero	8 dozen of Chinese plate and 1 caja of rice	100p	10p (10% almojarifazgo)
1617	Antonio Ribao,	100 mantas	75p	7p 4t (10% almojarifazgo)
1017	marinero	100 mantas	7 3 p	7 p 4t (10 / mainiojai nazgo)
1617	Juan Baez, marinero	60 mantas	45p	4p 4t (10% almojarifazgo)
1617	Lorenzo Vazquez,	Various merchandise	580p	58p (10% almojarifazgo)
	pilot		1	
1617	Gregorio Matias,	Various merchandise	5,109p	516p (10% almojarifazgo)
	dispenser			
1617	Gaspar Pedro,	Various merchandise	250p	25p (10% almojarifazgo)
	marinero			
1617	Pedro Baez,	Various merchandise	503p	50p (10% almojarifazgo)
1617	shipmaster	77 . 1 1:	110	44 (400/ 1 : :6)
1617	Francisco Rodriguez,	Various merchandise	112p	11p (10% almojarifazgo)
1617	marinero Simon de Carmona,	Various merchandise	241p	24p (10% almojarifazgo)
1017	marinero	various merenandise	211p	2 ip (10 % aimojai na2go)
1617	Enrique Diaz,	Various merchandise	115p 4t	11p 6g (10%
	assistant pilot		1	almojarifazgo)
1618	Gapar Nuñez, pilot	10 slaves, 250 pesos each		250p (10% almojarifazgo)
1618	Simon Martin,	1 slave at 250 pesos		23p 2t 8g (1/3 of 70p);
	marinero			25p (10%); flete
1618	Pedro Miguel,	1 slave at 250 pesos		23p 2t 8g (1/3 of 70p);
	marinero			25p (10% almojarifazgo);
1(10	Vin on Donos	1 alove at 250		flete
1618	Xinez Perez, marinero	1 slave at 250 pesos		23p 2t 8g (1/3 of 70p); 25p (10% almojarifazgo);
	111a1111c1U			flete
1629	Blas del Castillo,	1 chino slave		50p (12% for
	marinero			almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Fernandez,	1 chino slave		50p (12% for
	marinero			almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Salvador Bendrel,			301p 4t (12% for
	captain and master			almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Francisco Hernandez,			1,974p 4t (12% for
	chief pilot			almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Pedro Maria,			915p 6t (12% for
1620	shipmaster			almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Domingo Gomez, desertor			367p (12% for
1629	Gaspar Catalan,			almojarifazgo and averia) 448p 5t (12% for
1029	uaspai Galaidii,			101 07 11 1C 40FF

	steward	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Antonio Garcia,	210p 7t (12% for
102)	diver	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Antonio Machado,	159p 6t (12% for
102)	water bailiff	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Antonio de Yraurgui,	76p 3t (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Agustin Lacan,	66p 4t (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Alonso Rendon,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Bernardino Restan,	153p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Bartolome Arquin,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Diego Hernandez,	65p 5t (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Domingo Ferrera,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Francisco Gonzalez,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Francisco Romero,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629		50p (12% for
1029	Juan Gago, marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Manual da Caguara	50p (12% for
1029	Manuel de Sequera, marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Manuel de Gobea,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Pedro de Gainza,	116p 4t (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Tomas Fernandez,	55p 2t (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Cristobal de Carrisoli,	100p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Francisco de Aguilar,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Blas del Castillo,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Agustin de Arrieta,	50p (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Perez el mozo,	105p 4t (almoj, nueva imp
1029	marinero	y flete de mar y esclavos)
1629	Pedro Hernandez,	50p (12% for
102)	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Bautista	50p (12% for
1027	Rodriguez, marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Manuel Luis,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Gaspar de Penalber,	94p 1t (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Mateo Lucas,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
	mai mei U	aiiiojai iiazgo aiiu averia)

1.00	I - , , ,	
1629	Pedro de Aguirre,	50p (12% for
	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Pedro de Herrera,	50p (12% for
	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Alonso Benitez,	50p (12% for
	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Fernando Moreira,	50p (12% for
	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Ballesteros de la	87p (12% for
	Vega, grumete	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Pedro Martin,	1,102p 1tp (12% for
	Chief pilot	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Martin Rodriguez,	100p (12% for
	assistant to chief pilot	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Amaro Ramos,	112p (12% for
	shipmaster	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Marcos de Fletes,	162p 4t (12% for
	steward	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Bautista Diaz,	161p 1t (almoj, nueva imp
4.600	scribe	y flete de mar y esclavos)
1629	Joseph Hernandez,	50p (12% for
4.600	caulker	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Jimenez,	92p 2t (12% for
4.600	diver	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan de Palacios,	113p 7t (12% for
4.600	chief gunner	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Madera,	96p 6t (12% for
4.600	gunner	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Bernabe Fragoso,	50p (12% for
1620	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Diego Rodriguez,	50p (12% for
1(20	marinero Diego Cuello,	almojarifazgo and averia) 50p (12% for
1629	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Francisco Vanegas,	119p 2t (almoj, nueva imp
1029	marinero	y flete de mar y esclavos)
1629	Gabriel Gonzalez,	265p 4t (12% for
1029	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Diaz,	118p 6t (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Gallego,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Juan Fernandez,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Martin Alonso,	50p (12% for
102)	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Marcos de Mesa,	137p 1t (12% for
102)	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Mateo Marquez,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Marcos Martin,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Manuel de Cisnero,	50p (12% for
1027	marinero	almojarifazgo and averia)
L		annojarnazgo ana averiaj

1629	Juan Perez			50p (12% for
102)	Matucinos, marinero			almojarifazgo and averia)
1629	Pedro Maria,			50p (12% for
1027	shipmaster			almojarifazgo and averia)
Other in	idividuals			unnojar nazgo una averiaj
1607	Different persons	8 cajuelas of Chinese		424p 5t 4g (2/3?)
1007	aboard the ship	merchandise		1 1 1 30 18 (=/ 0.)
1607	Doña Thomasina,	5 balsas of Chinese loza	603p 6t	201p 2t (1/3)
	passenger (Buyers		orop or	
	were Bernardino			
	Alvarez and Martin			
	de Arriaga)			
1607	Juan de los Rios,	1 fardo of Chinese manta	63p 4t	42p 2t 8g (2/3)
	Gabriel Sanchez and		-	
	Diedo de Soria,			
	servants of Lic. Don			
	Antonio de Rivera			
	(Buyer was Don			
	Francisco de			
	Montoya)			
1607	Doña Catalina	Pieces of Chinese lozas	16p 4t	11p (2/3)
	Agunde (Buyer was			
	Pedro			
4.607	Gutierrez de Molina)	2.01		44 (10 (4/2)
1607	(Buyer was Pedro	2 Chinese mantas		11p 6t 8g (1/3)
1607	Martin, port resident)	1 slave at 250 pages		25° (100/)
1607	Pedro de la Reguera, encomendero	1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10%)
1607	Domingo de Yraegui	1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10%)
	3.11.13	F		
1607	Antonio Lopez	2 slaves, 250 pesos each		50p (10%)
	Montalvo,			
	encomendero			
1610	(Buyer was Luis	Wax cake		70p (2/3)
	Perez Coronel,			
	Philippine resident)			
1610	Alonso Diaz de	3 fardos with rotten		391p 2t 8g (2/3)
	Tavera, postman	mantas and silk		
	(Buyer was Manuel			
	de Encinas,			
1610	encomendero) Alferez Josephe de	1 fardo with crude silk		293p 2t 8g (2/3)
1010	Aduna, passenger	and other rotten		273p 2t 0g (2/3)
	(Buyer was Mateo de	merchandise		
	Landa, encomendero)	inci ciiuiiuioc		
1616	Unnamed	2 marquetas (bars) of	153p 2t	
		wax weighing 12 arrobas	4g	
		and 19 libras	J	
1616	Unnamed	1 plain cake wax	288p	
		weighing 8 arrobas and	•	
		24 libras at 12 pesos; 2		
		fardillos with 120		
		mantas from Chincheo at		
		12 reales each		

1618	Alvarez Martinez de	5 slaves, 250 pesos each		125p (10% almojarifazgo)
	Sande, encomendero	10 slaves, 250 pesos each		250p (10% almojarifazgo)
		1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10% almojarifazgo)
1618	Diego Gonzalez de	3 esclavos, 250 pesos		75p (10% almojarifazgo)
	Arcos	each		
		1 cajon of merchandise	713p 6t	71p (10% almojarifazgo)
		432 libras of cloves spice	162p	16p 1t 9g (10%
				almojarifazgo)
1618	Pedro Marin del Valle	8 slaves, 250 pesos each		200p (10% almojarifazgo)
1618	Pedro de la Reguera,	1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10% almojarifazgo)
	encomendero			
1618	Domingo de Yraegui	1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10% almojarifazgo)
		1 fardillo of mantas	31p 2t	3p 1t (10% almojarifazgo)
		1 fardillo of mantas	208p 4t	20p 6t 10g (10%
4.640	A	0.1.050		almojarifazgo)
1618	Antonio Lopez	2 slaves, 250 pesos each		50p (10% almojarifazgo)
	Montalvo,			
1618	encomendero Bernardino de	1 clave at 2E0 peace		25p (10% almojarifazgo)
1010	Angulo, encomendero	1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10% annojarnazgo)
1618	Juan Bautista de Leon	5 slaves, 250 pesos each		125p (10% almojarifazgo)
1618	Mateo de Landa,	2 slaves, 250 pesos each		50p (10% almojarifazgo)
1010	encomendero	2 slaves, 230 pesos each		30p (10 % annojarnazgo)
1618	Francisco de Pineda	1 slave at 250 pesos		25p (10% almojarifazgo)
1010	Trancisco de Tineda	1 slave at 250 pesos		250 (10 / 0 011110)01110280)
1618	Blas Giron	1 fardillo with 20 mantas	60p	6p (10% almojarifazgo)
		at 10 reales each and 56		op (==,,,)
		libras of pepper at 5		
		pesos each libra		
1618		432 libras of clove spices	112p 3g	37p 2t 5g (1/3)
		at 3 reales		
1618		1 fardillo of manta	24p 7t 8g	8p 2t 6g (1/3)
1619	(Buyer was port	2 cajas with 5 arrobas of	46p 7t	7p 5t (flete); 4p 5t 6g
	resident)	clove spices at 3 reales		(10% almojarifazgo); 11p
		each libra (since cajas		1t 8g (1/3)
		were small, they adjusted		
1620	Carranal aftha alain	the flete to 1 cajon)		FO 7 (100/
1620	General of the ship San Nicolas	90 arrobas and 10 libras of wax or 18 wax bars		58p 7g (10% almojarifazgo); 45p 4t
	Sali Nicolas	of wax of 16 wax bars		(flete); 157p 3t 5g (1/3)
1620	Almirante de nao de	6 fardillos with 228		22p 7t 3g (10%
1020	San Nicolas	lampotes		almojarifazgo); 15p 1t 4g
		141111111111111111111111111111111111111		(flete); 61p 6t 4g (1/3)
1620	Sargento de nao de	96 dozen of small and		15p 1t 8g (10%
-	San Nicolas	broad bowls		almojarifazgo); 7p 5t
				(flete); 42p 4t (1/3)
1621	Encomendero	3 cajones with Chinese	3,649p 4t	364p 7t 7g (10%
		fabrics		almojarifazgo); 109p 3t
				10g (fletes); 1,034p 6g
				(1/3) de 3,102; nueva
				imposicion
1622	Alvarez Martinez,	4 cajoncillos with 4		21p (10% almojarifazgo);
	encomendero	escribanias from the		8p (flete); nueva
		Philippines (they		

	adjusted the flete to 1 cajon)		imposición; 60p 6t (1/3 of 182p)
1622	1 caja with camanguian (they adjusted the flete to 1 cajon)	341p 3t	34p 1t (10% almojarifazgo); 8p (flete); nueva imposición; 97p 4t (1/3 of 292p 3t)
1625	1 cajon with Chinese fabrics	1,465p 4t	29p 2t (2% nueva imposicion); 146p 4t (10% almojarifazgo); 7p 5t (flete); 427p 3t (1/3)

Source: AGI, Contaduría 901-904: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632.

Note: p=pesos; t=tomines; g=granos.

Slaves.

One of the changes by the beginning of the seventeenth century was the increase in the price of slaves. In the sixteenth century, a young black slave was sold in Acapulco from 120 to 150 pesos. ⁵⁶² Their price almost doubled from the latter part of the century, ranging between 200 and 400 pesos or more, depending on the origin of the slave. Those categorized as indios chinos were the cheapest, while the black ones were the most expensive. ⁵⁶³ In 1599, eight slaves were brought aboard Santo Tomas, which were owned by the sailors Nicolas Rodriguez, Alonso Perez de Vargas, Pedro Veneciano, Sebastian Francisco, Gonzalo del Toral, Lorenzo Ginoves, Juan Bautista Ginoves, and Manuel Alvarez. ⁵⁶⁴ During that year, the other ship, Santa Potenciana, also carried slaves brought by sailors, such as Francisco Rolon. Each slave was already priced at 240 pesos, for which they had had to pay the ten-percent tax of twenty-four pesos. ⁵⁶⁵ The ship officials and crew members could either serve as slave traders or their caretakers while transported from Manila to Acapulco. For the latter, the slave owner in Manila

⁵⁶² AGI, Contaduría 897-900: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1595.

⁵⁶³ OROPEZA, "Los 'Indios Chinos' en la Nueva España", p. 72; AGI, Contaduría 901-904: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1600-1632. See also another work on indio chino slaves, Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*.

⁵⁶⁴ AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

⁵⁶⁵ AGI, Contaduría, 901: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 18, 1597 hasta Julio 1603.

hired them to put the slave under their custody and provide them with food, drink, and bed during the entire journey. After the trip, they had to sell the slave to the highest bidder in Acapulco and testify for the sale of the said slave. As a commission, they received one-third of the selling price of the slave.⁵⁶⁶

Many officials and crew opted to sneak the slaves on board to avoid paying for their upkeep. In 1618, among the smuggled cargo from the Philippines on board the nao Espiritu Santo were fifty-two male and female slaves: twenty-two owned by five port encomenderos while the rest were declared under the account of the nao's chief pilot, three sailors, and other individuals.⁵⁶⁷ One of the consequences of contraband activities was the ship overloading. In 1620, to address this problem, a royal decree was issued forbidding the sailors from bringing more than one slave and compelling them to pay its ten-percent tax. 568 In addition, the crewmen were prohibited from taking slave women.⁵⁶⁹ However, this did not stop the smuggling of slaves. In 1629, the highest penalty fee for contraband goods aboard the ships Ignacio and San Jacinto was recorded. During this year, 4,250 pesos out of 12,138 pesos were paid for eighty-five slaves. The majority of the ship officials and crew were involved, including those with the highest position, namely, the naos' captains, chief pilots, and shipmasters. The flag and admiral ships' officers with the following rank also participated: assistant pilot, steward, surgeon, scribe, diver, caulker, carpenters, water bailiff, chief gunner, gunner, royal bailiff, and sailor.⁵⁷⁰ As can be seen in Table 5.4 (Smuggled goods from Manila-Acapulco ships), among the forty-three sailors listed as contrabandists, the slave was the principal cargo.⁵⁷¹

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⁵⁶⁶ OBISPADO, "The plight of Filipino seamen/Los apuros de los marineros filipinos"; OROPEZA, "Los Indios 'chinos'", pp. 71-72; AGN Historia 407, f. 327.

⁵⁶⁷ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

⁵⁶⁸ AGI, Contaduría 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

⁵⁶⁹ *Recopilación* IV, lib IX, tít XXXXV: De la navegación, y comercio de las Islas Filipinas, China, Nueva España, y Perú; CROSSLEY, *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel*, pp. 77, 81 and 155.

⁵⁷⁰ AGI, Contaduría 904, file I-XII: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1621-1632.

⁵⁷¹ AGI, Contaduría 904, file I-XII: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1621-1632.

Japanese goods.

Between 1598 and 1613, under the leadership of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the Japan-Philippine commercial relationship officially started.⁵⁷² When a decree was issued in 1613 that prohibited Christianism in Japan and in 1624 that ended the trade between Japan and the Philippines, Japanese products continued to arrive in Manila. In fact, in the latter part of the 1610s, a substantial trade volume was recorded and continued to do so until the first half of the 1630s, when it registered more than 65,000 pesos. Then by 1635, the arrival of ships and their trade goods stopped.⁵⁷³ The exports were war materials such as iron, copper, powder, and *cañamo* needed in Manila's military posts; and textiles collectively identified as generos: cañamo (hemp), finos hilos de cocer (fine sewing thread), and mantas, gamuzas (chamois cloth), and colchones (mattress). There were also provisions including flour, wheat, salt, wine, ham, biombos (folding screen), and lacas (lacquered items) intended to export to New Spain. Finally, Japanese slaves started to be trafficked at sixty pesos each. 574 For its circulation, the commercial intermediaries in Manila of biombos were Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese, who imported them from Canton, Macao, and Nagasaki.⁵⁷⁵ In addition, Spanish captains in Manila served as well as merchants, with commodities such as escritorio, baúl (trunk). escritorillo (small desk), bufete (desk with cabinets), and various cajas of Japanese mirrors and biombos, mixed in their personal belongings.⁵⁷⁶

On 4 June 1617, seventy pesos were collected from Ribao, the *albacea* (executor) of the deceased sailor Cristobal Sanchez, for the ten-percent almojarifazgo of the merchandise that the latter brought aboard the ship San Juan Bautista. These were sold at Acapulco port in public bidding since they were brought unregistered from Japan, and it was not customary to tax articles that came directly from this kingdom. In addition to Sanchez, other officials and crew of the ship above also traded Japanese

⁵⁷² Borao Mateo, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila", p. 10.

⁵⁷³ KAWAMURA, "Llegada de productos japoneses a Manila", pp. 46 and 50-51.

⁵⁷⁴ KAWAMURA, "Llegada de productos japoneses a Manila", pp. 50-56.

⁵⁷⁵ BAENA ZAPATERO, "Un ejemplo de mundialización".

⁵⁷⁶ BAENA ZAPATERO, "Un ejemplo de mundialización", p. 57.

goods, with a total value of approximately ten thousand pesos. ⁵⁷⁷ In Table 5.4, the entries for the year 1617 were trade goods from Japan; unfortunately, most were categorized as various merchandise. However, it mentioned lozas, mantas, *esclavillo*, *escribania de maque* (lacquered desk), Chinese plates, and rice. On 3 August 1619, General Sebastian Vizcaino paid 1,028 pesos out of 2,285 pesos for the merchandise brought from Japan by him and other persons in the ship San Juan Bautista that arrived from such kingdom in 1619. ⁵⁷⁸

The sailors as consumers of Pacific trade goods

The trade goods arriving in Manila were chiefly Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian goods. The Sino-Philippine trade increased from an annual value of 100,000-300,000 pesos to several million pesos after 1591 and stayed this way until 1615. Afterward, it entered into a prolonged downturn, and by the 1640s, the trade volume would no longer reach 200,000 pesos.⁵⁷⁹ On the other hand, fifty-eight Japanese ships bringing trade goods with an annual worth ranging from 10,000 to 50,000 pesos arrived in Manila between 1590 and 1635.⁵⁸⁰ From Macao, sixty-three registered ships loaded with cargo arrived in Manila between 1577 and 1643.⁵⁸¹ In addition, Portuguese ships were also coming to Manila from ports of Island Southeast Asia, including Macassar, Brunei, Moluccas, India, Malay Peninsula, Siam, and Vietnamese coast to bring the merchandise.⁵⁸² They became sources of consumption goods for the general population and the sailors.

Consumption goods

These galleon trade goods were either luxury or essential items, manufactured or semiprocessed. They were later finished in workshops in Manila, Mexico, and even Lima, to suit the local needs or the demands of the international target market. In Manila,

⁵⁷⁷ AGI, Contaduría, 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

⁵⁷⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 903, file I-VI: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1615-1620.

⁵⁷⁹ LI, "Trade and its historical trend between", p. 22.

⁵⁸⁰ BAENA ZAPATERO, "Un ejemplo de mundialización", p. 39.

⁵⁸¹ BAENA ZAPATERO, "Un ejemplo de mundialización", p. 35.

⁵⁸² IACCARINO, "'The Centre of a Circle", pp. 112.

workshops could be found where the exiled or converted Asian artists semi-processed or manufactured products. 583 For this reason, raw materials, such as biombo — hojas de loza de maque colorado (sheets of lacquered dishware) or tablas de maque (lacquered boards)— were common among the ship cargo brought to Manila. In the case of New Spain, where the production of a particular biombo called achinado or Chinese-like commenced in the seventeenth century, it offered a cheaper version of the product and provided an opportunity for local artists. According to Alberto Baena Zapatero, where Chinese and Japanese biombo could typically cost 100 pesos, the achinado's price varied between five and six pesos. The author added the possibility that they had also been produced in Peru, Guatemala, and Colombia, adapting to the local taste and using local materials. 584 Ivory was another luxury item sent as raw or finished goods to Manila. From its principal production in Zhangzhou, Fujian, some of these ivories were taken to the Philippines and, from there, to Mexico. 585 Chinese sculptors produced not only religious images but objects, including chopsticks, cups, belt plaques, fans, and small, secular pieces for decorative purposes. Based on the hundreds of ivories retrieved from Santa Margarita, a ship that shipwrecked in 1601, a proportion of it was made by sculptors located in Manila. As Marjorie Trusted pointed out, Manila had converted into a leading center for artisans, both Chinese and Filipinos, in luxury goods from the late sixteenth century. 586 Regarding galleon fabric and clothing, a considerable number of works already tackled the impact of the so-called Chinese clothing on Spanish America. Given its low price and abundant supply, there had been a sustained effort to keep the Pacific trade from its outset.⁵⁸⁷ The Mexican viceroys, the count of Monterrey (1595-1603), the marquis of Montesclaros (1603-1607), and Luis de Velasco (1607-1611) acknowledged it would be hard to comply with the imposed restrictions on the Pacific trade. They suggested that they should instead increase the tax than limit the transaction. They emphasized its convenience since, in addition to the

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⁵⁸³ KAWAMURA, "Llegada de productos japoneses", pp. 54-55; BAENA ZAPATERO, "Un ejemplo de mundialización", pp. 37-38.

⁵⁸⁴ BAENA ZAPATERO, "Un ejemplo de mundialización", pp. 44-45 and 58.

⁵⁸⁵ TRUSTED, "Survivors of a Shipwreck", p. 448.

⁵⁸⁶ TRUSTED, "Survivors of a Shipwreck", p. 448.

royal tax, there was a need to sell cheap fabrics in Mexico and Peru, to give economic assistance to Manila residents, and convert the Chinese and Japanese. 588

In the early seventeenth-century Lima, the large shipments of merchandise from China, which principally consisted of cheap silk and Languin cotton mantas, sold well, profited everyone, and dressed the poor.⁵⁸⁹ Likewise, a contemporary witness in New Spain observed that Chinese textiles and clothing were used not only by the elites but also by people of different *castas* (lineage), including the *negras* (blacks) and *esclavas* (women slaves) worn Chinese dress with lienzo (cotton) sleeves. 590 Bonialian suggested that among the trade goods, while the Asian silk found a market in both the upper and lower classes, the cotton fabric called sinabafa, which was made into a shirt, breeches, bed cover, and tilma (blanket), catered more to the need of the Mexican natives and miners.⁵⁹¹ Same as in the luxury items, raw materials had a significant share among the textile goods, which were brought to Mexican workshops to be processed and later exported to other parts of America. From Asian fabrics, they could be made into European-style garments or a mestiza creation that combined European, Asian, and local tastes.⁵⁹² The influx of trade goods in colonial cities such as Manila, Mexico, and Lima affected the everyday consumption of the broader population to a certain degree. However, it is noteworthy to analyze the consumption pattern not only of the elite or the lower class who patronized these products but also the workers who transported them, circulated with them, and brought them to their destination areas. In the following sections, we will examine the sailors' consumer goods, living and dead.

The case of the dead sailors and the things they left

The properties that the sailors left when they died, known as *bienes de difuntos*, can help to examine their consumption behavior. When someone died, the succeeding steps

⁵⁸⁸ VALLE PAVÓN, "Los mercaderes de México", p. 232.

⁵⁸⁹ IWASAKI, Extremo oriente y Perú, p. 21.

⁵⁹⁰ GAGE, *The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land*, 122-123; MACHUCA, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres", p. 84.

⁵⁹¹ Bonialian, "La 'ropa de la China", p. 665.

⁵⁹² MACHUCA, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres", p. 85.-87.

were to look for their surviving and legitimate inheritors, settle their debts, and fulfill their last wishes.⁵⁹³ The process consisted of gathering all the possible information regarding the deceased, who may or may not have left a testament. If available, the inventory of possessions and public bidding came next to convert the properties into money and sent them to the heirs. For instance, in 1598, although the nao San Sebastian successfully arrived in Acapulco, many of its crew and passengers died. Among the team were indios (Philippine natives) who made their testaments and named their *albaceas* (executors) and heirs before passing. In this circumstance, the testament and manifest of their goods were given to the ship captain, public bidding was held, and the proceeds from the sale were delivered to their inheritors.⁵⁹⁴

Another case was when sailors who died carried smuggled goods. In 1607, several indios chinos died while serving in the royal ships San Francisco and Aguillo[?] bound for Acapulco. They had one big and old Chinese caja and three small cajuelas with their clothes on that trip. After they died, it was found out that their articles were not registered and hence, should be confiscated and sold to different people in an auction to be held at the port. Besides them, another sailor named Martin de Olajandigui died aboard San Francisco. Like the indios chinos, he brought contraband goods and were confiscated and sold. S95 But sometimes, sailors died intestate, that is, without a valid will. It is the most tedious procedure since the ship, and port officials had to prove there was no heir, and it always resulted in rivalry among different players who wanted a share of the deceased's goods. We have Feliciano Diaz and Pedro Diaz; both perished while serving a nao bound for Acapulco.

The sailor Feliciano Diaz was traveling from Manila to Acapulco when he died intestate.⁵⁹⁶ Since he did not have an heir apparent, his belongings had become His Majesty's. Based on the testimony under oath of Diaz's companions regarding his

⁵⁹³ GARCIA-ABASOLO, "La vida cotidiana de los vecinos de Manila", p. 70.

⁵⁹⁴ AGI Contratación 253, N.5, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Pedro Diaz, 1598.

⁵⁹⁵ AGI, Contaduría 902: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, Noviembre 6, 1606 hasta Enero 17, 1615

⁵⁹⁶ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

possessions, he boarded two chests on the ship Concepcion: one to be found in the *guindaste dela proa* (prow's jib crane) while the other, in its *castillete de proa* (forecastle). He also left six Bornean tinajas, one of them containing wine. After locating his chests, they locked them and brought the key to the ship captain in the presence of the scribe and witnesses.⁵⁹⁷

The ship captain ordered the investigation of how he died intestate, the inventory of his belongings, and their corresponding value. When they opened one of the chests, it contained a fardo marked at the margin with number one. After registering all the goods, Antonio Diaz de Caceres, the master of the ship, received each of them and warned under a penalty not to hand them to any person without the captain's permission and other competent judges. When the nao Concepcion arrived at Acapulco in December 1592, Pedro Gutierrez, the port's probate judge (comisario de bienes de difuntos) asked Diaz de Caceres to hand over the inventoried goods. The latter stayed on the ship as he was ill because of his feet and sent one of the sailors to deliver the deceased's belongings. Gutierrez suspended the delivery, thinking that Diaz de Caceres was keeping some goods for himself. The probate judge sent the last warning to the master of the ship to bring the belongings of Feliciano Diaz, but the latter insisted that there were no other goods except what he had, and they were ready for delivery. When they finally agreed, an auction was held in December 1592.

Table 5.6: Bienes de Difuntos of Feliciano Diaz.

Goods	Auction Price	Goods	Auction Price
Several breeches and a double-sleeved short jacket	2p 1t	Several baggy trousers made of linen	9r
made of taffeta		Shirt and old baggy trousers	11r
An old double-sleeved short jacket	1p and ½	Double sleeved short jacket made of coarse cloth (jergueta)	2p ½
An old linen jerkin	7r	Two pairs of Chinese shoes	7r
Another jerkin	1 toston (4r)	A piece of manta	5t

⁵⁹⁷ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

⁵⁹⁸ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

Jerkin and baggy trousers	5r	A piece of (Ilocos) manta	6r
made of manta Several old breeches made of	2p	Another piece of Ilocos	6r
Three pairs of old linen sleeves	1p ½	manta Two old pincushions (almohadas acericas)	2p
A hat (montera) made of black satin	1p and ½	A tunic, a disciplina [?] and two pairs of old stockings	9r
An old coat (capotillo) made of grogram	2p and ½	Three kerchiefs	6t
Two pieces of colored-taffeta where one is stained	2p and ½	A few blue loose silk	1p
Three pieces of colored- taffeta	16p	A few cotton thread	1p and 1/2
A shirt	3p	4 pieces of lozas	3p 2r
A shirt	8r	6 bowls	7r
A shirt	1p	4 pieces of lozas (2 salt cellars, 1 limeta, 1 vinajera)	8t
Two old shirts	1p, 5t (13r)	A hod (cuezo)	2t
Old and worn-out shirt and several socks (calceta)	2t	Two small suitcases (petaquilla)	3r
Two old and worn-out shirts	2p	One big trunk (caja) with key	14p ½
Some old and worn-out clothes	1p 1r	One small trunk with key	2p
A courset, an old shirt, and an old jerkin	1p ½	5 tinajas	4p 4t
Two old collared-shirts (con cuello de punta)	6p	[?] and a cord	2r
A collar	4r	A small suitcase (petaquilla or chicubite) with other trinkets	6r
Some blue garters	10r	One diciplina embarbosa [?]	1 toston
Two pairs of old stockings and some old garters	1p ½	A trunk of fish hook	13r
Four pairs of colored stockings, where two are black	6p 1t	A sword with its case (vaina)	4p 5t
Several pairs of socks made of black silk and three tablecloths (pañuelos de mesa)	14r	One Japanese katana	3p 1t
Several pairs of stockings made of linen	2t	carpenter brushes	1t
Three pairs of stockings made of linen	6r	A fang of a large beast	1 toston
Several pairs of white stockings made of cotton	5r	Oyster catcher (ostrero), [?], and some cloves	1p ½
Several old tablecloths	1p	One tipcat (tala?)	3t

Three tablecloths 1 toston	
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Source: AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

Note: p=pesos; t=tomines; g=granos.

The following month, while reviewing the bidding, Gutierrez insisted again that Diaz de Caceres kept several goods owned by Diaz, including a fardo marked with number one. Gutierrez warned he would put him into jail if he failed to comply. When they met, Diaz de Caceres told him that upon arrival at the port, its mayor ordered him to bring to the Accounts (Contaduría) the boxes owned by the deceased. When they opened them, the mayor pulled from one of the boxes a fardo and ordered pass it to a certain Alvarez Gonzalez in the presence of Juan Bautista de Santotis. When asked about the book of account where it was registered that Feliciano Diaz served in the royal ship and the *carta de pago* (letter of payment) that the sailor received, Diaz de Caceres replied that he did not know anything since the book of account was already taken by chanter through the Tlaxcala bishop's commission. Diaz de Caceres added he did not know the individuals who owed Feliciano Diaz, and since the deceased did not prepare a will, he was not aware if he had other properties.⁵⁹⁹

It turned out that some of the belongings of Feliciano Diaz were already sold in auction at the port by Diaz de Caceres without the knowledge of Gutierrez. The auction included three pillow covers, several pairs of breeches and double-sleeved short jacket made of blue fabric, four overcoats made of cloth, two old breeches made of manta, two old shirts, a mattress (colchon) made of blue Japanese material with wool, two handkerchiefs, two sticks (palo), two pairs of silk stockings, one tinaja of wine, a piece of garnet (sirio), and two old bedspread made of China cotton. In September 1593 in Acapulco port, through the order of Antonio Maldonado, the judge of the Royal Audiencia and the supreme probate judge (juez general de los bienes), Gutierrez appeared before Phelipe de Echagayan, the property accountant (contador de bienes).

⁵⁹⁹ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

He gave an account of the belongings of Feliciano Diaz that Diaz de Caceres handed to him. Its public sale amounted to 127 pesos and six tomines of oro comun. The expenses incurred, which would be deducted from the proceeds of the auction, included:

Table 5.7: Proceedural expenses.

Expenses	Amount
Payment to the ship scribe for the tax of the auction and other autos	4 pesos
Payment to the scribe present during the public auction	4 pesos
Payment to the announcer during the bidding	2 pesos
Payment to the royal scribe for the tax of proceeding records (autos	7 tomines
del proceso)	
Payment to Don Juan de Mantilla, chanter from China (Manila) and	16 pesos
vicar at Acapulco port for the masses and sacrifices he had done for	
the salvation of the soul of the deceased	
Proceeds from Public Auction	127 pesos and six
	tomines
Expenses	27 pesos and 3
	tomines
Balance	98 pesos and 1
	tomines
Payment to Pedro Gutierrez as probate judge (6% of balance)	5 pesos 7 tomines

Source: AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

Another expenditure was the payment of Pedro Gutierrez as the probate judge. He asked His Majesty to pay him 12% of the remaining balance of the auction proceeds, claiming it was the tradition and that he had been so busy administering the deceased's property. The property protector (defensor de bienes) denied his petition and maintained that the standard rate was at 4% instead of 12% since this job did not require too much effort. In the end, they agreed at 6%. After resolving all the issues related to the belongings of Feliciano Diaz, who died without testament nor heir

apparent, the records of the proceeding were ordered by Maldonado to be sent to the kingdom of Castille in 1594.600

Another example is Pedro Diaz, the dispenser of nao San Sebastian. According to the account of the ship captain dated 5 November 1597, Diaz died on 28 October, the day of San Simon and Judas. Since he did not leave a testament, they prepared an inventory of his possessions. He left a trunk that contained a drawer (escribania). Inside were the list of his clothes, missive letters, and a certification of his service to the King. The trunk also contained the typical old and cheap clothes and other textile products, including breeches, ropilla, jubon, shirts, socks, handkerchiefs, blankets and curtains, a Sangley colored felt, and half cate of threads. He also owned six bowls, three kerchiefs containing cloves, a sword, an inkwell and *salvadera* (a glass closed with holes in the upper part containing sand to cover what was written recently).⁶⁰¹

Following the inventory, all the Spanish sailors and ship officials were called to take an oath and were asked if they knew if Diaz had other goods besides those inventoried. After ensuring that they had all the dead person's possessions, an auction was held, with a *negro criollo* or black creole serving as announcer (pregonero). The most interesting part of the auction was the buyers mainly consisted of ship officials. The pilot had bought the finest of his goods for the lowest price: a drawer for 28 reales (its usual price was 40 pesos), several pairs of new socks for 20 reales (depending on the material, a pair ranged from one tomin to two pesos), an Ilocos bed cover (sobrecama) for 52 reales and a half, a trunk for 32 reales, and six pillow covers for seventy reales. In addition, the ship captain took the white bedsheets (sabana); the calafate, several new cotton shirts, and two pairs of old and laced breeches; and the negro criollo that served as announcer, the two pairs of shoes for ten reales. Not part of the auction was an old bedcover from Macan, which Diaz sold for eight pesos to Melchor Morales. He promised to pay Diaz upon arrival at the port. The proceeds from the

⁶⁰⁰ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

⁶⁰¹ AGI Contratación 253, N.5, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Pedro Diaz, 1598.

bidding totaled 68 pesos and one tomines, an insignificant amount compared to what Diaz could have earned had he lived to sell them in Acapulco. 602

The case of Baltazar Hernandez and other sailors: Of chests and global lives

The sailor Baltasar Hernandez left a large trunk with a golden lid and a lock containing goods from the Philippines, China, Japan, Borneo, and the Caribbean. They can be categorized into work tools and fishing equipment, musical instruments, dishware and clothes, and trade goods. The descriptions of his clothes as old and used suggest that they were either for his consumption or sale since the sailors were significant users of hand-me-down clothes. They were most likely bought from an auction, and with his demise, the same articles would transfer ownership through another bidding. These goods can help us reconstruct how a sailor looked like when he was still alive. Hernandez's garments demonstrate that he's not the typical poor sailor portrayed in the literature.

Textiles.

This sixteenth-century sailor had six pairs of breeches: one plain, two were made of blue fabric and blue damask, two of black satin, and finally, a pair made of Sangley manta. In addition, he also had two pairs of *zaragüelles* (baggy trousers) made of manta. For the upper garment, he had three pieces of a double-sleeved short jacket, two jerkins (one was wool), six linen shirts, one manta shirt, several woolen shirts, two manta garments striped with blue and white color, and a piece of black braided fabric. He also owned a cape, two pieces of coat (one brown), and a straw hat with a wide brim. For his foot and leg protection, he had two pairs of plain Sangley shoes and a shoehorn, three pairs of stockings (two were red-colored, one green-colored), a few pairs of black Caribbean stockings, and two pairs of garters (blue and maroon). To complete the list of garments were a laced kerchief, two hand cloths made of Sangley linen embroidered

⁶⁰² AGI Contratación 253, N.5, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Pedro Diaz, 1598.

⁶⁰³ AGI, Contratación 234, no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

in blue, and two trim pieces (one white lace and another red embroidered). For his bedding, he had a mattress, a laced bedsheet, and a white blanket.⁶⁰⁴

Baltasar Hernandez had a remarkable number of cloth articles with different types, colors, and materials used as enumerated above. By checking the price of his garments, those that were made of wool, satin, and damask were quite expensive for an average person. Likewise, his clothing articles that were embroidered, laced, braided, or adorned with gold and silver braids were worth more. Moreover, he also had new sets of clothes such as several pairs of breeches (three of which were white laced); a piece of blue and white cotton coat; a wool jerkin with blue, white, and red colors and silver braid; several black satin sleeves, seven pairs of muslin stockings and two pairs of a red-colored garter. These might be for his use, but given the materials and details of the articles, it is also possible that they were trade goods. Other merchandises found in his large trunk were five Bonbon blankets and six white medriñaques; adornments such as two bundles of gold braids (one medium size and another small) and around five hundred pieces of buttons of all types; twenty pieces of an embroidered buttonhole for plate and another dozen of the combined embroidered buttonhole and blue silk. 605

Second hand and broken things.

One of the first observations regarding the deceased sailors' possessions was a combination of new/expensive and second-hand/broken things. They likely reserved the new ones for Acapulco trade while keeping the old ones for their consumption or the other sailors. Granted that accidents and deaths always occurred, public bidding was frequent, which benefitted other individuals, especially the other sailors. Used or second-hand clothes were the most common possessions of the deceased sailors and did well in auctions for their cheapness. In the study of Paulina Machuca regarding the Asian objects found in Colima, Manuel Perez was listed as a sixteenth-century sailor who owned one white manta, three headcloths, one paper thread, a piece of blue bocací

⁶⁰⁴ AGI, Contratación 234, no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

⁶⁰⁵ AGI, Contratación 234, no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

(buckram), a small box, two pairs of colored and satin zaragüelles, two satin *sayete*, and *a chamarilla* (small jacket) and old satin jacket. This sailor became sick and had to be disembarked in Colima in 1580 but died without leaving a will; consequently, his possessions were auctioned off. Among them, the last two pieces, his chamarilla and jacket, described as old and torn, were sold for two pesos.⁶⁰⁶ Two pesos was the selling price of brand-new chamarilla and jacket in Manila, which became three or four times higher as the ship bringing them docked at Acapulco. But once they ended up in a bid, their price decreased again. Broken plates were also a popular product in public bidding. Such was the case of porcelains that did not survive the journey intact but were used in Mexico as *chiñata* (small change).⁶⁰⁷ In 1581, one of the ship officials aboard Cinta carried one cajuela of loza and hudreds of pieces of broad loza, many of which were broken.⁶⁰⁸ Baltazar Hernandez himself owned broken dishware, including three caracoles and a dozen pieces of Chinese plates and bowls.⁶⁰⁹

Instruments and other work tools.

Baltazar also possessed sailors' instruments such as an astrolabe with two clocks and a pin, a sea chart with two compasses, three pieces of cross-staff with its cross pieces (an instrument used for measuring the altitude of the sun and other celestial bodies). They also found a regiment of a sun written in clay, a paper with black and white threads, old pairs of scissors and two knives with a case, and an old Sangley trunk that contained fishhooks and other things of little value.⁶¹⁰

Food and other curiosities.

Baltazar Hernandez left a few quantities of cinnamon in an old cloth, two tinajas of local wine and one tinaja of sea-biscuit, A Bornean tinaja full of vinegar, a sack of rice that

⁶⁰⁶ MACHUCA, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres", pp. 88, 99, and 116.

⁶⁰⁷ MACHUCA, "De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres", p. 94; CLOSSEY, "Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries", p. 45.

⁶⁰⁸ AGI Patronato 263 no. 1, r. 2: Navíos de Filipinas que fueron a Perú y no a Nueva España, 1581-1583.

⁶⁰⁹ AGI, Contratación 234, no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

⁶¹⁰ AGI, Contratación 234 no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

should measure two tinajas, five other tinajas of various staff. Perhaps, for medicinal purposes, he owned nearly half a pound of realgar and two pieces of frankincense (one small and another big).⁶¹¹ Finally, from Baltazar's belongings, they inventoried a mirror for adornment, a small tube with two golden toothpicks to clean the teeth, a reliquary wax decorated with gold and small pieces of pearl placed in a green pocket; amber beads where two had a yellow color, one blue, one green, and the other four resembled pinheads; a plain small stone and three other white stones that looked like cocoa-nuts; and two pieces of loadstone, one was big and another small.⁶¹²

The possessions of Baltasar Hernandez and others show a glimpse of a sailor's everyday life: the places where he had been while serving as a sailor, the instruments he used while working, his activities during leisure time, and his self-representation. The Pacific trade provided sailors such as Hernandez to take advantage and perhaps enjoy the global circulation of things. He did not only sell but also used them. People with whom he crossed paths and saw him displaying a linen shirt and a jerkin, pairs of zaragüelles, black Caribbean stockings, and Sangley shoes, and a straw hat with a wide brim, would not think of him as a commoner. When they looked into the suitcase of Feliciano Diaz and found a Japanese katana, carpenter brushes, fish hook and oystercatcher, and a fang of a giant beast, they would not think he's a sailor.⁶¹³ Or if they saw Sebastian Baez selling Ruan shirt, soap, sugar, ham, romance book, and butcher's knife.614 The juxtapose of products they traded and consumed could present different layers of their lives while tracing and presenting an interconnected world where they traveled. The dynamics of their job as a sailor can be seen with the roles they played as a transporter, seller, contrabandist, and consumer. The chest that they left contained the remnant of the global life of a mobile group such as the sailors, yet they always remained in the background.

⁶¹¹ AGI, Contratación 234 no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

⁶¹² AGI, Contratación 234 no.1, r.3: Bienes de difuntos: Baltasar Hernández, 1589.

⁶¹³ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.5: Bienes de difuntos, Felicino Diaz, 1594.

⁶¹⁴ AGI Contratación 488, N.3, R.9: Bienes de difuntos, Sebastian Baez, 1594.

EPILOGUE: ON RECONSTRUCTING THE SAILORS' LIVES

To close the chapters of this labor, we will trace the journey of two sailors: one is Juan de Uriza, a sixteenth-century grumete, while the other is Juan del Campo, an indio marinero from the seventeenth century. Through the attempt to reconstruct their lives, we will reflect on the challenges that come with it: the paucity of sources, its silences, and limitations. By doing so, we can reflect on the whole process and experience we have undergone to finish (for now) the present investigation. And perhaps we can assess if we have met the objectives we set at the beginning.

On 30 January 1583, Juan de Uriza, a grumete, left Callao (Peru) to embark on a trip to the Islas del Poniente (Philippines). He boarded his Majesty's ship Nuestra Señora de la Cinta, the same vessel that made the first direct trade between the Philippines and Peru in 1581-1582. When his ship arrived in Manila on 23 April 1583, he kept working for the King as a grumete, most probably in the royal camp of Manila. In 1584, less than a year after he arrived in Manila, he was enlisted to serve in the Moluccas. For this expedition that aimed to bring provisions to the Moluccas, the Crown prepared four ships that parted from Manila and Cebu ports. On the way, a number of caracoas suddenly appeared and killed all the crew and passengers aboard the four vessels. A pilot who heard about the incident testified that during the time, they were in Panay Islands—the road from Manila to the Moluccas—and that the news of this event spread so fast (muy notaria). He confirmed that no one survived the incident, including Juan de Uriza, who died on the sea in the company of a certain military captain. He

Given that Uriza died intestate, the protector of property (defensor de bienes de difunto) had to investigate the nature of his death, find his belongings, and determine if he had any unpaid salary. The officials located his possessions in New Spain and deposited them to the deceased's treasury (caja de difuntos). They were also able to

⁶¹⁵ AGI, Contratación 487, N.1, R.21: Bienes de difuntos: Juan de Uriza, 1592.

⁶¹⁶ AGI, Contratación 487, N.1, R.21: Bienes de difuntos: Juan de Uriza, 1592.

track his job history through the contract and appointment (asiento y concierto) he did in the city of Los Reyes in the kingdom of Peru with Pedro de la Vega, the city treasurer. Through this set of documents, including the order (mandamiento), letter of payment (carta de pago), and his appointment, it appeared that he received a three months advance (37p 4t) from his annual salary. When Uriza arrived in the Philippines, he asked Andres Cauchela, his Majesty's accountant in the Philippine Islands, for his one-year salary less the advanced payment they gave him in Peru. Through the certification of Cauchela, it was found out that after he arrived in the Philippines as grumete, he continued working without a subsidy (socorro) until 20 June 1584. He was never paid the remaining balance of his salary for one year and 142 days (rated at 150 pesos annually, it reached 208p, 2t, and 10g minus 37p 4t), worth 170 pesos, six tomines, and ten granos. On 7 August 1586, through an order, what was left from his payment was handed to the depositario general.⁶¹⁷

Our second sailor is Juan del Campo, an indio marinero from Manila. He was the son of Don Juan—an indio natural from Manila—and Catalina Mendez. He had served in the Carrera del Pacifico as a sailor before going to Macau in the kingdom of China aboard one of the Spanish ships. Upon arrival, he worked for Don Diego Martinez for one and a half years. He served Martinez as a sailor of a frigate named Alamo until they reached Portuguese India (Indias de Portugal). After a while, he took another trip from Portuguese India aboard Alamo. Unfortunately, they got lost in the land of the Moros (in Malacca), who took their fortune and made him a slave for one and a half years. After being ransomed, he returned to Portuguese India only to be enslaved and rescued again. Somehow, he ended up in Sevilla, where he asked to return to his land via the galleons. Campo claimed he was so poor and with no food except the ration he received from his work. He then begged to give him a license to embark on one of the ships going to New Spain as a sailor or drummer (tambor). On 22 May 1609, in the Accounting Office of the House of Trade (Casa de Contratación de India) in Seville, it was ordered to give Campo the necessary documents to return to his land through the fleet sailing to New Spain.

⁶¹⁷ AGI, Contratación 487, N.1, R.21: Bienes de difuntos: Juan de Uriza, 1592.

However, they denied him his request unless he provided them information on why he was single and wanted to travel. 618

To track all the information provided above, the House of Trade in Seville had to look for witnesses to verify that Campo was an indio natural from Manila, not a slave, and not married in Spain. Those who testified had met him in Manila more than a decade ago. For example, Juan Francisco, a fifty-year-old sailor of the Carrera de Indias of San Lucar. He met Campo and his parents in Manila and proved that they were indeed indios naturales. Francisco and Campo had also known each other in Spain for twelve years already. The other one was the forty-eight-year-old Don Diego Martinez from Alcazar, with whom Campo worked from Macau to Portuguese India. The third witness was an indio natural from Portuguese India, while the last one was a resident in Spain and had known him for six months and sure that he was not married. The document is incomplete, but most probably, del Campo succeeded in returning to his homeland.

Like Uriza and Campo, we can only hope for a fleeting glimpse of the life narratives of the Pacific sailors. We started building their story from monotonous documentation of the bureaucratic hurdles they constantly encountered. The sailors kept in their trunk every document the royal officials issued as part of their work history: certificate of service, letter of payment, proof of confession, medical certificate, and permission to leave the port, among others. But more than a job record, they are pieces of evidence of an individual struggle, where they incessantly negotiated with the Spanish rulers and their colonial officials. Through these sources, which are available at the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) and Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGN), we followed the sailors' paperwork within the period of fifty years, from 1590 to 1640. Building on the data we gathered from our long archival research, we employed four central and sometimes overlapping themes (or methods) to examine the

⁶¹⁸ AGI, Contratación 5309, N. 43: Juan del Campo.

⁶¹⁹ AGI, Contratación 5309, N. 43: Juan del Campo.

sailors as workers of the early modern period: the sailors from the institutional lens, quantitative analysis, global, and microhistory.

The institutional lens shows us a compassionate King who endeavored to transform the sailors into honorable, functional, Catholic workers. But the royal orders intended to protect his servants' dignity through just salary and good working conditions failed to reach the Pacific sailors, who were at the edge of the Spanish domain. It ensued from the lack of professionalization of sailors at the imperial level, which would not occur until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since it was not viable to sustain the workforce needed in Spanish America and Asia, it became urgent to enlist the "others" and control them through various mechanisms. The Crown attempted to create a semblance of a homogenous body of colonial laborers by documenting, categorizing, and imposing exclusionary labels and policies on them. However, if we examine the sailors' social anatomy, it suggests how Spain nourished the Pacific through the backbone of its colonial and foreign (extranjero) workforce. Its non-Spanish roots (naturaleza and nación), non-European body (absence of facial hair), and un-Christian tongue (use of native name and interpreter) are too conspicuous to be ignored.

The sailors' number emerged as another important theme in the present research. As we realized that they were not even part of statistics, we began counting them, but not without a caveat. On the one hand, there must be an awareness that however traditional or overvalued the quantitative data are, we need them to address the fact that the Pacific sailors have not been the main focus of any early colonial labor study. Counting their number provides us with a bird's eye perspective and allows us to locate and introduce them. On the other hand, we must understand that representation through numbers will not always produce a penetrant view. It is a part of our research limitation, especially when dealing with an early colonial bureaucratic system. So instead of discarding the statistical data we have, we should ask why underrepresentation happens. As insisted by the microhistorians we have cited in the present work, the silences in the documents are more telling than what they reveal. It

is an intrinsic part of our methodology to ask why the total number of sailors turned out lower, more so, the Philippine natives or indios chinos grumetes. Knowing the how many and the why's is an exercise we should not skip because only after grappling with these questions can we suggest an alternative count to the official register. We can do so by looking into the numerical data patterns presented in the documents and corroborating them with the personal accounts of those who embarked on the naos.

The two final themes are global and microhistory, which, through time, have become inseparable, hence the term microglobal. 620 Details about the sailors' lives might interstitially appear in the archival documents. "Exceptional" events such as death without a testament nor heir apparent or trial by Inquisition usually compelled more exhaustive storytelling. If any of these happened, what followed was a rigorous mapping of a sailor's activities spanning continents and going back decades. These stories give us the treat to take a glance at the world of the sailors. However, because of the very nature of this type of document, it is the hardest to tame. Based on the brief narrative of the Spanish grumete Juan de Uriza, we can trace the projected route of his activities as follows: New Spain-Manila-Peru-Manila-Moluccas. Since he left his goods in New Spain and traveled from Manila to Peru, we can safely assume that he was an active trader and took advantage of the abundance offered by the Acapulco-Manila-Peru traffic in the late sixteenth century. But Uriza got caught between the prohibition of Peru-Manila trade and the invigorated recruitment for the Spanish royal camps in the Philippines and the Moluccas Islands. His death followed even before he reached the Moluccas as a result of one of the Moro raids from the Southern Philippines to the Spanish Visayas. We can observe from his fate how abundance and death have become symptomatic of the global life of the sailors.

Concerning Juan del Campo, it appears he took a different path but only in a sense that we rarely find a document focusing on a sailor that was an indio natural from the Philippines. We can say it's an exceptional case because, given the period under

⁶²⁰ TRIVELLATO, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory", pp. 1-26.

study, it is too uncommon to hear the voice of the indios. The report of Sebastian de Pineda regarding the impoverished situation of the Philippine native sailors in the early seventeenth century remains the standard reference to lend them a voice. ⁶²¹ In the present research, we tried to exhaust all the possible sources to represent the indios, yet, it has remained a constant handicap. With this backdrop, we can go back to Juan del Campo. His journey followed the more complicated Manila-Macau-Malacca-Seville-New Spain-Manila routes. Just like other sailors, we found Campo caught in the middle of intricate networks that were continuously sprouting, crisscrossing, and entangling. The footprints they left from the Carrera de India to Carrera del Pacífico to Estado da Índia to Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie created a distinctive landscape of the thing we call global.

 $^{621}\mbox{Pineda,}$ "Philippine Ships and Shipbuilding, 1619", pp. 169-188.

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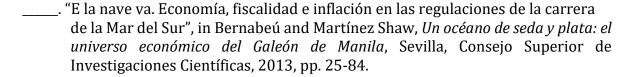
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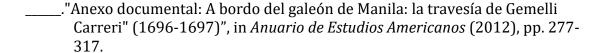
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE ROYAL SAILORS OF THE CARRERA DEL PACÍFICO, 1580s-1640s

	IX A: THE ROYAL				CARRERA DEL PACÍFICO			
SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	WORK	PERIOD OF SERVICE	Acapulco and Manila	American ports	Other routes		
Abot	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes				
Aba	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes				
Aba 2	Juan	grumete indio	1603	yes				
Abat	Francisco	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes				
Abaunza	Andres de	grumete indio	1623	yes				
Abien	Agustin de	marinero and calafate	1594-1595	yes				
Abil	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes				
Abot	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes				
Abrego	Rodrigo de	marinero	1597-1598	yes				
Abreu	Manuel de	marinero	1630-1632	yes				
Abreu	Mateo de	marinero	1608	yes				
Acebedo	Francisco de	marinero	1617 and 1622	yes and aviso				
Acebedo	Pedro de	grumete indio and marinero moreno	1632-1633	yes				
Achiga	Bartolome de	marinero	1621	yes				
Acle	Nicolas	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes				
Aco	Alonso	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes				
Acol	Diego	grumete indio	1595	yes				
Acosta	Alvaro de	marinero	1619	yes				
Acosta	Antonio de	marinero	1611	yes				
Acosta	Baltasar de	marinero	1632	yes				
Acosta	Bernabe de	grumete indio	1613	yes				
Acosta	Bernardo de	marinero	1625-1626, 1630, and 1633-1635	yes				
Acosta	Blas de	marinero	1620	yes				
Acosta	Diego de	marinero	1624	yes				
Acosta	Domingo	marinero	1601	yes				
Acosta	Domingo de	grumete indio	1614	yes				
Acosta	Gaspar de	marinero	1611-1614 and 1618	yes				
Acosta	Gonzalo de	grumete español	1613-1614	yes				
Acosta	Ignacio de	marinero	1633	yes				
Acosta	Jorge de	marinero	1600	yes				
Acosta	Juan de	marinero	1607-1608	yes				

Acosta	Luis de	marinero and soldado	1602			discover
Acosta	Manuel de	marinero	1631	yes		
Acosta	Matias de	marinero	1628 and 1632-1633	yes		
Acosta	Pedro de	marinero	1618	yes		
Acosta	Sebastian de	marinero	1625	yes		
Acosta 2	Gonzalo de	marinero	1620	yes		
Acosta 2	Juan de	grumete indio	1613-1614	yes		
Acosta 3	Gonzalo de	marinero and guardian	1633 and 1635	yes		
Acutlan	Lucas de	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Adal	Lope	grumete indio	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Adan	Andres	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Adrian	Gaspar	marinero	1608 and 1611	yes		
Aduna	Juan de	marinero	1597	yes		
Afre	Domingo	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Aglape	Nicolas	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Aglo	Agustin	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Agondo	Agustin de	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Agua	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Agua	Alonso	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Agua	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Agua	Lucas	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Aguaran	Hernando	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Aguas	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Aguas	Tomas	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Aguayo	Agustin de	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Aguayo	Alonso de	marinero	1618	yes		
Aguey	Francisco	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Aguila	Alonso	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Aguila	Diego de	grumete español	1618	yes		
Aguilar	Andres de	marinero and grumete español	1624-1628, 1631, and 1633	yes		
Aguilar	Antonio	marinero	1624	yes		
Aguilar	Antonio de	marinero	1610-1616	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Aguilar	Blas de	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Aguilar	Felipe de	marinero	1615	yes		

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Aguilar	Francisco de	tonelero, alguacil de agua, and marinero	1608, 1613- 1627, and 1629-1630	yes		
Aguilar	Juan de	grumete español	1614-1615	yes		
Aguilar	Luis de	carpintero	1591	yes		
Aguilar	Pedro	grumete español	1595	yes		
Aguilar	Pedro de	grumete español	1594-1595	yes		
Aguilar 2	Juan de	grumete español	1628	yes		
Aguilar 2	Pedro de	grumete español	1624	yes		
Aguilar 3	Pedro de	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Aguilena	Agustin	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Aguirre	Bartolome de	marinero	1623	yes		
Aguirre	Juan de	marinero	1619	yes		
Aguirre	Juanes de	marinero	1618	yes		
Aguirre	Martin de	marinero	1613-1615	yes		
Aguirre	Miguel de	marinero	1600	yes		
Aguirre	Roman de	marinero	1596	yes		
Aguirre 2	Martin de	marinero and sargento	1628-1629 and 1632	yes		
Aguirre 4	Pedro de	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Aguirre 5	Pedro de	marinero and escribano	1629-1630 and 1632	yes		
Aguirre 6	Pedro de	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Agustin		grumete indio	1594 and 1597	yes		
Agustin	Francisco	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Agustin	Francisco	marinero	1594	aviso		
Agustin	Gregorio	marinero	1594	yes		
Agustin	Juan	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1615 and 1617	yes		
Agustin 2		grumete indio	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	
Agustin 2	Juan	marinero	1615-1616	yes		
Agustin Polon	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Alacan	Juan	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Alagay	Juan	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Alagay	Juan	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Alanga	Don Agustin	grumete indio	1614	yes		

Alapa	Luis	carpintero indio and grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Alarcon	Pedro de	marinero	1608 and 1613-1615	yes and aviso	Tehuantepec
Alava	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Albanz	Tomas	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Alberto	Jacome	marinero	1592	yes	
Alcaraz	Pablo de	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru
Alcega	Lucas de	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Alcozer	Mateo de	carpintero and marinero	1590-1591 and 1595	yes	
Alegria	Pedro de	marinero	1615	yes	
Alejandro	Francisco	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Alejo	Francisco	marinero	1614-1626 and 1630- 1631	yes	
Aleman	Juan	marinero	1598	yes	
Aleman	Nicolas	grumete español	1592-1595	yes	
Alexandre		grumete indio	1595	yes	
Alexandre	Juan	maestre	1594	aviso	
Alfonso	Andres	marinero	1633	yes	
Alfonso	Diego	marinero	1625	yes	
Alfonso	Manuel	marinero	1615	yes	
Alfonso	Mateo	marinero	1612-1615	yes	
Alfonso	Sebastian	grumete español and marinero	1623-1628	yes	
Alian	Miguel	grumete indio	1603		Tehuantepec
Alibi	Sebastian	marinero	1633	yes	
Aliguad	Domingo	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Alihan	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Alissa	Nicolas	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Alixon	Guillermo	grumete indio	1621	yes	
Almansa	Juan de	marinero and escribano	1613 and 1627	yes	
Almeda	Miguel de	marinero	1620	yes	
Almeida	Diego de	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Almeida	Francisco de	marinero	1632	yes	
Almeida	Simon de	marinero	1628 and 1632-1633	yes	
Almodovar	Francisco	marinero	1617	yes	
Alonsiat		grumete indio	1613	yes	

Alonso		grumete indio	1597	yes		
Alonso	Domingo	marinero	1594-1596	yes		
Alonso	Gerardo	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Alonso	Geronimo	marinero	1601	yes		
Alonso	Juan	grumete español	1595	yes		
Alonso	Leonardo	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Alonso	Luis	marinero	1594	yes		
Alonso	Martin	marinero	1612-1616	yes		
Alonso	Miguel	marinero	1608 and 1611	yes		
Alonso	Nicolas	grumete indio	1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Alonso	Pablo	marinero	1615	yes		
Alonso	Pedro	marinero	1592, 1596- 1598, and 1600	yes		
Alonso	Rodrigo	marinero and gente del real servicio	1594-1595	yes		
Alonso	Sebastian	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Alonso	Silvestre	marinero	1612-1615 and 1617- 1618	yes		
Alonso	Tomas	marinero	1613 and 1615-1616	yes		
Alonso 2	Domingo	marinero	1615-1616	yes		
Alonso 2	Juan	contramaestre and marinero	1600-1601, 1603, and 1606-1607	yes		
Alonso 2	Martin	marinero	1622	yes		
Alonso 2	Miguel	marinero and guardian	1616-1624	yes		
Alonso 2	Pedro	marinero	1611	yes		
Alonso 3	Domingo	marinero	1626	yes		
Alonso 3	Juan	grumete español	1601	yes		
Alonso 3	Martin	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Alonso 3	Miguel	marinero	1630-1631	yes		
Alonso 3	Pedro	marinero	1615	yes		
Alonso 4	Juan	grumete español	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Alonso 5	Juan	grumete español	1618	yes		
Alonso 6	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		

		contramaestre,	1594-1595	yes and	
Alonso Bautista	Juan	marinero, and artillero	and 1598	aviso	
Alonso de Avila	Pedro	marinero	1593-1594 and 1597	yes	
Alonso de Pando	Hernando	marinero	1597	yes	
Alonso de Santaya	Sebastian	marinero	1599-1600	yes	
Alonso de Sotomayor	Juan	paje	1596	yes	
Alonso Guerra	Tomas	marinero and guardian	1612-1613, 1616, and 1619-1620	yes	
Alonso Guillen	Juan	marinero	1625	yes	
Alostigui	Juanes de	marinero	1595-1596	yes	
Altan	Alonso	paje	1594	yes	
Alunan	Andres	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Alva	Juan de	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Alvarado	Diego de	marinero	1618	yes	
Alvarenga	Pedro	grumete español	1594	yes	
Alvarez	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes	
Alvarez	Bartolome	marinero	1632	yes	
Alvarez	Benito	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Alvarez	Bernabe	marinero, buzo, guardian, and contramaestre	1608, 1611- 1623, and 1626	yes	
Alvarez	Bernardino	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Alvarez	Diego	marinero	1594-1595 and 1599- 1601	yes and aviso	
Alvarez	Gabriel	grumete español	1594-1595	yes	
Alvarez	Gaspar	marinero	1616-1619 and 1621- 1623	yes	
Alvarez	Gonzalo	marinero	1597-1600	yes	
Alvarez	Juan	marinero	1601 and 1603	yes	
Alvarez	Manuel	marinero	1597 and 1599-1600	yes	
Alvarez	Martin	marinero	1618	yes	
Alvarez	Mateo	marinero	1597	yes	
Alvarez	Melchor	marinero	1596	yes	
Alvarez	Nicolas	marinero	1595-1596	yes	

Alvarez	Pantaleon	marinero and despensero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru
Alvarez	Pedro	grumete español	1599	yes	
Alvarez	Rodrigo	grumete español and marinero	1595 and 1625	yes	
Alvarez 1	Francisco	marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Alvarez 2	Antonio	marinero	1601	yes	
Alvarez 2	Francisco	grumete español	1594	yes	
Alvarez 2	Gabriel	marinero	1619	yes	
Alvarez 2	Gonzalo	marinero	1612-1615	yes	
Alvarez 2	Juan	marinero	1613	yes	
Alvarez 2	Manuel	marinero	1620	yes	
Alvarez 2	Pedro	marinero	1608, 1611- 1612, 1615- 1616, and 1618	yes	
Alvarez 3	Antonio	marinero	1615	yes	
Alvarez 3	Juan	marinero	1623-1628	yes	
Alvarez 3	Manuel	buzo	1626	yes	
Alvarez 3	Pedro	marinero	1618	yes	
Alvarez 4	Antonio	grumete español and marinero	1631-1632	yes	
Alvarez 4	Juan	marinero	1633, 1636, and 1639- 1640	yes	
Alvarez 5	Antonio	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Alvarez de Almeda	Pedro	marinero	1611	yes	
Alvaro	Diego	marinero	1595	yes	
Alvaro	Francisco de	marinero	1628	yes	
Alvaro	Hernando de	marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Alvaro	Pedro	grumete español	1593-1595	yes	
Alvaro 2	Pedro	marinero	1594-1596	yes	Sonsonate; Sonsonate, Peru y Costa del Mar
Alves	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes	
Alza	Juan de	marinero	1600 and 1615	yes	
Amada	Pedro	marinero and guardian	1593-1595	yes	

Amaro	Sebastian de	marinero	1598	yes		
Amat	Pablo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Amaya	Antonio de	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Amaya	Benito de	marinero	1622-1627 and 1630- 1632	yes		
Amaya	Juan de	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Amaya	Sebastian de	marinero, artillero, and condestable	1591-1595 and 1598- 1599	yes		
Ambajon	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Ambay	Esteban	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Ambila	Sebastian	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Amblan	Francisco	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Ambola	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Ambon	Alonso	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1601-1602 and 1612	yes		
Ambrosio		grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Ambrosio	Anton	marinero	1594	yes		
Ambrosio	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes		
Ambrosio	Bernardo	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Ambrosio	Juan	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Amelivia	Pedro de	marinero	1615-1618	yes		
Amicles	Juan	artillero	1594	yes		
Aminan	Alonso	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Ampaz	Agustin	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Ampil	Luis de	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Andal	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Andal	Pedro	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Andalis	Nicolas	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Andamo	Pedro	grumete español	1596	yes		
Andan	Juan	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Andana	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Andata	Alonso	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Andrada	Benito de	marinero	1622	yes		
Andrada	Juanes de	grumete español	1600	yes		
Andrada	Martin de	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Andrada	Sebastian de	marinero	1632	yes		
Andrade	Juan de	grumete español	1601	yes		

Andres	Alonso	marinero	1620-1624	yes		
Andres	Antonio	marinero	1618	yes		
Andres	Cristobal	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Andres	Domingo	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Andres	Esteban	marinero	1592	yes		
Andres	Juan	marinero	1598 and 1600	yes		
Andres	Manuel	marinero	1623-1626	yes		
Andres	Miguel	marinero	1613	yes		
Andres	Nicolas	contramaestre	1622	yes		
Andres	Pedro	alguacil de agua	1601	yes		
Andres	Tomas	marinero	1618	yes		
Andres 2	Juan	marinero, cautivo, and contramaestre	1610-1611 and 1613- 1632	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Andres de Pineda	Sebastian	marinero	1618	yes		
Andres Ramirez	Juan	contramaestre	1606-1607	yes		
Andresillo		grumete indio	1603	yes		
Andula	Antonio	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Anduzar	Pedro de	marinero and buzo	1619 and 1622	yes		
Angan	Diego	grumete indio	1593-1595 and 1597	yes		
Angeles	Lucas delos	grumete español	1594	yes		
Angelo	Fabio de	guardian and marinero	1596-1597 and 1599	yes		
Anguiano	Pedro	marinero	1617	yes		
Angulo	Andres de	marinero	1620	yes		
Angulo	Domingo de	grumete indio	1617	yes		
Angulo	Simon	grumete indio	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Aniblay	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes	1014	
Anipid	Juan	grumete español	1595	yes		
Aniva	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Anpan	Miguel	guardianejo and grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Anpel	Juan	grumete indio and guardianejo	1594-1595 and 1599- 1600	yes		
Ansan	Andres	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Ansaro	Fabio de	marinero	1596	yes		
Antal	Agustin	grumete indio	1612	yes		

Antalas	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Antanan	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Antolan	Marcos	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Anton	Alonso	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Anton	Tomas de	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Antones	Bartolome de	marinero	1622	yes		
Antonio	Andres	marinero	1615-1619 and 1621	yes		
Antonio		grumete indio	1590-1591 and 1594	yes		
Antonio	Domingo	marinero	1620	yes		
Antonio	Francisco	marinero	1601 and 1612	yes		
Antonio	Gonzalo	marinero	1600	yes		
Antonio	Jaque	marinero	1617	yes		
Antonio	Jorge	marinero	1595-1596, 1598, and 1600	yes		
Antonio	Lazaro	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Antonio	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Antonio	Marco	marinero	1593 and 1596-1597	yes	yes	
Antonio	Miguel	marinero	1608	yes		
Antonio	Nicolas	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Antonio 1	Juan	grumete español	1594	yes		
Antonio 2	Domingo	marinero	1632	yes		
Antonio 2	Juan	marinero and grumete español	1594-1595	yes		
Antonio 2	Marco	marinero, acompañado de piloto, and piloto mayor	1612-1615, 1618, and 1620	yes	Tehuantepec	
Antonio 2	Nicolas	marinero and contramaestre	1611-1615	yes		
Antonio 3	Juan	marinero	1596-1598, 1600, and 1603	yes		
Antonio 3	Marco	marinero	1615	yes		
Antonio 4	Juan	marinero	1608 and 1611	yes		Japan
Antonio 4	Marco	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Antonio Cavallero	Juan	marinero	1618-1620 and 1627- 1628	yes		

Antonio de Caravallo	Juan	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1618, 1620, 1623, and 1630-1631	yes		
Antonio de Moya	Juan	grumete español	1620	yes		
Antonio Gomez	Juan	marinero	1601 and 1610-1611	yes	Zacatula	
Antonio Temenado	Marco	marinero	1595	yes		
Antunez	Manuel	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Antunez 2	Manuel	marinero and segundo acompañado de piloto	1626 and 1633-1634	yes		
Antuñez	Antonio	marinero and artillero	1628 and 1630-1632	yes		
Apago	Alonso	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Aparicio	Sebastian de	marinero and despensero	1614-1615	yes		
Apla	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Apueyo	Bartolome	marinero	1595	yes		
Apul	Agustin	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Apuleyo	Bernardino	marinero	1595 and 1599-1600	yes		
Aquiniga	Gregorio de	marinero	1615	yes		
Arago	Pedro	marinero	1594	yes		
Aragon	Agustin	marinero and buzo	1618-1624	yes		
Aragon	Agustin de	marinero	1618	yes		
Aragon	Ramon de	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Aran	Alonso	grumete indio	1616-1617 and 1619	yes		
Aranbur	Ramos de	marinero	1614-1615	yes		
Aranburu	Juan de	marinero	1633	yes		
Aranda	Francisco de	marinero	1624	yes		
Aranda	Miguel de	marinero	1624	yes		
Arande	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Arathios	Agustin	marinero	1613	yes		
Araujo	Antonio de	marinero	1620	yes		
Araujo	Gaspar de	marinero	1608	yes		
Araujo	Gonzalo de	marinero and artillero	1600	yes		
Araujo	Manuel de	marinero	1608 and 1620	yes		
Araujo	Pedro de	marinero and artillero	1592-1596	yes		

Arauz	Juan de	grumete español	1632	yes	
Arauz	Pedro de	marinero	1634-1635	yes	
Arazaga	Domingo de	marinero and carpintero	1618 and 1620	yes	
Arbaez	Antonio	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Arbanes	Pedro	marinero	1593-1594	yes	
Arboleda	Damian de	marinero	1597	yes	
Arboleda	Francisco de	marinero	1597-1598	yes and aviso	
Arcaya	Lucas de	marinero	1631	yes	
Arce	Francisco de	marinero	1619	yes	
Arco	Lazaro de	marinero	1622	yes	
Arcos	Ignacio de	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Ardila	Alonso de	grumete español	1623	yes	
Area	Alonso de	marinero	1600	yes	
Arellano	Alonso de	marinero	1632-1640	yes	
Arenas	Francisco de	marinero	1610		Tehuantepec
Arenas	Mateo de	marinero and buzo	1611-1615 and 1618	yes	
Arenas de Mendoza	Mateo	marinero	1611	yes	
Arestegui	Gabriel de	marinero	1633	yes	
Arevalo	Antonio de	marinero	1619	yes	
Arevalo	Pedro de	marinero	1618	yes	
Arias	Agustin	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Arias	Geronimo de	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Arias	Gomez	marinero	1608, 1611, and 1613- 1615	yes	
Arias	Juan	marinero	1620	yes	
Arias	Pedro	grumete español	1594-1595	yes	
Arias Pardo	Alonso	marinero	1596	yes	
Arilla	Alonso	marinero	1620	yes	
Arisurriaga	Juan de	marinero	1608	aviso	
Arizaga	Miguel de	marinero	1625	yes	
Armenta	Diego de	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Arquero	Francisco	marinero	1608	yes	
Arquin	Bartolome	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Arquin	Bartolome de	marinero	1628-1631 and 1633	yes	
Arquiola	Juanes de	marinero	1599	yes	

Arrabecua	Martin de	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Arrebillaga	Martin de	marinero	1591	yes		
Arriaga	Juanes de	marinero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Arriera	Francisco de	marinero	1628	yes		
Arriera	Sebastian de	marinero	1611-1615 and 1620	yes		
Arrieta	Agustin de	marinero, guardian, and buzo	1622-1626 and 1629- 1632	yes		
Arrieta	Esteban de	marinero and guardian	1601-1603	yes		
Arriola	Martin de	marinero	1620-1625	yes		
Arteaga	Cristobal de	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Arteaga	Juan de	marinero	1620-1628	yes		
Asencio	Bautista	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Asencio	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Aspe	Agustin de	marinero	1625	yes		
Asque Savoya	Jacome	marinero	1594	yes		
Asquer	Jacobe	marinero	1594	yes		
Assi	Luis	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Atal	Agustin	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Atal	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Atan	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Atano	Francisco	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Atas	Damian	grumete indio	1595-1597	yes		
Atema	Mateo	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Atlal	Domingo	grumete indio	1599-1601	yes		
Atutia	Diego	marinero	1594	yes		
Aulea	Miguel de	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Avecia	Nicolas de	grumete español	1618	yes		
Avendano	Juan de	marinero	1615	yes		
Avia	Geronimo de	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Avila	Francisco de	marinero	1622	yes		
Avila	Miguel de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Avila	Simon de	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Aviles	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes		
Ayala	Blas de	marinero	1633	yes		
Ayala	Miguel de	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Ayala	Pedro de	marinero	1608	yes		
Ayan	Alonso de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Ayan	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Ayan	Pedro	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		

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Ayan	Rodrigo de	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1600 and 1613	yes		
Ayao	Juan de	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Ayaque	Juan	grumete indio	1600-1601	yes		
Ayat	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Azedo	Pedro	grumete español	1596	yes		
Azerecho	Pedro de	grumete español	1598	yes		
Azicaga	Domingo de	marinero	1615	yes		
Baan	Andres	grumete indio	1608	aviso		
Babe	Bartolome	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Bacacao	Alonso	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Bacal	Juan	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Bacay	Don Agustin	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Bacerra	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Baco	Juan.co	marinero	1594	yes		
Bacoor	Manuel	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Bacora	Simon de	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Baez	Bartolome	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Baez	Francisco	marinero	1615 and 1619	yes		
Baez	Jorge	marinero	1623-1624	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Baez	Juan	marinero, calafate, and contramaestre	1617-1618, 1620-1626, and 1630			Japan to Acapulco
Baez	Lorenzo	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Baez	Luis	calafate, marinero, and grumete indio	1591, 1595- 1596, and 1612	yes		
Baez	Pedro	marinero and contramaestre	1592, 1608, and 1617- 1618	yes		
Baez	Sebastian	marinero	1594	yes		
Baez 1	Domingo	marinero	1593-1595	yes		
Baez 2	Domingo	marinero	1608	yes		
Baeza	Juan de	marinero	1598	yes		
Baeza	Lucas de	marinero	1623	yes		
Baeza 2	Juan de	marinero	1612	yes		
Baeza 3	Juan de	marinero and grumete español	1620 and 1622	yes		

Bagad	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Bagio	Juan	grumete indio	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Bagna	Juan	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	1 et u	
Bagnot	Tomas	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Bago	Antonio	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Bagualan	Alonso	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Bagui	Antonio	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Bagui	Esteban	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Bagui	Juan	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Baguio	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Balabato	Francisco	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Balante	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Balao	Esteban	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Balaquin	Agustin	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Balasongan	Melchor	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Balasuma	Esteban	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Balaza	Nicolas	grumete indio	1597-1598 and 1613	yes		
Balbao	Basilio	grumete indio	1606-1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Balbin	Sanctos de	marinero	1592	yes		
Balbuena	Juan de	grumete español	1607	yes		
Baldes	Clemente de	grumete indio	1610 and 1618	yes		
Balicuas	Vicente	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Balino	Alonso de	paje	1602-1603			discovery
Balis	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Balle	Hernando	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Ballesteros dela Vega	Juan	grumete español	1629-1630	yes		
Balmaseda	Pedro de	grumete español	1595-1596	yes		
Balo	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Balon	Hernando	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Balon	Juan	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Baltodano	Juan	grumete indio	1602			discovery
Baltodano	Juan de	grumete indio	1601-1602	yes	Realejo to Acapulco	
Banal	Alonso	grumete español	1600	yes		
Banal	Andres	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Banbalas	Agustin	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		

Banca	Tomas	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Bancan	Cristobal	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Bancedeba	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Banglo	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Bango	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Bangue	Pedro	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Bano	Pablo	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Banquiz	Pablo	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Bantegui	Juan	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Banubato	Lucas	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Baoal	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Baqui	Pedro	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Bara	Don Diego	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1617-1618	yes		
Baracaldo	Sancho de	marinero	1615	yes		
Baras	Francisco	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Barba	Bartolome	marinero	1606-1608	yes		
Barbero	Domingo	paje	1596	yes		
Barbeyto	Juan	grumete español	1597	yes		
Barbosa	Alexander	grumete español and marinero	1612-1615	yes		
Barbosa	Francisco	marinero	1625	yes		
Barbosa	Geronimo	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Barbosa	Manuel	marinero and despensero	1591-1592 and 1594	yes		
Barela	Juan	marinero	1631	yes		
Barlunbayan	Nicolas	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Baro	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Baron	Antonio	marinero	1615	yes		
Baron	Domingo	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Baron	Don Geronimo	grumete indio	1592	yes		
Baron	Francisco	marinero	1607	yes		
Baroz	Bautista	marinero	1610	yes		
Barrajo	Lorenzo	marinero	1610	yes		
Barranco	Juan	grumete español	1615	yes		
Barrasa	Juan de	grumete español	1597	yes		
Barreda	Diego de	marinero	1608	yes		

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Barreda	Sebastian de	grumete español	1618	yes	
Barrenga	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Barrero	Alberto	marinero	1594-1595 and 1598	yes	
Barreto	Domingo	marinero	1624	yes	
Barricano	Pedro	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes	
Barriga	Francisco	marinero	1619	yes	
Barrinche	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Barrio	Domingo dela	marinero	1624	yes	
Barrio	Juan del	marinero, contramaestre, and guardian	1610 and 1617-1627	yes	
Barrio	Nicolas	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Barrionuevo	Luis de	guardian and marinero	1591-1595	yes	
Barrios	Diego	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Barrios	Pedro de	marinero and artillero	1591 and 1598	yes	
Barroso	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Bartolo	Mateo	condestable and marinero	1621-1622 and 1624	yes	
Barvan	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Basa	Diego	grumete indio	1599-1600 and 1614- 1615	yes	
Basave Ramirez	Pedro de	marinero	1594	yes	
Basco	Mateo	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Basilio	Gabriel	marinero, artillero, and guardian	1595 and 1597-1599	yes	
Basocaval	Bartolome	marinero and despensero	1597-1598	yes and aviso	
Bastiano	Anton	marinero	1615-1619, 1624-1627, and 1632- 1633	yes	
Bastro	Gonzalo	marinero	1625	yes	
Bata	Agustin	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Bataba	Marcos	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes	
Batac	Gonzalo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Batan	Mateo de	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Batan	Pedro	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Batas	Gonzalo	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Bate	Miguel	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	

Batin	Diego	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Batistaya	-	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Bato	Alonso	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1606-1612 and 1615- 1624	yes		
Bato	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Bato	Juan	grumete indio	1594-1595 and 1597- 1598	yes		
Bator	Francisco	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Batoy	Andres	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Bautista	Agustin	paje	1600	yes		
Bautista	Francisco	marinero	1620-1623	yes		
Bautista	Jacinto	marinero and buzo	1624-1627, 1629-1630, 1632-1633, and 1635	yes		
Bautista	Miguel	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Bautista	Pedro	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Bautista 1	Juan	marinero	1590-1593	yes		
Bautista 2	Juan	grumete español, contramaestre, and marinero	1592-1595 and 1597- 1601	yes and aviso		
Bautista 3	Juan	grumete español, marinero, and guardian	1607-1608, 1610, and 1612	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Bautista 4	Juan	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1607, 1610, 1612-1613, 1617, 1619, 1623, and 1630-1633	yes	Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil	
Bautista 5	Juan	grumete español	1594	yes		
Bautista 6	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Bautista 7	Juan	marinero	1613	yes		
Bautista 8	Juan	marinero and contramaestre	1621, 1623, 1626-1629, and 1632	yes		
Bautista 9	Juan	grumete indio	1592	yes		
Bautista Aragon	Juan	marinero	1590-1591 and 1594	yes		
Bautista Bartolome	Juan	marinero	1594	yes		

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Bautista Bonifacio	Juan	marinero	1598	yes	
Bautista Cales	Juan	marinero	1617	yes	
Bautista de Castaneda	Juan	marinero	1600	yes	
Bautista de Escalante	Juan	marinero	1615	yes	
Bautista de Paredes	Juan	marinero	1620	yes	
Bautista de Sanlucar	Juan	grumete español	1590-1591	yes	
Bautista de Sena	Juan	marinero	1596	yes	
Bautista de Torres	Juan	marinero	1620-1621	yes	
Bautista de Torres 2	Juan	marinero	1630-1631 and 1633	yes	
Bautista dela Carrera	Juan	marinero	1625	yes	
Bautista Diaz	Juan	marinero	1621	yes	
Bautista Diaz 2	Juan	escribano	1628-1630	yes	
Bautista Final	Juan	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Bautista Ginoves	Juan	marinero	1597-1599	yes	
Bautista Groso	Juan	marinero	1615	yes	
Bautista Justiniano	Juan	marinero and artillero	1600 and 1618	yes	
Bautista Llano	Juan	marinero	1625	yes	
Bautista Medigo	Juan	marinero	1614-1615	yes	
Bautista Mejia	Juan	grumete español	1619	yes	
Bautista Moroso	Juan	marinero and contramaestre	1592 and 1595-1597	yes	
Bautista Nieve	Juan	marinero	1631-1634	yes	
Bautista Noso	Juan	marinero	1628	yes	
Bautista Plaza	Juan	marinero	1632	yes	
Bautista Rizo	Juan	marinero	1628 and 1632-1633	yes	
Bautista Rodriguez	Juan	marinero	1623-1624	yes	
Bautista Rodriguez 2	Juan	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Bautista Roman	Juan	marinero	1595	yes	
Bautista Roman 2	Juan	marinero	1595	yes	
Bautista Romero	Juan	marinero	1623	yes	

Bautista Romero 2	Juan	marinero	1628-1629	yes	
Bautista Rubio	Juan	marinero	1632	yes	
Bautista Salgado	Juan	marinero	1591	yes	
Bavan	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Bavas	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Bay	Agustin	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Bay	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Bay	Juan	grumete indio	1592	yes	
Bayan	Alonso	grumete indio	1593	yes	
Bayan	Luis	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes	
Baybay	Bartolome	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Bazan	Agustin	marinero, guardian, and contramaestre	1619-1629	yes	
Bazan	Agustin de	marinero	1619	yes	
Bazan	Antonio	grumete español	1598	yes	
Bazo	Luis	grumete español	1597	yes	
Beato de Roxas	Alonso	guardian, marinero, and acompañado de piloto	1623-1624	yes	Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Becerra	Joseph	marinero and gente del real servicio	1591-1593 and 1601	yes	
Begal	Agustin	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Belber	Guillermo	marinero	1596-1597	yes	
Belen	Bartolome de	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Belen	Jorge	marinero	1594	yes	
Bello	Sebastian	marinero	1615-1623	yes	
Bello 2	Sebastian	marinero	1619	yes	
Beltran	Anton	marinero	1596-1598	yes	
Beltran	Antonio	marinero	1623	yes	
Beltran	Gaspar	grumete español	1631	yes	
Beltran	Juan	marinero	1592	yes	
Benavides	Andres de	marinero	1620	yes	
Bendrel	Salvador	marinero and capitan y maestre	1611 and 1629-1630	yes	

Benenciano	Francisco	marinero and acompañado de contramaestre	1595	yes		
Benenciano	Justo	marinero	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Bengala	Antonio	grumete indio	1602			discovery
Bengala	Pedro	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Bengan	Agustin	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Benitez	Alonso	marinero	1613 and 1615-1616	yes		
Benitez	Francisco	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Benitez	Juan	marinero	1610-1615 and 1619	yes		
Benitez	Lorenzo	marinero	1613 and 1618-1619	yes		
Benitez	Pedro	grumete español	1595	yes		
Benitez	Alferez Francisco	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Benitez 2	Alonso	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Benitez 2	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Benze	Francisco	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes		
Berbeo	Juan de	marinero and soldado	1601-1602			discovery
Berdugo	Pedro	marinero	1619	yes		
Bernal	Andres	artillero, condestable, and marinero	1594-1598, 1600, and 1603	yes		
Bernal	Diego	marinero	1595-1596 and 1619	yes		
Bernal	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1603, 1606- 1607 and 1615	yes		
Bernal	Juan	soldado and marinero	1602-1603			discovery
Bernal	Marcos	marinero	1601	yes		
Bernal	Matias	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Bernal	Melchor	marinero	1594	yes		
Bernal	Pedro	marinero	1625	yes		
Bernal	Sebastian	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Bernal 2	Francisco	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Bernal de Roxas	Juan	marinero	1595-1597	yes		
Bernardino	Diego	grumete español	1619	yes		

Bernardino	Juan	grumete indio	1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Bernardino	Juan	guardianejo	1618	yes		1 1111
Bernardo	Juan	marinero	1620	yes		
Bernardo 2	Juan	marinero	1633	yes		
Bernardo 3	Juan	marinero	1639-1640	yes		
Bersabe	Pedro de	marinero	1621	yes		
Betancor	Manuel de	marinero	1621	yes		
Betancor	Matias de	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Betia	Pedro de	marinero	1619	yes		
Beyza	Pedro	marinero	1622	yes		
Beyza	Pedro de	marinero	1619-1622, 1627, and 1629-1630	yes		
Bian	Antonio	grumete español	1595-1596	yes		
Bian	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Bibo	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Bidal	Gonzalo	marinero	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Bieta	Miguel de	marinero	1594	yes		
Bigua	Nicolas	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Bilan	Pedro	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Bilango	Agustin	grumete indio	1596-1597 and 1610	yes		
Bilao	Antonio	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Bilbao	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Bimo	Miguel	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Binaya	Pascual	marinero	1607, 1612, and 1615	yes		
Bindon	Andres	grumete indio	1599	yes		
Binete	Juan	marinero	1594	yes		
Biscaya	Guillermo	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Biscaya	Juan	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Bislat	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Bitin	Tomas	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Bitoria	Andres de	grumete español	1618	yes		
Blaca	Antonio	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Blanco	Lucas	marinero	1594	yes		
Blanco	Miguel	marinero	1590-1591	yes		

Blandon	Phelipe	grumete español and marinero	1613-1624	yes	
Blas	Francisco	marinero	1622	yes	
Blazon	Enriquez	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Boano	Angelo	marinero	1594	yes	
Boat	Francisco	gente del real servicio	1619-1621	yes	
Boay	Agustin	grumete indio	1631	yes	
Bobo	Juan	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes	
Bocal	Diego	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Bogay	Pedro	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1611 and 1618-1620	yes	
Bogondatan	Luis	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Bolanos	Diego	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Bolanos	Juan de	grumete español	1624	yes	
Bolaños	Francisco de	marinero and piloto mayor	1590-1591 and 1602- 1603	yes	discovery
Bolao	Agustin	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes	
Bolar	Cristobal	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Bolet	Bozardo	marinero	1596	yes	
Bolingao	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Bolivar	Gonzalo de	marinero	1625	yes	
Bolivar	Pedro de	marinero	1627 and 1633	yes	
Bolnicio	Francisco	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Bolo	Diego	grumete español	1610	yes	
Bolo	Gaspar	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Bolo	Pedro	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Bolon	Agustin	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Bolon	Juan	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Bolosa	Mateo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Bombon	Don Juan de	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Bonbon	Don Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Bonese	Juan	marinero	1595	yes	
Borges	Manuel	marinero	1628-1632	yes	
Borica	Juan de	marinero	1596	yes	
Borja	Pedro de	grumete español	1603	yes	
Borjes	Manuel	marinero	1618-1627	yes	
Borlongan	Nicolas	grumete indio	1624	yes	

Borney	Juan	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1599-1602	yes		
Borney	Luis	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Botelli	Andres	marinero	1623	yes		
Boto	Pedro	marinero	1624	yes		
Boyan	Juan	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Boyero	Francisco	marinero	1621	yes		
Braga	Francisco de	marinero	1597-1598	yes and aviso		
Bran	Cristobal	marinero	1600	yes		
Bravo	Cristobal	paje	1598	yes		
Bravo	Juan	paje	1596	yes		
Bravo	Melchor	marinero	1615	yes		
Bravo	Tomas	marinero	1620	yes		
Bravo 2	Juan	marinero	1632	yes		
Bre?claros		marinero	1591	yes		
Briola	Juan de	marinero	1608	yes		
Bruno	Bartolome	marinero	1597-1598 and 1600	yes		
Bruno	Diego	marinero, guardian, and contramaestre	1616-1623	yes		
Buac	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Buad	Tomas	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Buaza	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Buenafe	Hernando	marinero	1610-1611	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Buenafe	Hernando de	marinero and guardian	1613-1624 and 1632- 1633	yes		
Buenaventura	Juan de	marinero	1594	yes		
Bueno	Bartolome	marinero	1592-1593 and 1595- 1596	yes		
Bueno	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Bueno 2	Juan	grumete español, marinero, and alguacil de agua	1615-1624	yes		
Bueno 3	Juan 3	marinero	1628	yes		
Bugo	Pedro	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Bulad	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Bulao	Nicolas	grumete indio	1600-1601	yes		
Bulique	Clemente	grumete indio	1593	yes		

Buluguer	Alonso	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Bumban	Alonso	grumete indio	1603		Tehuantepec	
Bunahan	Agustin de	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Burgos	Alberto de	marinero	1628	yes		
Burgos	Bernardino de	grumete español	1594	yes		
Bustamante	Francisco de	marinero	1607	yes		
Bustos	Manuel de	marinero	1620	yes		
Bustos	Mateo de	paje	1598	yes		
Buto	Melchor de	marinero	1593-1598	yes		
Buton	Francisco	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Buzo	Dimitri	marinero	1608	yes		
Buzo	Miguel de	marinero and buzo	1602			discovery
Caballero	Alonso	marinero	1617	yes		
Cabana	Anton	marinero	1591	yes		
Cabanqur	Phelipe	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Cabaya	Miguel	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Cabello	Cristobal	grumete español	1596	yes		
Cabello	Martin	marinero	1594	yes		
Cabello	Pedro	marinero	1595	yes		
Cabello	Tomas	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Cabezas	Juan	marinero	1613-1626	yes		
Cable	Agustin	grumete indio	1615 and 1622	yes		
Cabo	Gabriel	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Cabrera	Francisco de	grumete español	1594	yes		
Cabulon	Alonso	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Cabulon	Diego	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Cabuyan	Mateo	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Cabuyo	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Cacaga	Anton	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes		
Cacangue	Pablo	grumete indio	1610-1611 and 1633	yes		
Caceres	Antonio de	marinero	1593	yes		
Caceroz	Anton de	marinero	1597	yes		
Cachilo	Tomas	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Caciga	Juan	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Cacir	Agustin	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		

Caculla	Antonio	marinero	1600	yes	
Cadena	Juan dela	marinero	1611	yes	
Cagayan	Juan	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Cagayan	Vicente	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Cago	Juan	marinero	1624 and 1628-1629	yes	
Cagoaje	Miguel	grumete indio, gente del real servicio, and grumete español	1608-1609 and 1611	yes	
Cagolo	Pedro	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Cagote	Miguel	marinero	1628-1629	yes	
Caguas	Esteban	grumete indio	1612 and 1615-1617	yes	
Cahi Japan	Juan	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Cahugo	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Caimbre	Bartolome	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Cajon	Miguel	marinero	1596	yes	
Cala	Martin	grumete indio	1592	yes	
Calabisan	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Calacay	Nicolas	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Calafate	Pascual	marinero	1595	yes	
Calaguan	Agustin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Calalo	Juan	grumete indio	1632-1633	yes	
Calan	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Calan	Pablo	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Calanao	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Calancao	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Calao	Cristobal	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Calao	Diego	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Calao	Simon	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Calar	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Calasaya	Sebastian	grumete indio	1593-1594 and 1597- 1598	yes	
Calassa	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Calcon	Pablo	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Caldera	Domingo	marinero	1617-1624	yes	
Calderin	Teodoro	marinero	1632	yes	
Calderina	Juan	marinero and carpintero	1629 and 1634-1635	yes	
Calenquin	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes	

Caliban	Andres	grumete español	1613	yes		
Caliban	Juan	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Calibat	Pablo	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Calindon	Joseph	grumete indio and guardianejo	1618 and 1633	yes		
Calindon	Juan	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Caloc	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Caloto	Pablo	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Caluguey	Domingo	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Calvan	Agustin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Calvo	Antonio	condestable	1601	yes		
Calvo	Juan	marinero	1618-1626	yes		
Calvo	Miguel	marinero	1632	yes		
Calvo	Pedro	contramaestre and marinero	1601-1602	yes		
Calvo	Simon	marinero	1603	yes		
Calzacorta	Juan de	grumete español	1622	yes		
Calzacorta	Juanes de	marinero	1599	yes		
Calzado	Pedro	marinero and arraez	1595-1596	yes		
Camaba	Geronimo	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Camacho	Baltasar	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Camacho	Francisco	marinero	1632	yes		
Camacho	Juan	paje	1597	yes		
Camacho 2	Juan	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Camacho 3	Juan	marinero	1621	yes		
Camacho 4	Juan	marinero	1632	yes		
Camalao	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Camana	Nicolas	marinero	1595	yes		
Camarin	Francisco	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1591-1600	yes		
Camarin	Ventura	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Camaso	Juan	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Camelo	Benito	marinero	1615	yes		
Camelo	Pablo	marinero and calafate	1597	yes		
Camero	Francisco	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Cameros	Marcos	marinero	1625, 1627- 1628, and 1634-1635	yes	- 5.0	

Camino	Francisco de	marinero	1596-1597	yes		
Camo Yran	Geronimo	marinero	1596	yes		
Camorin	Agustin	marinero	1608	yes		
Campan	Bartolome	grumete indio	1602	yes		discovery
Campian	Jorge	marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Campo	Juan de	paje and marinero	1596 and 1613	yes		
Campo	Juan del	marinero	1615-1616	aviso		
Campo	Sebastian de	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Campos	Diego de	marinero	1633	yes		
Cana	Juan	marinero	1592-1595	yes		
Cana 2	Juan	marinero	1601	yes		
Cana 3	Juan	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Canain	Mateo	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1611-1612	yes		
Canal	Alonso	grumete indio	1597-1598	aviso		
Candado	Alonso	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Candia	Bernardino de	marinero	1593-1594	yes		
Candia	Constantino de	marinero, guardian, and contramaestre	1613-1623	yes	Terrenate	
Candia	Jorge de	marinero	1592-1595	yes		
Candia	Jorge de	marinero	1601	yes		
Candia	Miguel de	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Candia Pintado	Nicolas de	marinero	1600	yes		
Cangare	Alonso	guardianejo	1610	yes		
Cangas	Pedro	carpintero indio	1617-1619	yes		
Cangas	Salvador de	marinero	1598	yes		
Canhay	Vicente	marinero	1612	yes		
Cano	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Canola	Vicente	marinero	1633	yes		
Canpalo	Juan	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Canpila	Juan	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Cansigue	Francisco	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Cantillana	Juan de	marinero	1632	yes		
Cantu	Sebastian	grumete español	1619	yes		
Cao	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Caobos	Alonso	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Capan	Francisco	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Capanguin	Agustin	grumete indio	1610	yes		

Capao	Pedro	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Capas	Pedro de	marinero	1617	yes		
Capat	Agustin	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Capat	Lucas	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Capava	Pedro	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Capelon	Dominguez	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Capia	Juan de	marinero	1629, 1633- 1634, and 1639-1640	yes		
Capinpin	Martin	guardianejo	1625	yes		
Capitan	Juan	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Caplas	Francisco	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1606-1612	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Capona	Sebastian	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Capuli	Alonso	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1606-1608	yes		
Carabao	Francisco	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Carafelo	Sentino	marinero	1624	yes		
Caranda	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Carangas	Agustin	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Carao	Marcos	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes		
Carapi	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Carasi	Mateo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Caravajal	Andres de	marinero	1618	yes		
Caravajal	Diego de	grumete español	1610	yes		
Caravajal	Hernando de	marinero	1631	yes		
Caravajal	Mateo de	marinero and despensero	1620-1624, 1628-1629, and 1632- 1633	yes		
Caravajal	Miguel de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Caravallo	Pedro	marinero	1592-1595	yes		
Caraveo	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes		
Cardenas	Diego de	marinero	1631	yes		
Cardoso	Juan	marinero and contramaestre	1622 and 1627-1640	yes		
Cardoso	Manuel	marinero	1610	yes		
Cardoso	Simon	soldado and marinero	1601-1603			discover
Careli	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Cargo	Bernardino	marinero	1615	yes		

Carillo	Alonso	grumete español	1596	yes	
Carmendi	Juan de	marinero	1615	yes	
Carmona	Melchor de	marinero	1619	yes	
Carmona	Melchor de	calafate and	1611 and	yes	
Carmona	Simon de	marinero	1617-1618		Japan
Caro	Juan	marinero	1617-1620 and 1623- 1624	yes	
Caro 2	Juan	marinero	1619-1620	yes	
Carpaco	Juan	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Carpintero	Domingo	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes	
Carrasco	Cristobal	marinero	1623		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Carrasco	Luis	marinero and alguacil	1617-1632	yes	
Carreno	Juan	marinero	1620-1628	yes	
Carrera	Juan	marinero	1632	yes	
Carretin	Juan	marinero and contramaestre	1626, 1630- 1631, and 1634-1635	yes	
Carrilo	Gabriel	grumete español	1623	yes	
Carrisoli	Cristobal de	marinero	1629-1631	yes	
Carvallo	Simon	marinero	1592	yes	
Casaco	Juan	carpintero indio and grumete indio	1593-1595 and 1597- 1598	yes	
Casamonte	Geronimo de	marinero	1597	yes	
Casan	Nicolas	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Casanova	Bernal	grumete español	1594	yes	
Casanova	Gabriel de	marinero	1594	yes	
Casanova	Juan de	marinero	1623	yes	
Casanueva	Pedro de	marinero	1622	yes	
Casas	Juan de	grumete español	1624	yes	
Casasano	Juan	grumete español	1594-1595	yes	
Casiat	Francisco	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Casiliano	Alonso	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Casina	Agustin	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes	
Casion	Pablo	grumete indio	1623	yes	

Cason	Diego	grumete indio	1613-1615	yes		
Cassinda	Agustin	grumete indio	1597-1599	yes		
Cast illa	Juan de	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Castaneda	Baltasar de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Castañeda	Bernardino de	grumete español	1593-1595	yes		
Castañeda	Pedro de	marinero	1621 and 1633-1634	yes		
Castelin	Juan de	marinero	1623	yes		
Castellano	Juan de	marinero and carpintero	1601	yes		
Castilla	Agustin	grumete indio	1593-1594 and 1597- 1598	yes		
Castilla	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596 and 1599- 1600	yes		
Castilla	Esteban	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Castilla	Miguel	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Castillete	Alonso	marinero	1594	aviso		
Castillo	Andres del	marinero	1621 and 1633	yes		
Castillo	Blas del	marinero	1616-1626 and 1629- 1630	yes		
Castillo	Cristobal de	marinero	1624	yes		
Castillo	Cristobal del	marinero	1619-1624	yes		
Castillo	Francisco de	marinero	1615	yes		
Castillo	Francisco del	marinero	1617	yes		
Castillo	Gaspar del	marinero	1594-1596	yes		
Castillo	Nicolas de	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Castro	Agustin de	grumete español and marinero	1608 and 1625	yes		
Castro	Alonso de	grumete español	1619	yes		
Castro	Antonio de	marinero	1619 and 1628	yes		
Castro	Cristobal del	marinero	1619	yes		
Castro	Diego	marinero	1610-1611		Zacatula	
Castro	Diego de	marinero	1610-1611 and 1613	yes	Zacatula	
Castro	Francisco de	grumete español	1620	yes		
Castro	Geronimo de	marinero	1597	yes		

Castro	Gonzalo de	marinero	1596-1598	yes		
Castro	Juan de	marinero	1594	yes		
Castro	Pablo de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Castro	Pedro de	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Castro 2	Antonio de	marinero	1628	yes		
Castro 2	Geronimo de	marinero	1628	yes		
Castro 2	Juan de	grumete indio	1625, 1628- 1629, and 1633	yes		
Castro 2	Pedro de	guardian and contramaestre	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Castro 3	Antonio de	marinero	1633	yes		
Castro 4	Antonio de	marinero	1640-1643	yes		
Casuca	Alonso	grumete español	1595	yes		
Casui	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Cata	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Cata	Baltasar	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Catagan	Juan	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Catala	Cristobal	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Catalan	Alonso	paje	1594	yes		
Catalan	Gaspar	marinero and guardian	1618, 1620, 1626, and 1628-1630	yes		
Catalan	Juan	marinero, grumete español, and artillero	1594 and 1598	yes		
Catalan 2	Juan	marinero	1615-1616	aviso		
Cataldo	Francisco	marinero	1613 and 1615	yes	Tehuantepec	
Catandian	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Catandun	Alonso	guardianejo	1610	yes		
Catantan	Antonio	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Cate	Agustin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Cate	Lucas	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1601-1603 and 1606- 1607	yes		discovery
Catendin	Pedro	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Catico	Pedro	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Catubalo	Cristobal	grumete indio	1599	yes		
Catumba	Francisco	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Catunbay	Damian	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		

Catuya	Cristobal	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1601-1602		discov	ery
Caval	Agustin	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Cavala	Miguel de	marinero	1599	yes		
Cavales	Juan de	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Cavaliao	Luis	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Cavalin	Hernando	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Cavallero	Pedro	marinero	1594 and 1613	yes		
Cavallo	Pedro	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Cavalo	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Cavandi	Andres	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Cavite	Agustin de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Cavite	Juan de	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Cavite	Perico de	grumete indio	1600-1601	yes		
Cavo	Lucas	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Cay	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Cay	Luis	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Caya	Pablo	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Cayba	Pedro	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Cayde	Simon de	marinero	1608	yes		
Cayle	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Caymon	Lucas	grumete español	1625	yes		
Caysi	Juan	grumete indio	1623	yes	Calif/S Luc/Avi Phi	iso to
Cayton	Ambrosio	marinero	1611	yes		
Cazuela	Antonio	marinero	1608	yes		
Cejas	Cristobal de	marinero	1629 and 1633	yes		
Celaya	Andres de	marinero	1632	yes		
Celeda	Francisco de	grumete español	1596	yes		
Cenedo	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1611-1614	yes		
Ceno	Bernardino	marinero	1596	yes		
Cepindola	Esteban	marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Cermeno	Sebastian	marinero	1596, 1599, and 1601	yes		
Cervantes	Juan	marinero	1628	yes		
Cervantes	Juan de	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Cesar	Agustin	marinero	1595-1596	yes		

Cesar	Manuel	marinero and soldado	1601-1603			discovery
Chacon	Alonso	marinero, artillero, and condestable	1597-1598, 1615, 1618, and 1622- 1623		yes	
Chacon	Francisco	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Chacon	Gabriel de	marinero	1615	yes		
Charagay	Lope de	marinero	1592-1593, 1596-1598, and 1600	yes		
Chavarria	Martin de	marinero and calafate	1619-1624	yes		
Chavarria	Pedro de	marinero	1620-1626	yes		
Chaveria	Bernardino de	marinero	1612	yes		
Chavez	Bernabe	marinero	1598 and 1600	yes		
Chavez	Diego de	grumete español	1618	yes		
Chavez	Joseph de	grumete español	1618	yes		
Chavez	Juan de	marinero	1611	yes		
Chavez	Luis de	marinero	1634 and 1639-1640	yes		
Chavez	Manuel de	grumete español, marinero, and escribano	1622, 1627- 1630, and 1634-1635	yes		
Chavez	Simon de	marinero	1613-1616	yes		
Chavez Villalva	Alonso de	marinero	1633	yes		
Chi	Juan	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Chiapo	Juan de	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Chiapo 2	Juan de	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Chilantan	Francisco	grumete indio	1613-1615	yes		
Chillo	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Chino	Tomas	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1618, 1620- 1621, and 1598	yes		
Chinos	Antonio de	marinero	1624	yes		
Cian	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Cibu	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Cid	Alviz	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Cierra	Gomez	marinero	1598	yes		
Cintra	Juan de	grumete español	1595	yes		

I			1619-1624		T	
Cipres	Ambrosio	marinero	and 1632- 1633	yes		
Citron	Matias	marinero	1613	yes		
Civalan	Diego	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Claria	Cristobal	marinero	1610	yes		
Claro	Bartolome	marinero	1598	yes		
Clarreta	Pedro de	marinero	1608 and 1610	yes		
Claveros	Vicente	marinero and despensero	1626-1629	yes		
Clavi	Tomas	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1612-1613	yes		
Clemente		grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Clemente	Phelipe	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Coaca	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Coapa	Agustin	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Coban	Simon	marinero	1621	yes		
Cobarrubias	Francisco	marinero	1618	yes		
Coca	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Coca	Tomas	paje	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	
Coct	Pedro	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Coello de Mendoza	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Coletes	Pedro	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Colgon	Juan	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes		
Colia	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Colito	Alonso	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Coll	Jacinto	marinero	1625	yes		
Collazo	Antonio	marinero	1595	yes		
Collazo	Nicolas	marinero	1596	yes		
Colmillo Santiago	Pedro	marinero	1608	yes		
Coloc	Agustin	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Colon	Juan	marinero	1592	yes		
Coluna	Juan de	marinero	1608	yes		
Comana de Candia	Nicolas	marinero	1592-1600, 1603, and 1607-1608	yes		
Comanas	Geronimo	marinero	1629-1634	yes		
Comitre	Antonio	grumete español	1595	yes		
Condocalle	Nicolas	marinero	1600		yes	

Congo	Andres	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Conquero	Manuel	marinero	1632	yes	
Constantino	Miguel de	marinero	1625	yes	
Contador	Felipe	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Contal	Alonso	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Contendi	Miguel	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Contreras	Antonio de	marinero	1625	yes	
Contreras	Jacinto de	marinero, artillero, and	1624, 1628- 1629, 1632-	yes	
Contreras	Pedro de	marinero	1633	yes	
Contreras	Sebastian de	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Cope	Pedro	grumete español	1633	yes	
Copio	Pedro	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Coral	Pedro	marinero	1615	yes	
Coran	Lucas	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Coranguini	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Corcoles	Pedro de	marinero	1624	yes	
Corcuello	Juan de	marinero	1629 and 1633	yes	
Cordero	Bartolome	marinero	1607	yes	
Cordero	Juan	marinero	1610	yes	
Cordero	Juan	marinero	1610	yes	
Cordero	Pedro	marinero	1624-1626	yes	
Cordero	Simon	marinero	1617	yes	
Cordero 2	Simon	marinero	1629-1630 and 1633- 1634	yes	
Coria	Luis	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Coria	Melchor de	marinero	1632	yes	
Corilla	Andres	marinero	1596 and 1598	yes	
Cornejo	Manuel	grumete español	1601	yes	
Corona	Bautista de	marinero	1595	yes	
Coronado	Francisco	marinero	1625	yes	
Correa	Alonso	marinero	1599-1601	yes	
Correa	Antonio	marinero	1593-1596 and 1600	yes	
Correa	Bernardo	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Correa	Gonzalo	marinero	1593-1594	yes	
Correa	Juan	marinero and buzo	1590-1591	yes	

Correa	Matias	marinero	1599-1600	yes		
Correa	Matias		1377 1000	yes		
Correa	Simon	grumete español and marinero	1591-1595	yes		
Correa 1	Alonso	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Correa 2	Juan	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Correa 2	Matias	grumete español and marinero	1622-1624, 1628, and 1630-1631	yes		
Correa 3	Juan	marinero	1620	yes		
Corsel	Juan	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Corso	Antonio	marinero	1594, 1596, and 1600	yes		
Corso	Leonardo	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Cortazar	Miguel de	marinero	1623	yes		
Cortazar	Nicolas	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Cortazar	Pedro de	marinero and despensero	1616-1619	yes		
Cortes	Felipe	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Cortes	Martin	marinero	1618	yes		
Cortes	Nicolas	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Cortez	Pedro	grumete indio	1613 and 1615	yes		
Corvelo de Herrero	Cristobal	arcabucero	1601-1602			discovery
Corvelo Herrero	Cristobal	soldado and marinero	1602-1603			discovery
Corvo	Lucas	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes		
Corzo	Agustin	marinero	1600	yes		
Corzo	Bernardino	marinero	1608 and 1610-1622	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Corzo	Jorge	marinero	1594	yes		
Corzo	Nicolas	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Corzo	Pedro	marinero	1603	yes		
Cosme	Antonio	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Costa	Antonio de	marinero	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Costa	Manuel dela	marinero	1610	yes		
Costilla	Luis de	marinero	1623	yes		
Coto	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes		
Coto	Pedro	marinero	1618-1624	yes		
Coycoy	Alonso	grumete indio	1610-1611 and 1614	yes		

Criado	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Criceneros	Manuel de	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Criollo	Juan	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Cristo	Joseph de	marinero	1631	yes		
Cristobal		grumete indio	1590-1591	yes		
Cristobal	Lucas	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Cruz	Agustin dela	marinero	1633	yes		
Cruz	Alonso dela	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Cruz	Anton dela	grumete indio	1602-1603			discover
Cruz	Cristobal dela	grumete español and marinero	1618 and 1625	yes		
Cruz	Diego dela	grumete indio	1596-1597, 1623-1624, and 1627- 1628	yes		
Cruz	Domingo dela	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Cruz	Francisco dela	marinero	1628	yes		
Cruz	Jusepe dela	paje	1596	yes		
Cruz	Lorenzo dela	marinero	1600	yes		
Cruz	Manuel dela	marinero	1613	yes		
Cruz	Marcos dela	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Cruz	Martin dela	grumete español	1608	yes		
Cruz	Miguel dela	grumete español	1621	yes		
Cruz	Pascual dela	marinero mulato	1633	yes		
Cruz	Tomas dela	grumete español	1594-1595 and 1631	yes		
Cruz	Ventura dela	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Cruz	Andres dela	marinero and buzo	1619-1629 and 1632- 1633	yes		
Cruz	Juan dela	marinero	1610	yes	Tehuantepec	
Cruz 2	Andres dela	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		_
Cruz 2	Andres dela	grumete indio	1615-1616 and 1619	yes		
Cruz 2	Andres dela	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Cruz 2	Diego dela	grumete español	1621-1622	yes		
Cruz 2	Juan dela	grumete indio	1610, 1613- 1615, 1622- 1623, and 1630-1632	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Cruz 2	Manuel dela	grumete indio	1621	yes		

Cruz 2	Marcos dela	marinero	1635	yes	
Cruz 3	Juan dela	marinero	1622	yes	
Cruz 3	Manuel dela	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Cruz 3	Marcos dela	marinero	1639-1640	yes	
Cruz 4	Juan dela	marinero	1619	yes	
Cruz 5	Juan dela	grumete español	1620	yes	
Cruz 6	Juan dela	grumete español and marinero	1631 and 1634-1635	yes	
Cruzate	Valerio	grumete español	1594	yes	
Cuadrado	Alonso	marinero, alguacil de agua, buzo, and artillero	1611-1632	yes	
Cuadros	Juan de	marinero	1628	yes	
Cuazo	Arturo de	grumete español	1594	yes	
Cuazu	Junio de	grumete español	1594	yes	
Cubralde	Domingo de	marinero	1615	yes	
Cueca	Pedro	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Cuellar	Juan de	marinero	1592-1593	yes	
Cuello	Amaro	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Cuello	Antonio	marinero	1628	yes	
Cuello	Diego	buzo and marinero	1626-1630 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Cuello	Domingo	marinero	1612-1618	yes	
Cuello	Manuel	marinero and artillero	1606-1608 and 1626	yes	
Cueva	Diego de	marinero and carpintero indio	1596	yes	
Cueva	Miguel dela	grumete español	1618	yes	
Cueva	Juan dela	marinero	1594	yes	
Cueva 2	Juan dela	marinero	1631	yes	
Cupin	Anton	grumete español	1615	yes	
Dadan	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Daesa	Alonso	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Daga	Tomas	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Dagalan	Diego	grumete indio	1622	yes	

Dagat	Gaspar	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Dagia	Miguel	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Dago	Miguel	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Dagos	Alonso	gente del real servicio, grumete indio, and herrero	1606-1609	yes	
Dagua	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Dagun	Agustin	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Daisa	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Dalanin	Juan	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Dalaton	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Dalo	Felipe	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Dame	Pedro	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Damian	Bartolome	marinero	1601	yes	
Damian	Francisco	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Damian	Tomas	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Dania	Francisco	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Daniel	Tomas	marinero	1623-1631	yes	
Dano	Esteban	grumete indio and guardianejo	1600-1601 and 1603	yes	
Dante	Luis	marinero, despensero, and arraez	1590-1595	yes	
Dante	Sebastian	marinero	1593-1595	yes	
Dara	Nicolas	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Dasen	Pedro	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Dasit	Luis	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Daspe	Agustin	marinero	1620	yes	
Datan	Nicolas	grumete español	1622	yes	
Datigui	Tomas	grumete indio	1621	yes	
Datta	Alonso	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Daya	Antonio	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Dayao	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Daza	Alonso	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Daza	Anton	marinero	1599	yes	
Decal	Tomas	grumete español	1595	yes	
Decea	Francisco	marinero	1594	yes	
Decea	Miguel	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Decoy	Melchor	grumete español	1596	yes	

Defaensa	Vicencio	marinero	1592	yes		
Defiesco	Alvaro	marinero and calafate	1611-1612 and 1615- 1616	yes		
Defosso	Carlos	marinero	1632	yes		
Deiscaran	Lucas	marinero	1632	yes		
Delanon	Juan	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Delgado	Francisco	marinero	1601	yes		
Delgado	Joseph	marinero	1613, 1617- 1623	yes		
Delgado	Juan	marinero	1593	yes		
Delgado	Manuel	marinero	1632	yes		
Delgado	Tomas	marinero	1618	yes		
Delicias	Gabriel	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Deluno	Pedro	marinero	1592	yes		
Delvenos Pareja	Pedro	marinero	1633	yes		
Den	Pedro	guardianejo	1615	yes		
Derrasinas	Pedro	grumete español	1590-1591	yes		
Derrogas	Pedro	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Desea	Ignacio	marinero	1633	yes		
Desorejado	Anton	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes		
Destupinan	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Deurrutia Figueroa	Juan	grumete español	1613	yes		
Deypar Aguirre	Martin	marinero	1614-1615	yes		
Deza	Francisco	marinero	1633	yes		
Dianasco	Miguel	grumete español	1625	yes		
Dianez	Hernan	marinero	1608	yes		
Diartua	Anton de	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Diaz	Agustin	marinero	1600	yes		
Diaz	Alonso	marinero	1591 and 1595	yes	Sonsonate, Peru and Costa del Mar	
Diaz	Alvaro	marinero	1594-1596	yes	Sonsonate	
Diaz	Antonio	marinero and alguacil de agua	1606-1607, 1611-1615, 1617-1619, and 1621- 1630	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Diaz	Bartolome	marinero	1628-1629	yes		

Diaz	Constantin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Diaz	Custodio	marinero	1614-1624	yes		
Diaz	Diego	marinero	1594-1596	yes	Sonsonate; sonsonate, Peru y Costa del Mar	
Diaz	Domingo	grumete español	1594 and 1596	yes		
Diaz	Esteban	marinero	1623	yes		
Diaz	Francisco	marinero	1591 and 1594	yes		
Diaz	Gaspar	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Diaz	Gonzalo	marinero	1590-1591 and 1594	yes		
Diaz	Gregorio	marinero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Diaz	Hernando	marinero	1610			discovery
Diaz	Joseph	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Diaz	Juan	marinero and grumete español	1591-1592, 1595-1596, and 1599	yes		
Diaz	Lorenzo	grumete español	1596	yes		
Diaz	Luis	marinero	1598	yes		
Diaz	Manuel	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Diaz	Manuel	calafate and marinero	1607-1608	aviso	Acapulco to Peru	
Diaz	Miguel	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Diaz	Nicolas	marinero	1633	yes		
Diaz	Roque	marinero	1593-1594 and 1597	yes		
Diaz	Sebastian	marinero and calafate	1608 and 1622	yes		
Diaz	Simon	marinero	1608 and 1611	yes		
Diaz	Thome	marinero	1624	yes		
Diaz	Toribio	marinero	1608-1616	yes		
Diaz	Vicente	marinero	1602			discovery
Diaz 1	Pedro	marinero	1591-1592, 1594-1595, 1598, and 1600	yes and aviso		
Diaz 2	Alonso	marinero	1600	yes		

			1611-1624, 1628-1629,		
Diaz 2	Domingo	marinero	1631, and 1633	yes	
Diaz 2	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1607-1608, 1610, 1612, and 1615	yes	Acapulco to Peru; Huatulco/Te huantepec
Diaz 2	Gaspar	marinero	1613-1616 and 1618	yes	
Diaz 2	Hernando	marinero	1621	yes	
Diaz 2	Joseph	marinero	1622 and 1624	yes	
Diaz 2	Juan	marinero	1618	yes	
Diaz 2	Luis	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1615 and 1620	yes	
Diaz 2	Pedro	marinero and artillero	1593-1595	yes	
Diaz 2	Sebastian	grumete español and marinero	1622 and 1624	yes	
Diaz 2	Simon	marinero	1611	yes	
Diaz 2	Thome	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Diaz 3	Alonso	marinero	1608	yes	
Diaz 3	Domingo	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru
Diaz 3	Francisco	marinero and calafate	1621-1632 and 1634	yes	
Diaz 3	Gaspar	grumete español	1623	yes	
Diaz 3	Hernando	marinero and alguacil de agua	1629, 1632- 1633, and 1635	yes	
Diaz 3	Juan	carpintero, marinero, and calafate	1607-1608, 1610-1612, 1615, and 1618	yes	Acapulco to Peru; Huatulco/Te huantepec
Diaz 3	Manuel	marinero	1615	yes	
Diaz 3	Pedro	marinero	1598 and 1600	yes	
Diaz 4	Alonso	marinero	1615	yes	
Diaz 4	Domingo	marinero	1611	yes	
Diaz 4	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes	
Diaz 4	Juan	marinero	1623-1624	yes	

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Diaz 4	Manuel	marinero	1629-1631,	YYOC .	
Diaz 4	Manuel	marmero	and 1633-	yes	
			1635		
Diaz 4	Pedro	grumete español	1597 and 1600	yes	
Diaz 5	Alonso	marinero	1619-1627	yes	
Diaz 5	Domingo	marinero and grumete español	1618 and 1620-1622	yes	
Diaz 5	Francisco	marinero	1624-1625	yes	
Diaz 5	Juan	marinero	1629-1630 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Diaz 5	Pedro	marinero	1615 and 1621	yes	
Diaz 6	Alonso	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Diaz 6	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes	
Diaz Aleman	Anton	marinero	1614-1615 and 1619	yes	
Diaz Aleman	Antonio	marinero and buzo	1614-1618 and 1623	yes	
Diaz Correa	Phelipe	marinero	1623	yes	
Diaz de Barcelona	Juan	marinero	1633	yes	
Diaz de Cabello	Esteban	barbero y cirujano	1602		discovery
Diaz de Candia	Manuel	despensero and marinero	1597-1598	yes	
Diaz de Ciguenza	Rodriguez	marinero	1619	yes	
Diaz de Navia	Lope	grumete español	1597	yes	
Diaz de Salazar	Pedro	marinero	1595	yes	
Diaz de Sandoval	Juan	marinero	1595	yes	
Diaz de Torres	Juan	marinero	1600	yes	
Diaz de Torres	Pedro	marinero	1595-1598	yes	
Diaz el Negro	Francisco	marinero	1632	yes	
Diaz Montenegro	Juan	marinero	1595	yes	
Diaz Pena	Pedro	marinero	1597	yes	
Diego	Juan	marinero	1625	yes	
Diego	Nicolas	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Diego	Pedro	marinero	1608	yes	
Diego Lopez	Bartolome	marinero	1607	yes	

Diez Perez	Diego	marinero	1633	yes		
Dimat	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Dinguin	Tomas	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Dios	Juan	marinero	1613	yes		
Dolmos	Alonso	marinero	1625	yes		
Dolon	Agustin	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1610-1611, 1614-1636, and 1638- 1640	yes		
Domingo	Anton	marinero	1596	yes		
Domingo		grumete indio	1595	yes		
Domingo	Francisco	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Domingo	Juan	marinero	1592-1593 and 1596	yes		
Domingo de Gonzalo	Luis	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Dominguez	Andres	marinero and despensero	1617-1618 and 1620	yes		
Dominguez	Antonio	marinero	1615 and 1619-1628	yes		
Dominguez	Bartolome	marinero	1619-1626	yes		
Dominguez	Diego	grumete indio and marinero	1627-1628 and 1632	yes		
Dominguez	Francisco	grumete español and artillero	1615 and 1625	yes		
Dominguez	Juan	marinero, grumete español, and guardian	1593-1596 and 1600- 1603	yes and aviso	Realejo to Acapulco	
Dominguez	Roque	marinero	1615	yes		
Dominguez	Sebastian	marinero	1611-1615 and 1619	yes		
Dominguez 2	Francisco	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Dominguez 2	Sebastian	marinero	1633	yes		
Dominguez de Mendoza	Juan	marinero	1601	yes		
Dominguez dela Calzada	Pedro	grumete español	1601-1603	yes		discovery
Dominguez dela Calzada 2	Pedro	grumete español and marinero	1619-1623	yes		
Dominiquid	Lucas	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Don Barossa		marinero	1591	yes		
Don Francisco		grumete indio	1591-1592	yes		
Don Landicho		grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		

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Dorrego	Juan	marinero	1592 and 1594	yes		
Dorrego	Lorenzo	marinero	1594 and 1597	yes		
Dosego	Diego	marinero	1625	yes		
Doy Maranes	Juan	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Dria	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Duarte	Esteban	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Duarte	Joseph	marinero	1630 and 1632-1633	yes		
Duarte	Juan	marinero and guardian	1608, 1611, and 1613- 1615	yes		
Duarte	Lucas	calafate and grumete indio	1590-1591 and 1613	yes		
Duarte	Manuel	marinero	1623	yes		
Duarte 2	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Dueñas	Bernardino de	marinero	1620-1633	yes		
Dulas	Cristobal	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Dulo	Pedro	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Duran	Juan	grumete español	1615	yes		
Duran	Sebastian	marinero and guardian	1622 and 1624	yes		
Durvo	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Ebatan	Diego	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Ebre	Juan de	marinero	1608	yes		
Echeverria	Domingo de	marinero, alguacil de agua, grumete español, and artillero	1609-1611, 1615, and 1628	yes	Tehuantepec	
El Banegar	Pedro	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Elen	Pedro	guardianejo	1612	yes		
Elias	Juan	marinero and artillero	1630-1632	yes		
Enbuyan	Clemente	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Encinas	Anton de	marinero	1619	yes		
Encinas	Antonio de	marinero	1619 and 1623-1624	yes		
Enriquez	Diego	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Enriquez	Ignacio	grumete español	1614-1615	yes		
Enriquez	Jorge	marinero	1619	yes		
Enriquez	Juan	marinero	1633	yes		

Enriquez	Lorenzo	grumete español and marinero	1614-1615	yes		
Enriquez	Manuel	artillero	1626	yes		
Enriquez	Martin	marinero	1010 anu 1611	yes		
Enriquez	Raphael	marinero	1632	yes		
Enriquez	Thome	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Enriquez 2	Manuel	marinero	1634-1635	yes		
Eriyao	Pedro	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Escalante	Juan de	marinero	1592	yes		
Escobar	Cristobal de	marinero, guardian, and despensero	1592-1595	yes		
Escobar	Juan de	marinero	1619-1633	yes		
Escobar	Miguel de	marinero	1611	yes		
Escobedo	Gregorio de	marinero	1627 and 1632-1633	yes		
Escorza	Pedro de	marinero	1632	yes		
Escudero	Gregorio	marinero	1596	yes		
Escudero	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Esen	Juan	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Espina	Andres del	marinero	1627 and 1633	yes		
Espino	Agustin de	grumete español	1621	yes		
Espino	Alonso de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Espino	Nicolas de	marinero	1624	yes		
Espinosa	Alonso de	marinero	1615	yes		
Espinosa	Antonio de	marinero	1607	yes		
Espinosa	Bartolome de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Espinosa	Francisco de	marinero	1632	yes		
Espinosa	Gaspar de	marinero	1591	yes		
Espinosa	Joseph de	paje	1628	yes		
Espinosa	Juan de	paje	1601-1603		Realejo to Acapulco	
Espinosa	Juan	paje, marinero, and artillero	1602, 1612- 1618	yes		discovery
Espinosa 2	Juan de	marinero, artillero, and condestable	1612, 1615, 1619, 1624- 1630, and 1632	yes		
Espinoza	Luis	marinero	1608	yes		
Esquadron	Hercules	marinero	1592 and 1594-1595	yes	Sonsonate	
Esquer	Jacome	marinero	1594, 1596, and 1599- 1601	yes		

Esquivel	Juan de	marinero	1610-1632	yes and aviso	Tehuantepec
Estacio	Antonio	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Estacio 2	Antonio	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Esteban	Alonso	marinero	1625	yes	
Esteban	Domingo	marinero	1600	yes	
Esteban	Juan	marinero	1632 and 1634-1635	yes	
Esteban de Paro	Juan	marinero	1628	yes	
Estefano	Marcos	marinero	1632 and 1634-1635	yes	
Estevez	Juan	marinero	1596-1597	yes	
Estevez	Nicolas	grumete español	1620	yes	
Estevez 2	Juan	marinero and guardian	1632, 1640- 1641, and 1651-1653	yes	
Estrada	Cristobal de	marinero	1628-1632 and 1634- 1635	yes	
Estrada	Francisco de	marinero	1592	yes	
Estrada	Miguel de	marinero	1599	yes	
Evangelista	Juan	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Ezuren	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes	
Fabian	Pedro	marinero	1608	yes	
Fabian 2	Pedro	marinero, guardian, and contramaestre	1615-1627	yes	
Fabian 3	Pedro	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Falan	Esteban	marinero	1591	yes	
Farfulla	Andres	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Faria	Rodrigo	marinero	1594	yes	
Farias	Nicolas	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Farias	Thome	grumete indio	1620	yes	
Fariña	Francisco	marinero	1627 and 1633	yes	
Fator	Francisco	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Feernandez	Bartolome	marinero	1611	yes	
Felipe	Manuel	marinero	1611	yes	
Feria	Miguel de	marinero	1592	yes	
Fernandez	Amador	marinero	1611	yes	
Fernandez	Amaro	marinero	1607	aviso	
Fernandez	Andres	marinero and guardian	1620 and 1622-1627	yes	

Fernandez	Domingo	marinero	1592-1593 and 1595	yes	
Fernandez	Esteban	marinero	1620	yes	
Fernandez	Francisco	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Fernandez	Gonzalo	marinero, soldado, carpintero, and maestro de hacer navios	1602-1603		discovery
Fernandez	Juan	marinero and soldado	1596, 1600, and 1602	yes	discovery
Fernandez	Manuel	marinero	1598-1599	yes	
Fernandez	Mateo	marinero	1619	yes	
Fernandez	Pedro	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Fernandez	Santiago	marinero	1624	yes	
Fernandez	Tomas	marinero	1622	yes	
Fernandez	Ventura	grumete español	1632	yes	
Fernandez	Vicente	marinero and contramaestre	1590-1593	yes	
Fernandez 2	Domingo	marinero	1631-1632	yes	
Fernandez 2	Juan	marinero	1612	yes	
Fernandez 2	Manuel	marinero	1618	yes	
Fernandez 2	Pedro	marinero and piloto mayor	1614-1616	yes and aviso	
Fernandez 2	Tomas	marinero	1628-1629	yes	
Fernandez 3	Domingo	marinero	1632	yes	
Fernandez 3	Juan	marinero	1619-1630	yes	
Fernandez 3	Manuel	marinero	1622	yes	
Fernandez 3	Pedro	grumete español	1620	yes	
Fernandez 4	Juan	marinero	1612	yes	
Fernandez 4	Manuel	marinero	1630-1634	yes	
Fernandez 4	Pedro	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Fernandez 5	Juan	grumete español	1620	yes	
Fernandez Cordero	Juan	marinero	1633 and 1639-1640	yes	
Fernandez de Cordoba	Pedro	grumete español	1608	yes	
Fernandez de Parada	Juan	marinero	1611-1613	yes	
Fernandez de Rivera	Antonio	marinero	1632-1633 and 1639- 1640	yes	

Fernandez	Juan	marinero	1620	yes		
Quintanilla Fernandez	,			,		
Fernandez Torino	Alonso	marinero	1600	yes		
Ferrat	Victor	marinero	1620	yes		
Ferreira	Manuel	marinero	1618-1629	yes		
Ferrer	Antonio	marinero	1610-1611 and 1613- 1615	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Ferrer	Geronimo	marinero	1632-1634	yes		
Ferrer	Jaime	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Ferrer	Pedro	marinero	1625	yes		
Ferrer	Tomas	marinero	1617	aviso		
Ferrer 2	Antonio	marinero	1622	yes		
Ferrera	Domingo	marinero	1625 and 1628-1630	yes		
Ferrera	Francisco de	marinero	1625	yes		
Ferrera	Melchor	marinero	1618	yes		
Ferrete	Agustin	marinero	1629 and 1634	yes		
Ferreyra	Antonio de	marinero and alguacil de galera	1622-1632	yes		
Figueroa	Bartolome de	guardian and marinero	1610-1611 and 1615	yes		
Figueroa	Bartolome	marinero	1608	yes		
Figueroa	Francisco de	marinero	1619	yes		
Figueroa	Juan de	marinero	1621	yes		
Figueroa	Lorenzo de	marinero, artillero, and condestable	1611-1612 and 1615- 1620	yes		
Figueroa	Nicolas de	marinero	1615 and 1617-1618	yes		
Figura	Melchor de	grumete español	1619	yes		
Flaencia	Licencio de	marinero	1593	yes		
Flamenco	Juanes	marinero	1594	aviso		
Flamenco	Pedro	marinero	1628	yes		
Fletes	Marcos de	marinero and guardian	1621, 1628- 1629, and 1632-1633	yes		
Flores	Alonso	marinero	1618	yes		
Flores	Asencio	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery

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Flores	Bernardo de	grumete español	1610	yes		
Flores	Diego	grumete español	1622	yes		
Flores	Domingo	marinero	1633	yes		
Flores	Hernando	marinero	1611	yes		
Flores	Jacome	marinero	1617	aviso		
Flores	Joseph	grumete indio and marinero	1622-1623	yes		
Flores	Juan de	marinero	1621	yes		
Flores	Juan	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Flores	Nicolas de	marinero	1594	aviso		
Flores	Pedro de	marinero	1594	aviso		
Flores	Pedro	marinero and gente del real servicio	1594-1595 and 1601	yes	Sonsonate	
Flores de Valdez	Juan	marinero	1621-1632	yes		
Flores Florin	Phelipe	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Florian	Vicente	grumete español	1613	yes		
Fomento	Cristobal de	marinero	1594-1595		Sonsonate; Sonsonate, Peru and Costa del Mar	
Fonseca	Diego de	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Fonseca	Francisco de	marinero	1625	yes		
Fonseca	Juan de	marinero	1618 and 1621	yes		
Fonseca	Mateo de	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Fonseca	Sebastian de	marinero	1591 and 1595-1598	yes		
Fonseca 2	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes		
Fragoso	Bartolome	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Fragoso	Bernabe	marinero	1620-1624 and 1628- 1629	yes		
Francia	Gonzalo de	marinero, guardian, artillero, and contramaestre	1597, 1601, 1606-1607, 1610, 1613- 1616, and 1619	yes		
Francisco	Bartolome	marinero	1624	yes		
Francisco	Diego	grumete indio and marinero	1608 and 1610	yes		

Francisco	Domingo	marinero, contramaestre, and acompañado de contramestre	1591-1596	yes		
Francisco		grumete indio	1603	yes		
Francisco	Jorge	guardian, marinero, and contramaestre	1622-1632	yes		
Francisco	Luis	marinero	1608	yes		
Francisco	Manuel	marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Francisco	Miguel	marinero	1590-1592 and 1595	yes		
Francisco	Nicolas	marinero	1590-1598	yes		
Francisco	Paulo	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Francisco	Pedro	marinero	1598	yes	7074	
Francisco	Salvador	marinero	1618	yes		
Francisco	Sebastian	marinero and calafate	1598-1600 and 1602	yes		
Francisco 1	Juan	marinero	1596-1600	yes		
Francisco 2	Diego	marinero	1623	yes		
Francisco 2	Domingo	marinero	1618	yes		
Francisco 2	Juan	marinero	1596	yes		
Francisco 2	Manuel	marinero	1613	yes		
Francisco 2	Pedro	marinero	1615-1620	yes		
Francisco 2	Salvador	marinero	1632	yes		
Francisco 3	Domingo	marinero	1624	yes		
Francisco 3	Juan	marinero	1597	yes		
Francisco 4	Domingo	marinero	1629 and 1633	yes		
Francisco 4	Juan	marinero and contramaestre	1606-1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Francisco 5	Juan	marinero	1620	yes		
Francisco 6	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Francisco 7	Juan	grumete español	1615	yes		
Francisco A.		marinero	1594	yes		
Francisco Barroso	Antonio	marinero	1630-1632	yes		
Francisco de Torres	Juan	marinero	1632	yes		
Francisco Delovos	Domingo	marinero	1620	yes		
Fregosso	Francisco	marinero	1608	yes		
Freile	Antonio	marinero	1592	yes		

Freile	Bartolome	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Freile	Francisco	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Freile	Pedro	marinero	1610-1611	-	Zacatula	
Frias	Francisco de	marinero and artillero	1626 and 1628	yes		
Frias	Pedro de	marinero	1617	yes		
Frias	Phelipe de	marinero	1625	yes		
Frutuoso	Salvador	marinero	1616-1620	yes		
Frutuoso 2	Salvador	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Fuente	Francisco dela	marinero	1601	yes		
Fuente	Juan dela	marinero	1622	yes		
Fuente	Tomas dela	marinero	1625	yes		
Fuentes	Antonio de	marinero	1615	yes		
Fuentes	Cristobal de	marinero	1591	yes		
Fuentes	Juan de	marinero	1623	yes		
Fugan	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Gabres	Harmon	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Gabriel	Antonio	marinero	1595	yes		
Gabriel	Francisco	marinero	1631	yes		
Gabriel		grumete indio	1595	yes		
Gabriel	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Gabriel de Godoy	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Gago	Juan	marinero and artillero	1624, 1628- 1630, and 1635	yes		
Gainza	Pedro de	marinero, ayudante de sargento mayor, and despensero	1627-1633	yes		
Gala	Pedro	grumete indio	1595 and 1600-1601	yes		
Galan	Diego de	carpintero indio	1619-1622	yes		
Galan	Diego de	carpintero indio	1622-1630	yes		
Galan	Geronimo	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Galano	Tomas	grumete español	1633	yes		
Galas	Luis	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Galcacorta	Juan de	grumete español and marinero	1622-1624	yes		

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Gali	Bernardino	marinero	1596	yes		
Gali	Francisco	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1594-1595, 1599-1601, and 1603	yes		
Gali	Juan	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Gali	Terencio	marinero, artillero, contramaestre, and capitan y maestre	1592-1595, 1598, 1611- 1615, and 1626	yes		
Galiat	Bartolome	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Galindo	Cristobal	marinero	1623	yes		
Gallardo	Antonio	marinero	1622	yes		
Gallardo	Bartolome	lombardero and marinero	1594-1596	yes		
Gallardo	Francisco	marinero	1611-1615	yes		
Gallardo	Juan	marinero	1608	yes		
Gallardo	Miguel	marinero	1612	yes		
Gallardo	Pedro	marinero and contramaestre	1625, 1628- 1629, and 1633	yes		
Gallardo	Sebastian	marinero	1615	yes		
Gallardo 2	Bartolome	carpintero and cabo de obra de calafate	1633-1634, 1636, and 1639-1640	yes		
Gallardo 2	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Gallardo 2	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Gallardo 3	Juan	marinero	1623	yes		
Gallego	Anton	marinero	1598	yes		
Gallego	Diego	marinero	1612	yes		
Gallego	Gaspar	marinero	1600	yes		
Gallego	Gonzalo	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Gallego	Hernan	marinero	1607	yes		
Gallego	Juan	marinero	1623-1626 and 1629- 1632	yes		
Gallego de Luna	Juan	marinero	1598	yes		
Gallegos	Pedro	buzo and marinero	1619 and 1621-1623	yes		
Gallo	Alonso	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Gallo	Juan	grumete español	1622	yes		
Galo	Don Francisco	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Galvan	Antonio	marinero	1615	yes		

Galvez	Gonzalo	marinero	1596	yes	
Galviz	Agustin	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Gama	Juan de	grumete español	1601	yes	
Gama	Thome de	marinero	1591	yes	
Gambo	Sebastian de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Ganao	Pedro	carpintero indio and grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Ganban	Agustin	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Gapa	Lucas	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Garaca	Bartolome	grumete español	1622	yes	
Garanbay	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Garatechea	Martin de	marinero	1620	yes	
Garay	Diego de	marinero	1619	yes	
Garay	Francisco	marinero	1633	yes	
Garay	Juan	marinero	1632	yes	
Garces	Anton	marinero	1591	yes	
Garces dela Cruz	Antonio	marinero	1597	yes	
Garcia	Alonso	marinero	1615	yes	
Garcia	Anton	marinero	1591, 1594, and 1596- 1597	yes	
Garcia	Antonio	marinero, guardian and buzo	1618-1624 and 1629- 1631	yes	
Garcia	Bautista	marinero	1596	yes	
Garcia	Cristobal	marinero	1607-1608, 1610-1611, 1613, 1615, and 1619	yes and aviso	
Garcia	Diego	marinero	1628	yes	
Garcia	Francisco	marinero	1591, 1615, 1618-1619, and 1621	yes	
Garcia	Gabriel	marinero	1608	yes	
Garcia	Gonzalez	marinero	1618	yes	
Garcia	Gonzalo	grumete español and marinero	1592 and 1599	yes	
Garcia	Gregorio	grumete indio	1615	yes	

Garcia	Hernan	grumete español and capitan y	1595 and	yes	
		maestre	1610	y = -	
Garcia	Hernando	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Garcia	Jorge	marinero	1596-1598	yes	
Garcia	Lope	marinero	1591 and 1593-1594	yes	
Garcia	Lorenzo	marinero	1603	yes	
Garcia	Luis	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Garcia	Manuel	marinero	1619	yes	
Garcia	Martin	marinero	1598	yes	
Garcia	Mateo	calafate and marinero	1595-1596	yes	
Garcia	Miguel	marinero	1613	yes	
Garcia	Nicolas	marinero	1597	yes	
Garcia	Pablo	marinero	1597-1598	yes	
Garcia	Pascual	marinero	1630-1631 and 1633	yes	
Garcia	Pedro	marinero, guardian, buzo, and carpintero	1591-1595 and 1597- 1601	yes	
Garcia	Phelipe	marinero	1615	yes	
Garcia	Rodrigo	marinero	1633	yes	
Garcia	Sebastian	grumete español	1607	yes	
Garcia	Simon	grumete indio	1623 and 1632	yes	
Garcia	Tomas	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Garcia	Ventura	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Garcia	Vicente	marinero	1630 and 1634-1635	yes	
Garcia 1	Juan	marinero and soldado	1594, 1597- 1599, and 1602-1603	yes and aviso	discovery
Garcia 10	Juan	marinero	1633	yes	
Garcia 2	Alonso	marinero	1625	yes	
Garcia 2	Antonio	grumete español	1610	yes	
Garcia 2	Cristobal	grumete español	1596	yes	
Garcia 2	Gregorio	marinero	1632	yes	
Garcia 2	Jorge	marinero	1610	yes	
Garcia 2	Juan	grumete español	1596	yes	

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Garcia 2	Nicolas	grumete español	1622	yes		
Garcia 2	Pablo	grumete indio	1613 and 1615-1616	yes		
Garcia 2	Pedro	marinero	1632	yes		
Garcia 2	Sebastian	marinero	1619	yes		
Garcia 3	Antonio	grumete español	1619	yes		
Garcia 3	Juan	marinero	1625 and 1627	yes		
Garcia 3	Nicolas	grumete español	1631	yes		
Garcia 3	Sebastian	grumete español	1631	yes		
Garcia 4	Juan	marinero	1618 and 1620	yes		
Garcia 5	Juan	marinero	1623, 1625, and 1628	yes		
Garcia 6	Juan	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Garcia 7	Juan	grumete español	1613	yes		
Garcia 8	Juan	grumete español and guardian	1625-1627	yes		
Garcia 9	Juan	grumete español	1618	yes		
Garcia de Cardenas	Juan	marinero	1592	yes		
Garcia de Hermosilla	Roque	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Garcia de Leon	Juan	grumete español	1612-1614	yes		
Garcia de Miranda	Manuel	marinero	1617	yes		
Garcia de Ysasti	Francisco	marinero	1596-1597	yes		
Garcia Deca	Miguel	marinero	1628	yes		
Garcia del Brocas	Juan	marinero	1628	yes		
Garcia dela Torre	Francisco	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Garcia Galan	Juan	marinero, alguacil de agua, and artillero	1624, 1626, and 1628	yes		
Garcia Gallardo	Pedro	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Garcia Garrido	Alonso	marinero	1615-1624 and 1628	yes		

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Garcia Gaton	Cristobal	marinero, contramaestre, and guardian	1615-1620	yes		
Garcia Herrera	Juan	marinero	1607	yes		
Garcia Hidalgo	Juan	grumete español	1592-1593	yes		
Garcia Juarro	Miguel	marinero	1618	yes		
Garcia Manjares	Lucas	grumete español	1631	yes		
Garcia Mertola	Juan	marinero	1633	yes		
Garcia Montero	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Garcia Villarubia	Juan	marinero	1631	yes		
Garlayo	Mateo	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Garracin	Pablo	marinero	1594-1596	yes		
Garrido	Juan	marinero	1633	yes		
Garrona	Simon de	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Gaspar	Juan	marinero	1628	yes		
Gasta	Juan	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Gava	Agustin	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Gavirondo	Domingo	marinero	1624	yes		
Gavo	Diego	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Gayac	Cristobal	grumete indio	1592	yes		
Gayon	Diego	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Genova	Pantaleon de	marinero	1600	yes		
Genoves	Bernal de	marinero	1594	yes		
Gentil	Lorenzo	paje	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	discovery
Geronimo	Jacome	marinero	1596	yes		
Geronimo	Juan	marinero	1615-1616	yes		
Geronimo	Mateo	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Geronimo	Miguel	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Geronimo	Pablo	marinero	1592-1593	yes	yes	
Geronimo 2	Pablo	marinero	1598	yes		
Gestera	Manuel	marinero	1629 and 1634-1635	yes		
Gil	Antonio	grumete español and marinero	1630 and 1639-1640	yes		
Gil	Juan	paje	1598	yes		
Ginoves	Andres	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Ginoves	Anton	marinero	1596 and 1598	yes		
Ginoves	Antonio	marinero	1607-1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	

Ginoves	Bartolome	marinero	1596	yes		
Ginoves	Francisco	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Ginoves	Geronimo	marinero and despensero	1597-1598 and 1600- 1601	yes		
Ginoves	Gregorio	marinero	1597	yes		
Ginoves	Jacome	marinero	1596-1598	yes		
Ginoves	Juan	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Ginoves	Lorenzo	marinero	1597-1599	yes		
Ginoves	Nicolas	marinero	1597-1600	yes		
Ginoves	Zetin	marinero	1596	yes		
Ginoves 2	Juan	marinero	1608	yes		
Giraldo	Francisco	carpintero and grumete indio	1592, 1603, and 1611	yes		
Giraldo	Juan	marinero	1624-1625	yes		
Gitano	Pedro	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Goa	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Goala	Agustin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Gobea	Francisco de	marinero	1623 and 1628-1629	yes		
Gobea	Manuel de	marinero	1623 and 1628-1632	yes		
Godoy	Diego de	grumete español	1618	yes		
Gogolo	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Goichorea	Joseph de	marinero	1616-1624	yes		
Goiti	Francisco de	marinero	1603		Tehuantepec	
Goitia	Antonio de	marinero	1610	yes		
Golar	Cristobal	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Golias	Don Domingo	grumete indio	1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Golon	Juan	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Golonban	Luis	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Goloqui	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Golugol	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Gomez	Alonso	grumete español, marinero, and guardian	1601, 1608, 1613, and 1615	yes		
Gomez	Alviz	marinero	1625	yes		
Gomez	Amador	grumete español	1601	yes		
Gomez	Antonio	marinero	1595	yes		
Gomez	Baltasar	marinero	1600	yes		

Gomez	Bartolome	marinero	1628	yes		
Gomez	Cristobal	marinero	1600	yes		
Gomez	Diego	calafate, gente del real servicio, and marinero	1594-1595, 1598, and 1602	yes		
Gomez	Domingo	marinero, acompañado de piloto, and piloto mayor	1618, 1623- 1624, 1627, and 1629- 1630	yes	Calif/San Luc/Aviso a IF	
Gomez	Esteban	marinero	1595, 1599, and 1601	yes		
Gomez	Fernan	marinero and guardian	1612-1615 and 1618	yes		
Gomez	Francisco	marinero and grumete español	1608, 1612- 1616, and 1620-1621	yes		
Gomez	Gregorio	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Gomez	Hernan	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Gomez	Hernando	marinero	1591	yes		
Gomez	Luis	marinero	1625 and 1627-1628	yes		
Gomez	Manuel	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Gomez	Melchor	grumete español and marinero	1593-1596	yes		
Gomez	Pedro	marinero, artillero, tonelero, and alguacil de agua	1595, 1611, 1613, 1618, 1623, and 1626	yes		
Gomez	Rodrigo	marinero	1625	yes		
Gomez 1	Juan	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Gomez 2	Antonio	marinero	1610			discovery of las islas rico de plata y oro
Gomez 2	Diego	marinero	1608	yes		
Gomez 2	Esteban	marinero	1613, 1615, and 1618	yes		
Gomez 2	Francisco	marinero	1612	yes		
Gomez 2	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Gomez 2	Luis	marinero	1633	yes		
Gomez 2	Manuel	marinero	1615	yes		
Gomez 3	Diego	marinero	1615-1616	yes		
Gomez 3	Francisco	grumete indio	1624	yes		

Gomez 3	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Gomez 3	Manuel	marinero	1623-1632	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Gomez 4	Diego	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Gomez 4	Juan	marinero and grumete español	1622 and 1624	yes		
Gomez 5	Juan	marinero	1631	yes		
Gomez de Barrientos	Anton	marinero	1592 and 1595	yes		
Gomez de Escobar	Juan	marinero	1598	yes		
Gomez de Escobar 2	Juan	grumete español	1621	yes		
Gomez de Escobar 3	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1627-1628 and 1632- 1633	yes		
Gomez de Medina	Juan	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Gomez de Senao	Pedro	grumete español	1618	yes		
Gomez Leonardo	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes		
Gomez Mellado	Juan	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Gomez Tabares	Antonio	marinero and guardian	1610 and 1612-1624	yes		
Goncan	Agustin	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Gongora	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Gongora	Pedro de	marinero	1631	yes		
Gonzales 4	Gaspar	marinero	1592	yes		
Gonzales 5	Gaspar	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Gonzalez	Alonso de	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Gonzalez	Alonso	marinero	1593 and 1595	yes		
Gonzalez	Amador	marinero and grumete español	1592 and 1600	yes	yes	
Gonzalez	Amaro	marinero	1624-1625	yes		
Gonzalez	Andres	marinero	1601	yes		
Gonzalez	Antonio	marinero	1620-1635	yes		
Gonzalez	Baltasar	marinero	1595-1599	yes		
Gonzalez	Bartolome	marinero	1608	yes		
Gonzalez	Benito	marinero, guardian, and alguacil de agua	1606-1607, 1615, and 1625	yes	Acapulco to Peru	

Gonzalez	Bernabe	marinero	1620	yes		
Gonzalez	Cristobal	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Gonzalez	Damian	grumete español	1591	yes		
Gonzalez	Domingo	marinero	1591, 1598, and 1600- 1601	yes		
Gonzalez	Esteban	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Gonzalez	Fernandez	marinero	1621	yes		
Gonzalez	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1595 and 1597-1598	yes		
Gonzalez	Gabriel	marinero	1607	yes		
Gonzalez	Gaspar	marinero	1594-1601	yes		
Gonzalez	Giles	marinero	1608	yes		
Gonzalez		grumete indio	1593	yes		
Gonzalez	Guillermo	marinero	1598	yes		
Gonzalez	Hernan	marinero	1617-1623	yes and aviso		
Gonzalez	Hernandez	paje	1590-1592	yes		
Gonzalez	Juan	marinero	1590-1595	yes		
Gonzalez	Lazaro	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Gonzalez	Luis	marinero	1619	yes		
Gonzalez	Marcos	marinero	1615	yes		
Gonzalez	Mateo	marinero	1613	yes		
Gonzalez	Miguel	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Gonzalez	Nicolas	marinero	1634	yes		
Gonzalez	Pascual	marinero	1628-1633	yes		
Gonzalez	Salvador	marinero	1606-1607 and 1611- 1615	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Gonzalez 2	Salvador	grumete español and marinero	1631-1632	yes		
Gonzalez	Santiago	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Gonzalez	Sebastian	grumete español	1594	yes		
Gonzalez	Toribio	marinero and alguacil de agua	1590-1591 and 1594- 1596	yes		
Gonzalez	Vicente	marinero	1611-1612 and 1614- 1615	yes		

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Gonzalez 1	Diego	marinero	1590-1591 and 1593- 1594	yes		
Gonzalez 1	Manuel	marinero	1590-1591 and 1594- 1598	yes		
Gonzalez 1	Pedro	marinero and gente del real servicio	1591-1592 and 1594	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Alonso	marinero	1603	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Andres	marinero	1610	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Antonio	marinero, soldado, artillero, and condestable	1592-1597, 1600, 1602, 1607-1608, 1612-1615, 1618, 1620 and 1622- 1625	yes	Tehuantepec	discovery; Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Gonzalez 2	Baltasar	marinero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Gonzalez 2	Bartolome	marinero	1613	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Diego	marinero	1602-1603	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Domingo	marinero, artillero, and grumete español	1613, 1615, 1618, 1620, 1622-1626, 1629 and 1631	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Francisco	marinero	1608	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Gabriel	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Gaspar	marinero	1620	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Juan	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Luis	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Manuel	marinero and carpintero	1594, 1597- 1598, and 1600	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Mateo	marinero	1627-1628	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Miguel	marinero	1633	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Nicolas	marinero	1639-1640	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Pascual	marinero	1628	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Pedro	marinero	1594-1596 and 1599- 1600	yes		
Gonzalez 3	Salvador	marinero	1615	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Sebastian	marinero	1608	yes		
Gonzalez 2	Vicente	marinero	1624	yes		

Gonzalez 3 Alonso marinero 1612-1628 and 1632- yes 1633 Gonzalez 3 Antonio marinero and despensero 1594-1595 yes; aviso	
Gonzalez 3 Antonio marinero and 1594-1595 yes: aviso	
Gonzalez 3 Antonio marinero and 1594-1595 yes: aviso	
I Gonzalez 3 Antonio I 1594-1595 Ivestaviso I	
Gonzalez 3 Bartolome alguacil de agua, and tonelero marinero, alguacil de agua, and tonelero	
Gonzalez 3 Domingo marinero 1615 yes	
Gonzalez 3 Francisco marinero 1624-1630 and 1634- yes 1635	
Gonzalez 3 Gaspar marinero and alguacil 1628-1629, 1631, and 1633	
Gonzalez 3 Juan marinero 1608 yes	
Gonzalez 3 Manuel marinero 1624, 1626, and 1628 yes	
Gonzalez 3 Mateo marinero 1632-1633 yes	
Gonzalez 3 Pedro marinero 1600-1601 yes	
Gonzalez 4 Antonio marinero 1594-1595 yes	
Gonzalez 4 Bartolome marinero 1633 yes	
Gonzalez 4 Domingo marinero 1620 and 1623 yes	
Gonzalez 4 Francisco grumete indio 1633 yes	
Gonzalez 4 Juan grumete español 1594 aviso	
Gonzalez 4 Manuel marinero and constable 1606-1607 yes and aviso Peru	
Gonzalez 4 Mateo marinero 1639-1640 yes	
Gonzalez 4 Pedro grumete español 1618 yes	
Gonzalez 5 Antonio marinero 1595 yes	
Gonzalez 5 Bartolome grumete español and marinero 1625, 1628, and 1632- 1633 yes	
Gonzalez 5 Domingo marinero 1620 yes	
Gonzalez 5 Francisco marinero 1624 yes	
Gonzalez 5 Manuel marinero 1611 yes	
Gonzalez 5 Pedro marinero and soldado 1601-1602 dis	iscovery
Gonzalez 6 Antonio marinero 1632 yes	

Gonzalez 6	Juan	marinero, carpintero, and artillero	1619 and 1622-1624	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Gonzalez 6	Manuel	marinero	1617-1618	yes		
Gonzalez 6	Pedro	marinero	1610-1611 and 1613	yes		
Gonzalez 7	Francisco	grumete español	1618	yes		
Gonzalez 7	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1619 and 1621-1623	yes		
Gonzalez 7	Manuel	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Gonzalez 7	Pedro	marinero	1623-1628	yes		
Gonzalez 7	Pedro	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Gonzalez 8	Juan	marinero	1631 and 1633	yes		
Gonzalez 9	Juan	despensero	1624	yes		
Gonzalez Aparicio	Antonio	marinero	1622	yes		
Gonzalez Bravo	Diego	marinero	1624	yes		
Gonzalez Bueno	Juan	marinero	1621 and 1623	yes		
Gonzalez Caravallo	Rodrigo	marinero	1615	yes		
Gonzalez Cierra	Antonio	marinero	1598	yes		
Gonzalez de Camina	Alonso	marinero	1595	yes		
Gonzalez de Ojeda	Pedro	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Gonzalez de Santos	Pedro	marinero	1617	yes		
Gonzalez de Silva	Manuel	marinero	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Gonzalez de Tavira	Antonio	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Gonzalez de Villanueva	Pedro	marinero	1592-1594	yes		
Gonzalez de Zarate	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Gonzalez dela Hoyuela	Pedro	tonelero and alguacil de agua	1611 and 1618-1622	yes		
Gonzalez Macan	Andres	marinero	1591	yes		
Gonzalez Madrid	Pedro	marinero	1603	yes		
Gonzalez Montañez	Juan	marinero	1594	yes		

Gonzalez Morallo	Juan	condestable	1611	yes		
Gonzalez Moreno	Alonso	marinero	1619	yes		
Gonzalez Moron	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Gonzalez Mulato	Pedro	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Gonzalez Pan	Manuel	marinero	1617	yes		
Gonzalez Sabili	Pedro	marinero	1592	yes		
Gonzalez Zorilla	Juan	marinero	1615	yes		
Gonzalo	Juan	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Gorcochea	Pedro	marinero	1620	yes		
Goreta	Pedro de	marinero	1618	yes		
Goreta 2	Pedro de	marinero	1627-1628	yes		
Gorriaran	Geronimo de	marinero	1633	yes		
Gorvaran	Antonio de	marinero	1622	yes		
Goyanes	Juan de	marinero	1611 and 1619	yes		
Goza	Agustin	grumete indio	1599-1600 and 1603	yes		
Granada	Jacome	marinero	1631	yes		
Granado	Francisco	marinero	1623	yes		
Granado	Ventura	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Granados	Pedro	marinero, calafate, guardian, contramaestre, and ayudante de piloto	1608, 1613- 1619, and 1622-1623	yes		
Granillo	Pedro	marinero	1608-1612, 1614-1615, and 1623	yes		
Gregorio	Estefano	marinero	1607-1608 and 1621- 1622	yes		
Gregorio	Guillermo	marinero	1596-1597	yes		
Gregorio	Mateo	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Gregorio	Nicolas	marinero	1593-1594	yes		
Griego	Gonzalo	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Griego	Jorge	guardian and marinero	1611 and 1613-1615	yes		
Griego	Manuel	marinero and soldado	1602, 1607- 1620, and 1629-1630	yes	Realejo to Acapulco	discovery; Maluco

Griego	Martin	despensero and marinero	1595-1597	yes		
Griego	Mauro	marinero	1594	yes		
Griego	Pedro	marinero	1592	yes		
Grosso	Bautista	marinero	1611	yes		
Grosso	Francisco	marinero	1607	aviso		
Grumete	Francisco	grumete español	1632	yes		
Guadalupe	Cristobal de	marinero	1600-1601 and 1603	yes		
Guarda	Nicolas dela	paje	1596	yes		
Guase	Alonso	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Guecho	Martin de	marinero, condestable, and artillero	1593, 1596, and 1600	yes	yes	
Guerra	Bartolome dela	marinero	1596	yes		
Guerra	Francisco	marinero	1619	yes		
Guerra	Pablo de	marinero	1610	yes		
Guerra	Pablo	marinero	1610-1615	yes		
Guerra	Sebastian	marinero and carpintero	1618-1622, 1627-1628, and 1632	yes		
Guerrero	Andres	marinero	1623-1626	yes		
Guerrero	Bartolome	marinero	1623	yes		
Guerrero	Francisco	marinero	1612	yes		
Guerrero	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes		
Guerrero	Pedro	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Guet	Pedro	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Guevarra	Diego de	grumete español	1619	yes		
Gueverra	Luis de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Guia	Domingo dela	marinero and artillero	1599-1600	yes		
Guia	Juan	grumete español	1595	yes		
Guiat	Marcos	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Guiban	Francisco	grumete indio	1614 and 1623	yes		
Guilat	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Guillen	Francisco	marinero	1624	yes		
Guillermo	Francisco	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Guillermo	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Guilli	Clemente	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Guilo	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		

Guimarano	Alonso	marinero	1633	yes		
Guimat	Diego	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Guirive	Nicolas de	grumete español	1622	yes		
Guisan	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Guisco	Mateo	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Gulillermo	Nicolas	marinero	1619	yes		
Guridi	Domingo de	marinero	1612 and 1615-1616	yes		
Gusarate	Antonio	grumete español	1599	yes		
Gutierrez	Andres	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Gutierrez	Baltasar	marinero and artillero	1595 and 1601-1602	yes		
Gutierrez	Bernabe	marinero	1600	yes		
Gutierrez	Diego	marinero	1610, 1615, 1619, and 1624	yes		
Gutierrez	Francisco	marinero and buzo	1592 and 1594-1595	yes	Sonsonate	
Gutierrez	Jacinto	marinero	1628	yes		
Gutierrez	Jorge	marinero	1615	yes		
Gutierrez	Juan	marinero	1594-1597	yes	Sonsonate; Sonsonate, Peru and Costa del Mar	
Gutierrez	Manuel	marinero	1595	yes		
Gutierrez	Mateo	marinero	1624	yes		
Gutierrez	Miguel	grumete español	1599	yes		
Gutierrez	Sebastian	marinero	1591 and 1597-1598	yes and aviso		
Gutierrez	Silvestre	marinero and guardian	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Gutierrez	Tomas	grumete español	1611	yes		
Gutierrez 1	Bartolome	marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Gutierrez 2	Bartolome	marinero and arraez	1594-1598	yes		
Gutierrez 2	Francisco	marinero	1623	yes		
Gutierrez 2	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1614 and 1618	yes		
Gutierrez 3	Bartolome	marinero	1595	yes		
Gutierrez 3	Juan	marinero	1633	yes		

Gutierrez de Fonseca	Juan	marinero	1620	yes		
Guzman	Alonso de	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Guzman	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Guzman	Antonio de	marinero	1611-1615	yes		
Guzman	Diego de	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Guzman	Francisco de	marinero	1618 and 1632	yes		
Guzman	Valerio de	marinero, acompañado de piloto mayor, acompañado de piloto, and piloto mayor	1620-1625 and 1632- 1635	yes		
Haliano		grumete indio	1603	yes		
Hapit	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Heredia	Juan de	marinero and escribano	1619-1620 and 1623	yes		
Hernandez	Agustin	paje	1594	yes		
Hernandez	Alonso	marinero	1593-1594 and 1596- 1598	yes		
Hernandez	Anton	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Hernandez	Antonio	marinero	1603	yes	Tehuantepec	discovery of las islas rico de plata y oro
Hernandez	Baltasar	marinero	1632	yes		
Hernandez	Bartolome	marinero	1623	yes		
Hernandez	Bernabe	marinero	1639	yes		
Hernandez	Blas	marinero and tonelero	1624-1631 and 1634- 1635	yes		
Hernandez	Cosme	marinero	1620	yes		
Hernandez	Cristobal	marinero and calafate	1615 and 1625	yes		
Hernandez	Damian	marinero	1618	yes		
Hernandez	Domingo	marinero	1591, 1594, and 1597- 1601	yes		
Hernandez	Garcia	marinero	1594	yes		
Hernandez	Gaspar	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Hernandez	Geronimo	grumete español, marinero, and gente del real servicio	1593-1595, 1599, 1603, and 1605	yes		

Hernandez	Gonzalo	guardian, marinero, and cautivo	1610 and 1612-1628	yes		
Hernandez	Gregorio	marinero	1598	yes		
Hernandez		marinero	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	
Hernandez	Joseph	marinero	1611	yes	Tioupuico	
Hernandez	Juan	marinero	1621	yes		
Hernandez	Lucas	marinero	1598-1599	yes		
Hernandez	Luis	marinero	1615	yes		
Hernandez	Manuel	grumete español and marinero	1618-1619	yes		
Hernandez	Marcos	marinero	1592	yes		
Hernandez	Martin	marinero	1591	yes		
Hernandez	Mateo	marinero	1610-1618	yes		
Hernandez	Matias	artillero and grumete español	1601 and 1618	yes		
Hernandez	Mazias	marinero	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	
Hernandez	Miguel	marinero	1593-1596 and 1599- 1601	yes		
Hernandez	M.or	marinero	1612	yes		
Hernandez	Nufio	marinero	1633	yes		
Hernandez	Pablo	marinero	1593	yes		
Hernandez	Pantaleon	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Hernandez	Pedro	marinero, soldado, and acompañado de piloto	1602-1603 and 1606- 1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	discovery
Hernandez	Pedro	marinero	1613-1615 and 1618	yes		
Hernandez	Pedro	carpintero, marinero, piloto, and acompañado de piloto	1623-1625 and 1627- 1628	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Hernandez	Roque	marinero	1592 and 1594	yes		
Hernandez	Salvador	marinero	1603	yes		
Hernandez	Sebastian	marinero	1597 and 1601	yes		
Hernandez	Tomas	marinero	1620	yes		
Hernandez	Urbano	marinero	1624	yes		
Hernandez	Andres	marinero	1622	yes		

Hernandez	Pedro	marinero	1633	yes		
Hernandez 1	Diego	marinero	1592, 1594- 1597, and 1600	yes		
Hernandez 1	Francisco	marinero and grumete español	1591 and 1594-1601	yes	yes	
Hernandez 2	Alonso	grumete indio, gente del real servicio, and carpintero indio	1618, 1621- 1623, 1628, 1630-1635, and 1638- 1640	yes		
Hernandez 2	Andres	marinero	1628-1631 and 1633	yes		
Hernandez 2	Antonio	marinero	1608 and 1610	yes		
Hernandez 2	Diego	grumete español	1595	yes		
Hernandez 2	Domingo	marinero, contramaestre, and condestable	1608, 1610- 1611, 1613, 1615, and 1618	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	discovery
Hernandez 2	Francisco	ayudante de piloto, piloto, piloto mayor, and acompañado de piloto	1619, 1622, 1624-1626, and 1629	yes		
Hernandez 2	Gaspar	marinero	1610-1611		Zacatula	
Hernandez 2	Gonzalo	marinero	1619-1620	yes		
Hernandez 2	Manuel	marinero	1623	yes		
Hernandez 2	Marcos	marinero	1619-1623	yes		
Hernandez 2	Martin	artillero and marinero	1618-1624 and 1627- 1628	yes		
Hernandez 2	Miguel	marinero	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Hernandez 2	Pablo	marinero	1620	yes		
Hernandez 2	Pedro	marinero	1591-1595	yes		
Hernandez 2	Pedro	marinero	1618-1624	yes		
Hernandez 2	Pedro	marinero	1628-1630 and 1633	yes		
Hernandez 2	Sebastian	marinero	1621	yes		
Hernandez 2	Tomas	marinero	1629-1630 and 1632- 1633	yes		

Hernandez 3	Alonso	marinero	1618 and 1621	yes	
Hernandez 3	Andres	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Hernandez 3	Antonio	marinero	1615	yes	
Hernandez 3	Diego	grumete español	1607		Acapulco to Peru
Hernandez 3	Domingo	grumete español and marinero	1622-1623	yes	
Hernandez 3	Manuel	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Hernandez 3	Pedro	marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Hernandez 3	Sebastian	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Hernandez 4	Antonio	marinero	1619 and 1621-1622	yes	
Hernandez 4	Diego	marinero	1607	yes	
Hernandez 4	Francisco	paje and grumete español	1595-1596 and 1598	yes	
Hernandez 4	Pedro	marinero	1595	yes	
Hernandez 5	Antonio	marinero	1630-1631	yes	
Hernandez 5	Diego	marinero	1612	yes	
Hernandez 5	Francisco	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Hernandez 5	Pedro	grumete español	1594 and 1603	yes	
Hernandez 6	Antonio	marinero and cirujano	1615-1622	yes	
Hernandez 6	Diego	marinero	1618-1619	yes	
Hernandez 6	Francisco	marinero	1607-1608, 1611, and 1613-1615	yes	
Hernandez 6	Pedro	marinero	1596, 1598, 1600, and 1603	yes	
Hernandez 7	Antonio	marinero and grumete español	1619 and 1622	yes	
Hernandez 7	Diego	marinero and artillero	1625-1626, 1628-1633, and 1639- 1640	yes	
Hernandez 7	Francisco	marinero	1620, 1624, and 1626- 1633	yes	
Hernandez 7	Pedro	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Hernandez 8	Diego	marinero	1632-1633	yes	

Hernandez 9	Diego	grumete indio	1607 and 1622	yes	
Hernandez Basurto	Francisco	marinero	1628 and 1633	yes	
Hernandez Castillejo	Alonso	marinero and soldado	1602-1603		discovery
Hernandez de Cuellar	Domingo	marinero	1622	yes	
Hernandez de Fuentes	Pedro	marinero	1591	yes	
Hernandez de Lisboa	Domingo	marinero	1600	yes	
Hernandez de Manila	Pablo	marinero	1633	yes	
Hernandez de Rivera	Antonio	marinero	1633	yes	
Hernandez de Sandoval	Gaspar	grumete español	1596	yes	
Hernandez de Setubar	Diego	marinero	1633	yes	
Hernandez de Sosa	Gonzalo	marinero	1613	yes	
Hernandez de Viana	Antonio	marinero	1621	yes	
Hernandez Lamprea	Luis	marinero and artillero	1591-1595	yes	
Hernandez Marmolejo	Pedro	calafate, carpintero, capitan y maestre, and piloto mayor	1613-1615	yes	
Hernandez Pinto	Melchor	marinero	1596	yes	
Hernandez Salvatierra	Diego	marinero	1612	yes	
Hernandez Serrano	Pedro	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes	
Hernandez Turino	Alonso	marinero	1600-1601	yes	
Hernandez Valencia	Francisco	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Hernando	Pedro	marinero	1591-1594	yes	
Herrera	Andres de	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Herrera	Antonio de	marinero	1625	yes	
Herrera	Baltasar de	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Herrera	Bautista de	marinero and soldado	1602-1603		discovery
Herrera	Blas de	marinero	1606-1607	yes	

Herrera	Francisco de	marinero	1599	yes	
Herrera	Gaspar de	marinero	1615	yes	
Herrera	Joseph de	marinero	1618	yes	
Herrera	Juan de	marinero	1595-1598, 1600, 1603, and 1608	yes	
Herrera	Lorenzo de	grumete español	1594	yes	
Herrera	Luis de	grumete español and marinero	1610 and 1613	yes	
Herrera	Manuel de	marinero	1619	yes	
Herrera	Miguel de	marinero, guardian, and alguacil de agua	1612-1624, 1627-1628, and 1632	yes	
Herrera	Pedro de	grumete español	1594-1597	yes	
Herrera 2	Bautista de	marinero	1615	yes	
Herrera 2	Francisco de	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Herrera 2	Juan de	marinero	1633	yes	
Herrera 2	Luis de	grumete español and marinero	1622-1634	yes	
Herrera 2	Pedro de	marinero and barbero y cirujano	1615-1623	yes	
Herrera 3	Pedro de	marinero and cirujano	1628-1632	yes	
Herrero	Anton	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes	
Herrero	Lucas	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1590-1591	yes	
Herrero	Pedro	grumete indio	1595 and 1600-1601	yes	
Hidalgo	Nicolas	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Hidalgo	Pablo	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Hidalgo 1	Francisco	marinero	1593 and 1596	yes	
Hidalgo 2	Francisco	guardian	1596	yes	
Higuera	Cristobal de	marinero	1591	yes	
Hipolito	Sebastian	marinero	1597	yes	
Hongo	Sebastian	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes	
Hoyo	Andres	grumete indio	1595	yes	

Hozes	Juan de	marinero, soldado, and sargento	1602-1603			discovery
Huerto	Benito del	grumete español and marinero	1596-1598 and 1600	yes		
Hurtado	Francisco	marinero	1622	yes		
Hurtado	Juan	marinero	1591	yes		
Huyos	Hernando de	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Ibarra	Francisco de	marinero	1600 and 1618	yes		
Ibarra 2	Francisco de	marinero	1618	yes		
Icao	Miguel	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Ignacio	Manuel	marinero	1618	yes		
Ilocos	Francisco de	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Indio Chino	Diego	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Indio del Peru	Cristobal	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Ingles	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Ingo	Jacinto	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Iriarte	Martin de	grumete español and marinero	1598 and 1600	yes		
Iriarte	Miguel de	contramaestre and marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Jacinto	Domingo	marinero	1621-1623	yes		
Jacome	Agustin	marinero	1591-1592	yes		
Jacome	Daniel	marinero	1615-1619, 1621, and 1623-1632	yes		
Jacome	Diego	marinero	1608	yes		
Jacome	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Jacome	Mateo	marinero	1610, 1614- 1615, and 1617-1618	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Jacome	Pascual	marinero	1615	yes		
Jacome	Tomas	marinero	1618	yes		
Jaime	Gaspar	marinero	1611	yes		
Japon	Andres	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Japon	Cosme	grumete indio	1594 and 1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Japon	Cristobal	grumete indio	1608	aviso		
Japon	Domingo	grumete indio	1603, 1615, 1627-1628, and 1632	yes		
Japon	Francisco	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		

Japon	Juan	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Japon	Miguel	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Japon	Simon	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Jauregui	Antonio de	marinero	1622	yes		
Jerez	Anton de	marinero	1592	yes		
Jerez	Juan de	marinero	1620 and 1625	yes		
Jimenez	Alonso	marinero	1615	yes		
Jimenez	Andres	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1615 and 1617	yes		
Jimenez	Antonio	marinero	1618 and 1620	yes		
Jimenez	Bartolome	marinero	1615 and 1619-1623	yes		
Jimenez	Diego	barbero and grumete español	1602 and 1610	yes		discovery
Jimenez	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1617-1626	yes and aviso		
Jimenez	Gaspar	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Jimenez	Juan	marinero and buzo	1623-1626, 1628-1630, and 1632- 1633	yes		
Jimenez	Lucas	marinero	1591	yes		
Jimenez	Pedro	marinero	1632	yes		
Jimenez	Ventura	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Jimenez 2	Alonso	marinero	1615	yes		
Jimenez 2	Bartolome	marinero	1602	-	Realejo to Acapulco	
Jimenez 2	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Jimenez 3	Alonso	grumete español	1615	yes		
Jimenez de Luna	Cristobal	grumete español	1595-1596	yes		
Jiron	Diego	marinero	1623-1627 and 1632- 1633	yes		
Jole	Joseph	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Jorge	Andres	marinero	1625	yes		
Jorge	Bartolome	grumete español	1598	yes		
Jorge	Damian	marinero	1594 and 1596-1598	yes	yes	

Jorge	Domingo	marinero and contramaestre	1613-1620	yes	
Jorge	Francisco	contramaestre and marinero	1606-1608 and 1611	yes	
Jorge	Horacio	grumete español and marinero	1594 and 1597	yes and aviso	
Jorge	Manuel	grumete español, marinero, and alguacil de agua	1614-1624	yes	
Jorge	Mateo	marinero	1615	yes	
Jorge	Pascual	marinero	1608	yes	
Jorge	Pedro	marinero	1592 and 1612-1615	yes	
Jorge	Silvestre	marinero and carpintero	1606-1609, 1615-1618, and 1626	yes	
Jorge 2	Manuel	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Jorge 3	Manuel	marinero	1639-1640 and 1642- 1643	yes	
Jorge de Candia	Juan	marinero	1600	yes	
Juan	Antonio	marinero	1597	yes	
Juan	Bartolome	calafate and marinero	1612-1613 and 1615- 1624	yes	
Juan	Benito	marinero	1628-1629	yes	
Juan	Domingo	marinero	1600	yes	
Juan	Enrique	marinero	1601-1603	yes	Realejo to Acapulco
Juan	Francisco	marinero	1595	yes	
Juan	Gregorio	marinero	1595	yes	
Juan	Jacome	artillero	1601	yes	
Juan		grumete indio	1595 and 1597	yes	
Juan	Justo de	marinero and guardian	1594-1596	yes	
Juan	Leonardo	marinero	1610 and 1612-1615	yes	Tehuantepec
Juan	Manuel	marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Juan	Martin	marinero	1591-1592	yes	
Juan	Matias	marinero	1615	yes	
Juan	Miguel	marinero	1610	yes	
Juan	Nicolas de	marinero	1592	yes	

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Juan	Nicolas	marinero and alguacil de agua	1623-1631	yes		
Juan	Pedro	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Juan	Pedro	marinero	1607	yes		
Juan	Pedro	marinero and guardian	1615-1618 and 1621- 1623	yes		
Juan 2	Antonio	marinero	1614-1615 and 1617	yes	Tehuantepec	
Juan 2	Bartolome	marinero	1615	yes		
Juan 2	Domingo	marinero	1615	yes		
Juan 2		grumete español	1613	yes		
Juan 2	Manuel	marinero	1625-1631 and 1633	yes		
Juan 2	Nicolas de	marinero	1622	yes		
Juan 2	Nicolas	marinero	1624	yes		
Juan 2	Pedro	marinero	1612	yes		
Juan 3	Antonio	carpintero	1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Juan 3		gente del real servicio	1620	yes		
Juan 3	Nicolas	marinero	1628	yes		
Juan de Arraguza	Pedro	marinero	1612-1615	yes		
Juan de Candia	Manuel	marinero	1600	yes		
Juan de Morrera	Manuel	marinero	1630-1632	yes		
Juan Natero	Pedro	marinero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Juarez	Benito	marinero	1591	yes		
Juarez	Joseph	marinero	1613-1616	yes		
Juarez	Lucas	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Juarez	Luis	marinero	1615 and 1619	yes		
Juarez	Pedro	marinero	1619	yes		
Juarez 2	Joseph	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Juarez 2	Pedro	grumete español	1619	yes		
Judze	Jacome	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Julio	Domingo	marinero	1617	yes		
Junco de Posadas	Andres	artillero and marinero	1619-1623	yes		
Junguyto	Juan de	marinero	1598	yes		
Jusepe	Pedro	grumete indio	1591	yes		
Juta	Juan	marinero	1630-1632	yes		

Laad	Marcos	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Laban	Francisco	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes	
Laban	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594 and 1597	yes	
Labao	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Lacan	Agustin	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Lacat	Pablo	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Laenche	Francisco	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Laga	Antonio	marinero	1610-1611	yes	
Lagro	Francisco	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Laguat de Macolze	Juan	grumete indio	1593	yes	
Laguio	Agustin	grumete indio	1593	yes	
Laguio	Pablo	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Lahad	Tomas	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Lala	Diego	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Lalan	Juan	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Lama	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Lamban	Juan	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Lampa	Alonso	grumete indio	1600-1601	yes	
Lampique	Don Francisco	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Lamprea	Juan	grumete español, marinero, and acompañado de piloto	1591-1595, 1617, and 1619	yes and aviso	
Lana	Francisco de	marinero	1597-1598 and 1622	yes	
Lanan	Benito	marinero	1596	yes	
Landa	Agustin de	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1596-1597 and 1599- 1602	yes	
Landia	Francisco de	marinero, acompañado de contramaestre, acompañado de contramestre, piloto, artillero, grumete español, contramaestre, and guardian	1591-1599, 1601, 1613, 1615, and 1622	yes	
Landia	Gregorio de	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Landia	Juan de	marinero	1612	yes	
Lallula	,			,	

Landicho	Diego	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Langalan	Agustin	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Langan	Juan	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Langanyesga	Luis	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Langaray	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Languer	Gabriel	marinero	1611	yes		
Languin	Alonso	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Lanlan	Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Lanoyan	Juan	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Lantao	Pedro de	grumete indio	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
lantocot	Pedro	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Lao	Andres	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Lao	Simon	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Lapitan	Antonio	grumete indio	1593-1595 and 1597	yes		
Laque	Juan	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Lara	Alonso de	marinero	1619	yes		
Lara	Antonio de	marinero	1606-1607, 1611, and 1613	yes		
Lara	Juan de	marinero	1618	yes		
Lara	Marcos de	marinero	1593-1595	yes		
Lara 2	Juan de	marinero	1624	yes		
Lari	Miguel	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Larriaga	Diego de	marinero	1612	yes		
Lasabas	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Lasanga	Antonio	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Lasao	Nicolas	marinero	1610-1611	yes		
Lascar	Agustin	marinero	1594-1595		Sonsonate	
Lascar	Babu	marinero	1591-1593	yes		
Lascar	Don Francisco	marinero	1594-1596	yes	Sonsonate; Sonsonate, Peru and Costa del Mar	
Lasigui	Agustin	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Laso dela Vega 2	Juan	grumete español	1625	yes		
Lastra	Juan dela	marinero	1597	yes		
Lata	Alonso de	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Lata	Alonso de	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Lata	Pablo	grumete indio	1592-1593 and 1596- 1597	yes		

Latan	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Latan	Nicolas	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Lative	Baltasar	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Lauregi	Pedro de	marinero	1615	yes		
Lava	Juan	grumete indio and guardianejo	1594 and 1619	yes		
Lavi	Agustin	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Lavi	Juan	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1592, 1615- 1616, and 1619	yes		
Lay	Alonso	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Laya	Andres	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Layngas	Diego	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Layos	Alonso	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Leal	Andres	soldado	1602-1603	yes		
Leal	Francisco	marinero, cabo de escuadron, and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Leal 2	Francisco	marinero	1617	aviso		
Lechuga	Alonso	marinero	1619 and 1629-1630	yes		
Legal	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Legalo	Juan	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Legras	Miguel	marinero and artillero	1615-1628	yes		
Lemare	Baltasar	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Lemos	Francisco de	marinero and contramaestre	1622-1631	yes		
Lemos	Manuel de	marinero	1628	yes		
Lemos	Pedro de	marinero, artillero, guardian, and contramaestre	1614-1622 and 1630- 1632	yes	Tehuantepec	
Leon	Agustin	grumete indio	1623 and 1625	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Leon	Alonso de	marinero	1621-1623	yes		
Leon	Andres de	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Leon	Antonio de	marinero	1615	yes		
Leon	Francisco de	marinero	1630 and 1633-1634	yes		
Leon	Gaspar de	grumete español and marinero	1594 and 1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	

Leon	Geronimo de	marinero and guardian	1593-1594, 1596, 1598, 1603, and 1608	yes		
Leon	Juan de	marinero	1615	yes		
Leon	Luis de	marinero	1594	aviso		
Leon	Simon de	marinero and artillero	1596	yes		
Leon 2	Francisco de	marinero	1640-1643	yes		
Leon 3	Francisco de	marinero	1619	yes		
Leonardo	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Leonardo	Pedro	marinero	1623	yes		
Leonardo 2	Pedro	buzo and marinero	1628 and 1630-1632	yes		
Lepena	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Leron	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Lesaca	Lazaro de	marinero	1596	yes		
Letin	Nicolas	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Levantisco	Niculai	marinero	1595	yes		
Levi	Gaspar	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Leyba	Antonio de	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Leyba	Francisco de	marinero	1618	yes		
Leyra	Benito de	marinero	1591-1592 and 1595	yes		
Leyra	Francisco de	marinero	1599	yes		
Leyte	Francisco	grumete indio	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Leyton	Nicolas	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Leyton	Pedro	marinero	1608	yes		
Leyton	Simon	marinero	1593-1594	yes		
Liao	Luis	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Liat	Miguel	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Libac	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Libag	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Libao	Juan	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Libot	Antonio	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Libre	Gabriel	marinero, artillero, and condestable	1595	yes		
Lica	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Licao	Gabriel	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Lico	Agustin	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Ligas	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Ligasa	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes		

Ligat	Agustin	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Ligero	Juan	marinero	1612	yes		
Ligero	Sebastian	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Ligero 2	Juan	marinero	1621-1627	yes		
Ligero 3	Juan	marinero	1634-1635	yes		
Ligxi	Sebastian	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Lima	Diego	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Lima	Pedro de	grumete indio	1608	aviso		
Lima 1	Juan de	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Lima 2	Juan de	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Limaguela	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Liman	Francisco	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Liman	Hernando de	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Limban	Luis	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Limbao	Antonio	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Limoto	Alonso	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Linan	Bartolome	marinero	1613	yes		
Linao	Juan	grumete indio	1592-1594	yes		
Linares	Martin de	marinero	1632	yes		
Lindon	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Lingas	Alonso	guardianejo	1607	yes		
Liquat	Francisco	guardianejo	1613	yes		
Lisan	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596 and 1603	yes	Tehuantepec	
Lisi	Agustin	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Lisit	Marco	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Lisit	Mateo	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Lizana	Pedro de	marinero	1622-1628	yes		
Lizarde	Juanes de	marinero	1607 and 1615-1616	yes		
Lizarraga	Alonso de	marinero	1608	yes		
Lizarraga	Antonio de	marinero	1607	yes		
Llanes	Juan de	marinero and soldado	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	discovery
Llerenas	Juan de	marinero	1622	yes		
Loa	Antonio	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Loaisa	Hernando de	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Loganbiz	Pablo	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Logo	Gaspar	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Lojo	Marcos	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes		
Lolao	Miguel	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		

Lomban	Gregorio	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Lombao	Juan	grumete indio	1621	yes	
Lombardo	Onofre	marinero	1635 and 1639-1640	yes	
Lonban	Alonso	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Longallo	Pablo de	grumete indio	1601	yes	
Longalo	Agustin	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1601-1603	yes	discovery
Longalo	Diego	grumete indio	1599	yes	
Longalo	Francisco de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Longalo	Juan de	grumete indio	1590-1591	yes	
Longalo	Nicolas	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Longo	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Lope	Antonio	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Lopez	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1597	yes	
Lopez	Alonso	marinero	1597	yes	
Lopez	Alvarez	marinero	1596-1597	yes	
Lopez	Ambrosio	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Lopez	Andres	grumete español and marinero	1608-1612 and 1615- 1623	yes	
Lopez	Antonio	marinero	1612-1616 and 1618	yes	
Lopez	Benito	marinero	1598	yes	
Lopez	Bernardo	grumete español	1591	yes	
Lopez	Cristobal	marinero, buzo and grumete español	1619-1630	yes	
Lopez	Diego	calafate and marinero	1590-1591, 1593-1594, and 1596	yes	
Lopez	Domingo	marinero	1591-1594	yes	
Lopez	Esteban	contramaestre	1601-1602		discovery
Lopez	Eugenio	marinero	1615	yes	
Lopez	Gaspar	marinero	1595	yes	
Lopez	Geronimo	grumete español	1631	yes	
Lopez	Gonzalo	marinero	1592-1593	yes	
Lopez	Gregorio	artillero and marinero	1611	yes	Japan
Lopez	Jorge	marinero	1591	yes	
Lopez	Juan	marinero	1594 and 1597	yes	

Lopez	Manuel	marinero and guardian	1607-1613 and 1615- 1628	yes and aviso		
Lopez	Martin	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Lopez	Mateo	marinero	1600	yes		
Lopez	Nadal	marinero	1603	yes		
Lopez	Pedro	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Lopez	Rodrigo	marinero	1591	yes		
Lopez	Sancho	marinero and arraez	1590-1592	yes		
Lopez	Sebastian	acompañado de piloto, piloto mayor, and marinero	1615, 1623- 1624, 1626- 1628, 1630, and 1633	yes		
Lopez	Simon	marinero	1625	yes		
Lopez	Theo	marinero	1600	yes		
Lopez	Tomas	marinero	1596-1598	yes		
Lopez 1	Francisco	marinero	1590-1595	yes		
Lopez 2	Agustin	grumete español	1603	yes		
Lopez 2	Alonso	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1606-1607, 1634, and 1636	yes		
Lopez 2	Benito	marinero, buzo, and contramaestre	1610-1613	yes	Zacatula to Acapulco	
Lopez 2	Bernardo	marinero	1628	yes		
Lopez 2	Diego	grumete español	1594-1595	yes		
Lopez 2	Domingo	marinero and despensero	1613-1615	yes		
Lopez 2	Domingo	grumete indio	1622 and 1624	yes		
Lopez 2	Esteban	marinero	1610	yes		
Lopez 2	Francisco	marinero	1595	yes		
Lopez 2	Gonzalo	marinero	1601	yes		
Lopez 2	Gregorio	marinero	1634-1635	yes		
Lopez 2	Juan	grumete español, marinero, and soldado	1601-1603	yes	discovery	
Lopez 2	Pedro	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Lopez 2	Rodrigo	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Lopez 2	Sebastian	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Lopez 2	Tomas	marinero	1608	yes		

		marinero, soldado, cabo de				
Lopez 3	Diego	obra de carpintero, and guardian de las barcas del puerto	1602-1603, 1607, and 1614-1615	yes	Tehuantepec	discovery
Lopez 3	Domingo	marinero	1620	yes		
Lopez 3	Esteban	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Lopez 3	Francisco	grumete español	1596-1598 and 1601	yes		
Lopez 3	Gregorio	grumete indio	1607	yes		
Lopez 3	Juan	marinero	1610	yes		
Lopez 3	Tomas	marinero	1614	yes		
Lopez 4	Francisco	grumete español	1607	yes		
Lopez 4	Gregorio	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Lopez 4	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1618 and 1620	yes		
Lopez 5	Domingo	marinero	1631 and 1633	yes		
Lopez 5	Francisco	marinero	1613	yes		
Lopez 5	Juan	marinero	1625 and 1627	yes		
Lopez 6	Francisco	marinero	1619-1620	yes		
Lopez 6	Juan	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Lopez 7	Francisco	marinero	1628 and 1631	yes		
Lopez 7	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Lopez 8	Francisco	grumete indio	1617 and 1623	yes		
Lopez Callejas	Gonzalo	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Lopez Collado	Juan	marinero	1609-1610	yes		
Lopez Davalos	Alonso	grumete español	1615	yes		
Lopez de Aragon	Juan	marinero	1624	yes		
Lopez de Azaldegui	Andres	grumete español and capitan y maestre	1613 and 1623	yes		
Lopez de Encinas	Juan	marinero and alguacil de agua	1595-1596	yes		
Lopez de Faro	Antonio	marinero	1615	yes		
Lopez de Gayoso	Juan	marinero	1598-1600	yes		

Lopez de Lerin	Juan	marinero	1621	yes	
Lopez de Lerin 2	Juan	marinero	1629-1630 and 1634- 1635	yes	
Lopez de Loyola	Ignacio	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Lopez de Vaca	Diego	marinero	1594	yes	
Lopez de Vega	Manuel	marinero	1618	yes	
Lopez Frances	Juan	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Lopez Lezcano	Alonso	marinero	1596	yes	
Lopez Lozano	Andres	paje	1606-1607	yes	
Lopez Mosqueta	Diego	marinero	1615	yes	
Lopez Nieto	Francisco	marinero	1619-1623	yes	
Lopez Patino	Bartolome	marinero	1611	yes	
Lora	Juan	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Lorca	Miguel de	marinero	1591	yes	
Lorenzo	Antonio	marinero	1601	yes	
Lorenzo	Baltasar	marinero	1620	yes	
Lorenzo	Diego	marinero	1595	yes	
Lorenzo	Domingo	marinero	1610	yes	
Lorenzo	Esteban	marinero	1632	yes	
Lorenzo	Francisco	marinero	1594-1595, 1598, and 1600	yes	
Lorenzo	Geronimo	marinero	1613	yes	
Lorenzo	Gregorio	marinero	1597	yes	
Lorenzo	Juan	marinero	1592-1594	yes	
Lorenzo	Miguel	marinero	1599	yes	
Lorenzo	Nuncio	marinero	1612-1615	yes	
Lorenzo	Pedro	marinero	1617 and 1619	yes and aviso	
Lorenzo	Rodrigo	marinero	1591	yes	
Lorenzo 2	Diego	marinero	1615	yes	
Lorenzo 2	Domingo	marinero and contramaestre	1639-1640	yes	
Lorenzo 2	Francisco	marinero	1618-1632	yes	
Lorenzo 2	Juan	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Lorenzo 2	Pedro	marinero	1619	yes	
Lorenzo 3	Juan	grumete español	1620	yes	
Lorenzo 3	Pedro	guardianejo	1627-1628	yes	
Lorenzo de Ayamonte	Pedro	marinero	1620	yes	

Lorenzo de Sevilla	Pedro	marinero	1620	yes	
Lorono	Antonio de	marinero	1622	yes	
Lovato	Diego	marinero	1615	yes	
Loyando	Martin de	marinero	1610		discovery de las islas rico de plata y oro
Loyon	Alonso	guardianejo and grumete indio	1610-1611 and 1615	yes	
Lozada	Juan de	marinero	1611	yes	
Lozano	Joseph	marinero	1632	yes	
Lozano	Juan	grumete español	1615	yes	
Lozano Maza	Miguel	marinero	1632	yes	
Lozoya	Benito	marinero	1628-1630 and 1633	yes	
Luban	Antonio	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Lubao	Alonso	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Luca	Francisco de	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Luca	Pedro de	marinero	1596	yes	
Luca	Simon de	marinero	1593-1594	yes	
Lucas	Mateo	marinero and alguacil de agua	1615-1623 and 1628- 1630	yes	
Lucas	Pedro	marinero	1615	yes	
Lucio	Bartolome	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Lugay	Diego	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Luis	Agustin	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Luis	Antonio	marinero	1595-1597	yes	
Luis	Baltasar	marinero	1596	yes	
Luis	Bartolome	marinero	1629 and 1632-1633	yes	
Luis	Benito	marinero	1628	yes	
Luis	Diego	grumete español, marinero, and artillero	1620, 1626, and 1633	yes	
Luis	Francisco	marinero	1618-1619	yes	
Luis	Gaspar	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Luis	Geronimo	marinero	1615	yes	
Luis	Jorge	grumete español	1615	yes	
Luis	Juan dela	marinero	1609	yes	
Luis	Juan	marinero	1591-1593	yes	

Luis		grumete indio	1590-1591	yes		
Luis	Manuel	contramaestre and marinero	1622, 1625- 1630, and 1632-1633	yes		
Luis	Mateo	marinero	1630 and 1632-1633	yes		
Luis	Miguel	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Luis	Roque	marinero	1633	yes		
Luis	Santiago	marinero	1621	yes		
Luis 2	Antonio	marinero, soldado, and cabo de escuadron	1602-1603			discovery
Luis 2	Francisco	marinero	1632	yes		
Luis 2	Juan	marinero	1600	yes		
Luis 2	Miguel	marinero	1610	yes		
Luis 3	Antonio	marinero	1607 and 1610-1611	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Luis 3	Juan	marinero and contramaestre	1614-1620 and 1622- 1633	yes		
Luis 4	Juan	marinero	1616-1624	yes		
Luis 5	Juan	grumete español	1622	yes		
Lujan	Pedro	marinero	1613	yes		
Lumali	Pablo	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Lumansan	Francisco	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Lumasi	Pedro	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Luna	Diego de	marinero, calafate, and alguacil de agua	1594-1595 and 1613		Sonsonate	
Lutan	Alonso	grumete indio	1593-1596 and 1598- 1599	yes		
Luz	Antonio dela	marinero	1619	yes		
Luzena	Nicolas de	marinero	1632	yes		
Maagon	Sebastian	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Mabac	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Mabalan	Joseph	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Macapara	Pedro	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Macarano	Gregorio	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Macasar	Antonio	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Macatico	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes		

Machado	Antonio	marinero, tonelero, and alguacil de agua	1612, 1615- 1623, and 1628-1630	yes	
Machado	Clemente	marinero	1618	yes	
Machado	Domingo	marinero, acompañado de piloto, and piloto mayor	1619, 1621- 1622, 1630, and 1633	yes	
Machado	Francisco	marinero	1633	yes	
Machado	Juan	marinero	1610 and 1612	yes	
Machate	Juan	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Machucla	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Macias	Juan	marinero and buzo	1619-1624	yes	
Maciel	Diego	marinero	1592	yes	
Maciel	Francisco	marinero	1618	yes	
Madera	Juan	marinero and artillero	1623, 1628- 1630, and 1632-1633	yes	
Madrid	Mateo dela	marinero	1613	yes	
Madrid	Pedro de	marinero	1593	yes	
Magallanes	Francisco de	marinero	1615-1619	yes	
Magalzo	Agustin	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Magar	Francisco	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Magata	Nicolas	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Magawi	Sebastian	grumete indio	1593	yes	
Magay	Juan	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Magel	Francisco	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Maglicas	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1594 and 1597- 1598	yes	
Magnase	Agustin	grumete indio	1607	yes	
Magnate	Juan	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Mago	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Maguce	Domingo	carpintero indio and grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Maguin	Sebat	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Maguyo	Miguel	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Mair	Marco	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Majias	Juan	marinero	1624, 1626, and 1634- 1635	yes	
Malaca	Clemente	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	

Malacao	Ambrosio	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Malagat	Pedro	grumete indio	1593	yes	
Malan	Juan	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1593-1595	yes	
Malanao	Agustin	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Malangar	Nicolas	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1599	yes	
Malaquian	Martin	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Malat	Francisco	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Malat	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Malat	Pedro	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Malate	Agustin de	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Malate	Domingo de	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Malaver	Alonso	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Malaves	Miguel	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Malaya	Agustin	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Malayo	Juan de	grumete indio	1628	yes	
Malayo	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Maldonado	Agustin	grumete español	1613	yes	
Maldonado	Alonso	marinero	1593-1594	yes	
Maldonado	Diego	marinero	1615	yes	
Mali	Guala	marinero	1591	yes	
Mali	Pedro	grumete indio	1508	yes	
Malian	Agustin	grumete indio	1599-1601	yes	
Malici	Luis	grumete indio	1601	yes	
Maligao	Juan de	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Malinar	Pablo	guardianejo	1612	yes	
Malingo	Luis	grumete indio	1594		
Malique	Don Juan	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Malis	Agustin	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes	
Malla	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Mallon	Francisco	marinero	1598, 1600, and 1614- 1615	yes	
Mallorca	Juan de	marinero	1595	yes	
Mallot	Antonio	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Maloco	Juan	grumete indio	1607	yes	
Malucao	Juan	grumete indio	1593	yes	

Maluco	Agustin	grumete indio	1593, 1595, and 1597- 1598	yes		
Malvar	Agustin	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Man	Juan	grumete indio	1595 and 1625	yes		
Mana	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Manabi	Alonso	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Manaca	Diego	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Manaca	Pedro	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Manaca	Perico	grumete indio	1593	yes		
Managui	Gaspar	grumete indio	1608 and 1612	yes		
Manalan	Mateo	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Manali	Francisco	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Mananbi	Francisco	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Manangui	Alonso	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Manantan	Alonso	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Mananza	Alonso	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Manapa	Diego	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Manaque	Alonso	grumete indio	1606-1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Manarga	Juan	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Manay	Alonso	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Manayon	Pedro	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Manchar	Matias	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Mancla	Pedro	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Manda	Diego	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Mandali	Francisco	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Mandan	Pablo	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Mandarin	Francisco	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Manday	Alonso	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Mandaya	Diego	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Mandayo	Pedro	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes		
Mandinga	Domingo	marinero	1600	yes		
Mandinga	Francisco	marinero	1600	yes		
Manga	Bartolome de	alguacil de agua and marinero	1612-1615	yes		
Manga	Don Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Mangali	Agustin de	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Mangalo	Pablo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Mangami	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Mangled	Don Juan	grumete indio	1618	yes		

Mangubat	Agustin	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Manguibobo	Andres	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Manguilan	Andres	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Manguna	Pablo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Maniagua	Miguel	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Maniao	Nicolas	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Maniari	Francisco	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Manigo	Agustin	grumete indio	1621 and 1623	yes	
Manila	Andres	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Manilo	Juan	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Manjarres	Francisco	marinero	1622	yes	
Manlahe	Andres de	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Manlate	Andres	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Manloco	Antonio	grumete indio	1593	yes	
Manlopan	Alonso	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	
Manoyo	Juan	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Manpil	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Mansa	Juan	grumete indio	1617	yes	
Manse	Alonso	grumete indio	1599-1601	yes	
Manuel	Juan	grumete indio	1598	yes	
Manuel	Lucas	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Manuel	Pedro	marinero	1591 and 1593-1596	yes	
Manuel	Tomas	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Manuel 2	Luis	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Manuel 3	Luis	marinero	1629 and 1632-1633	yes	
Manuel dela Candia	Jorge	marinero	1596	yes	
Manza	Pedro	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Maolete	Juan	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Mapantay	Juan	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes	
Maquio	Hernando	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Marala	Pedro	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Maravi	Miguel	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Marchena	Juan de	soldado, marinero, and buzo	1602-1603		discovery
Maria	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Maria	Pedro	contramaestre and marinero	1622-1624 and 1628- 1630	yes	

Marin	Andres	marinero	1596 and 1600-1601	yes	
Marin	Diego	grumete español	1591	yes	
Marin	Don Agustin	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Marin	Francisco	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Marin	Juan	marinero	1597-1598	yes	
Marin	Nicolas	marinero	1612-1615	yes	
Marin	Pedro	grumete español and marinero	1596, 1615- 1616, and 1618-1622	yes	
Marin 2	Juan	marinero	1634	yes	
Marinas	Pedro delas	marinero	1610-1614	yes	
Marinero	Gaspar	marinero	1594	aviso	
Marinero	Jorgecillo	marinero	1622 and 1632-1633	yes	
Marino	Mateo	marinero	1622	yes	
Marino de nacion griego		marinero	1594	yes	
Marovic de Lara	Juan	marinero	1620	yes	
Marqube	Domingo de	marinero and guardian	1592-1594, 1596-1597, and 1600	yes	
Marques	Andres	marinero	1590-1591	yes	
Marquez	Alonso	grumete español	1622	yes	
Marquez	Antonio	marinero	1640	yes	
Marquez	Francisco	marinero	1630 and 1632-1633	yes	
Marquez	Juan	marinero	1592, 1594- 1596, and 1600	yes	
Marquez	Mateo	marinero	1628-1630	yes	
Marquez	Pantaleon	marinero	1594	yes	
Marquez 2	Juan	marinero	1611	yes	
Marra	Andres	marinero	1591	yes	
Marroquin	Roque	marinero	1615	yes	
Martin	Alberto	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Martin	Alonso	despensero and marinero	1591-1593 and 1595- 1598	yes	
Martin	Andres	marinero	1595-1596, 1599-1600, and 1633	yes	

Martin	Anton	marinero	1596-1597 and 1600	yes	
Martin	Antonio	marinero	1612-1624	yes	
Martin	Balaz	marinero	1633	yes	
Martin	Bartolome	marinero	1598 and 1600-1601	yes	
Martin	Blas	grumete español and marinero	1617-1628, 1632-1633, and 1639- 1640	yes	
Martin	Carlos	marinero	1633	yes	
Martin	Diego	marinero and grumete español	1591, 1597- 1598, and 1600-1601	yes	
Martin	Domingo	despensero and marinero	1594 and 1596	yes and aviso	
Martin	Esteban	grumete español and marinero	1627-1632	yes	
Martin	Gaspar	gente del real servicio and marinero	1594, 1599- 1601, and 1603	yes	
Martin	Gonzalo	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Martin	Gregorio	marinero	1596-1597	yes	
Martin	Hernan	marinero	1612 and 1616-1618	yes	
Martin	Hernando	marinero	1618	yes	
Martin	Jines	marinero	1618-1623	yes	
Martin	Joseph	marinero	1615-1618	yes	
Martin	Juan	marinero	1591 and 1594-1597	yes	
Martin	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1607-1608 and 1615	yes	
Martin	Luis	marinero	1619-1626	yes	
Martin	Manuel	marinero and grumete español	1615-1620	yes	
Martin	Marcos	marinero	1594-1598 and 1600- 1601	yes and aviso	
Martin	Melchor	marinero	1615-1632	yes	
Martin	Miguel	grumete español	1598	yes	
Martin	Miguel	marinero	1608, 1611- 1612, and 1615-1616	yes	
Martin	Nicolas	marinero	1608	yes	

Martin	Rodrigo	marinero	1615	yes		
Martin	Rodrigo	marinero	1620	yes		
Martin	Rodrigo	marinero	1625	yes		
Martin	Salvador	marinero	1625	yes		
Martin	Sebastian	marinero	1597	yes		
Martin	Simon	marinero and escribano	1613, 1615- 1618, and 1622-1632	yes		
Martin	Juan	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Martin	Juan	marinero	1612	yes		
Martin 1	Francisco	marinero, calafate, and gente del real servicio	1591, 1594, and 1596- 1599	yes		
Martin 1	Pedro	marinero and guarda	1593-1599, 1601, and 1603	yes	yes	
Martin 1	Pedro	marinero	1595	yes		
Martin 1	Pedro	marinero	1615-1616	yes		
Martin 2	Alonso	grumete indio	1599	yes		
Martin 2	Andres	grumete indio	1603	yes	Tehuantepec	
Martin 2	Anton	marinero and buzo	1613-1615, 1619, and 1630	yes		
Martin 2	Bartolome	marinero	1615	yes		
Martin 2	Diego	marinero and contramaestre	1613-1615, 1618, and 1620	yes		
Martin 2	Domingo	marinero and calafate	1601-1602	yes		
Martin 2	Esteban	grumete español	1612	yes		
Martin 2	Francisco	marinero	1596	yes		
Martin 2	Joseph	marinero	1623	yes		
Martin 2	Juan	marinero	1615-1619 and 1621	yes		
Martin 2	Juan	marinero	1625	yes		
Martin 2	Juan	marinero	1629 and 1632-1633	yes		
Martin 2	Manuel	contramaestre	1625	yes		
Martin 2	Marcos	marinero	1628-1630	yes		
Martin 2	Nicolas	marinero	1613	yes		
Martin 2	Rodrigo	marinero	1615	yes		
Martin 3	Alonso	marinero	1603 and 1606-1607	yes		

Montin 2	Andres	amum ata in dia	1615	****	
Martin 3	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Martin 3	Diego	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Martin 3	Domingo	marinero	1608	yes	
Martin 3	Francisco	marinero	1596	yes	
Martin 3	Juan	marinero	1615	yes	
Martin 3	Manuel	marinero	1633	yes	
Martin 4	Alonso	marinero	1612-1615	yes	
Martin 4	Diego	marinero	1628-1629	yes	
Martin 4	Domingo	marinero and grumete español	1612, 1614- 1623, and 1633	yes	
Martin 4	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes	
Martin 4	Juan	marinero	1615-1623	yes	
Martin 4	Pedro	marinero, cirujano, and piloto mayor	1612-1618 and 1629- 1632	yes	
Martin 5	Alonso	marinero and carpintero	1619 and 1623	yes	
Martin 5	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes	
Martin 6	Alonso	marinero	1615	yes	
Martin 6	Francisco	marinero	1630-1631	yes	
Martin 7	Francisco	balanzario, marinero, and artillero	1613 and 1615-1634	yes	
Martin 7	Juan	marinero	1606-1607	yes	
Martin 8	Francisco	marinero	1627-1628	yes	
Martin 8	Juan	marinero, contramaestre, and buzo	1612, 1615- 1618, and 1620-1621	yes	
Martin 9	Juan	marinero, buzo, and guardian	1625, 1628- 1630, 1633, and 1635	yes	
Martin Bejarano	Diego	marinero	1593-1595 and 1599- 1600	yes	
Martin Blanco	Alonso	marinero and despensero	1610-1611	yes	
Martin Cerdan	Luis	marinero	1596	yes	
Martin de Aragon	Pedro	marinero	1626 and 1634-1635	yes	
Martin de Arrasuza	Pedro	marinero	1619	yes	
Martin de Azua	Juan	marinero	1597	yes	
Martin de Barcelona	Joseph	marinero	1619-1620 and 1632	yes	

Martin de Barcelona	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Martin de Carbajal	Anton	marinero	1613	yes		
Martin de Laya	Diego	artillero	1618	yes		
Martin de Mallorca	Pedro	marinero	1619	yes		
Martin de Poras	Gonzalo	marinero	1615	yes		
Martin de Solana	Juan	marinero	1611	yes		
Martin de Tavira	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Martin de Toluca	Juan	marinero	1623	yes		
Martin de Triana	Juan	marinero and guardian	1590-1592, 1594-1596, and 1598- 1600	yes		
Martin de Viana	Domingo	marinero	1592	yes		
Martin de Villanueva	Diego	marinero	1600	yes		
Martin del Cano	Hernando	marinero and carpintero	1612-1614	yes		
Martin dela Cotera	Pedro	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Martin Genera	Juan	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Martin Guerrero	Juan	marinero	1640	yes		
Martin Guerrero 2	Juan	marinero and guardian	1648-1649 and 1651- 1653	yes		
Martin Marquez	Juan	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Martin Moreno	Juan	marinero	1617	yes		
Martin Ramos	Juan	marinero	1596	yes		
Martin Vilano	Juan	marinero	1619	yes		
Martinez	Anton	marinero	1594	yes		
Martinez	Antonio	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Martinez	Baltasar	marinero	1593 and 1617	yes		
Martinez	Bernabe	marinero	1622	yes		
Martinez	Francisco	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Martinez	Gaspar	marinero	1593-1598	yes		
Martinez	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1597 and 1600	yes		

Martinez	Marcos	marinero	1594 and 1600	yes	
Martinez	Pedro	marinero	1600 and 1603	yes	
Martinez 2	Francisco	marinero	1622 and 1625	yes	
Martinez 3	Francisco	marinero	1633	yes	
Martinez de Medina	Geronimo	marinero	1632	yes	
Martinez dela Cruz	Juan	marinero	1613	yes	
Martir	Domingo	marinero	1591	yes	
Martir	Juan	marinero	1591	yes	
Marua	Angelo	marinero	1614-1616	yes	
Marucha	Santiago de	marinero	1627-1628	yes	
Masa	Gaspar de	marinero	1615	yes	
Masacot	Esteban	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Masao	Matias de	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Masatad	Bartolome	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Mascaral	Diego	grumete español	1622	yes	
Mascardo	Agustin	marinero	1594	yes	
Mascardo	Francisco	marinero	1622-1624	yes	
Mascardo 2	Francisco	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Mascardo 3	Francisco	marinero and despensero	1633-1635	yes	
Mata	Clemente de	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Mata	Gabriel de	marinero	1612	yes	
Mata	Juan de	marinero	1594	yes	
Mata	Pedro de	marinero	1614-1615	yes	
Mata	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Mataga	Francisco de	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Matalana	Pantaleon	marinero	1601	yes	
Matalas	Domingo	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Matanco	Juan	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes	
Matanses	Domingo	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Matarana	Domingo de	marinero	1595	yes	
Mate	Miguel	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Mate de Caruyan	Lucas	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Mateo	Antonio	marinero	1610-1611	yes	
Mateo	Bartolome	marinero	1615	yes	
Mateo	Juan	marinero	1596-1597	yes	

Mateo	Nicolas	contramaestre and marinero	1595-1597	yes		
Mateo	Pablo	marinero	1593-1596	yes		
Mateo	Pedro	marinero	1606-1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Mateo	Tomas	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Mateo 2	Juan	marinero	1619-1624	yes		
Mateo 3	Juan	marinero	1628	yes		
Mateo dela Cruz	Juan	marinero	1619-1632	yes		
Mateo Griego	Gabriel	marinero and artillero	1591-1596	yes		
Mateos	Francisco	marinero	1620	yes		
Matequin	Miguel	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Matias	Alonso	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Matias	Antonio	grumete indio	1615-1616 and 1619	yes		
Matias	Gregorio	marinero	1607-1608	yes		
Matias	Miguel	marinero	1607	yes		
Matias	Vicente	marinero	1593-1594 and 1596	yes		
Matira	Nicolas	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Matlaca	Nicolas	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Matoclas	Alonso de	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Matos	Antonio de	marinero	1622, 1624- 1625, and 1632-1633	yes		
Maus	Simon de	marinero	1632-1634	yes		
Mayamos	Alonso	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Mayaya	Agustin	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Mayoco	Nicolas	marinero	1607	yes		
Mayor	Esteban	grumete español	1625	yes		
Mayorga	Jacinto de	marinero	1628	yes		
Mazavay	Alonso	carpintero indio	1611-1612	yes		
Mazurga	Martin	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Mecapi	Juan	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1611-1613 and 1617	yes		
Medallas	Antonio	marinero	1611	yes		
Medina	Alonso de	grumete español	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Medina	Andres de	marinero	1596	yes		

Medina	Cristobal de	guardian and marinero	1610-1611 and 1614- 1615	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	discovery de las islas rico de plata y oro
Medina	Juan de	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Medina 2	Andres de	marinero	1618	yes		
Medina 2	Juan de	marinero	1610	yes		
Medina 3	Juan de	marinero	1615	yes		
Mejia	Pedro	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Mejia	Sebastian	marinero	1594	yes and aviso		
Melendez	Bartolome	marinero	1594	yes		
Melendez	Bernardino	marinero	1593	yes		
Melendez	Pedro	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Melendez	Ventura	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Melo	Juan de	grumete español	1611	yes		
Melo	Manuel de	marinero	1628	yes		
Mena	Domingo de	marinero	1626 and 1628	yes		
Mendez	Agustin	grumete español	1625	yes		
Mendez	Alonso	marinero	1594	yes		
Mendez	Andres de	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Mendez	Antonio	marinero	1594 and 1620	yes		
Mendez	Cristobal	marinero	1615	yes		
Mendez	Diego	marinero	1594	yes		
Mendez	Domingo	marinero and soldado	1601-1603		Realejo to Acapulco	discovery; discovery of Cabo Mendocino
Mendez	Francisco	grumete español	1608	yes		
Mendez	Gregorio	marinero	1594	yes		
Mendez	Juan	marinero and grumete indio	1591 and 1594-1597	yes		
Mendez	Luis	marinero	1625	yes		
Mendez	Manuel	marinero	1631	yes		
Mendez	Matias	marinero	1631	yes		
Mendez	Nicolas	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Mendez	Pedro	grumete indio	1613-1615 and 1633	yes		
Mendez	Salvador	marinero	1633	yes		
Mendez	Vicente	marinero	1598	yes		

Mendez 2	Alonso	marinero, carpintero, and calafate	1615-1623 and 1625- 1632	yes	yesngapura y Playa Honda	
Mendez 2	Juan	marinero	1632	yes		
Mendez 2	Pedro	marinero	1622	yes		
Mendez 3	Alonso	grumete español	1615	yes		
Mendez de Paz	Hernan	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Mendez de Sotomayor	Don Luis	marinero	1592	yes		
Mendiola	Pedro	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Mendoza	Andres de	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Mendoza	Diego de	grumete español	1631	yes		
Mendoza	Don Juan de	grumete español	1624	yes		
Mendoza	Francisco de	marinero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	_
Mendoza	Francisco	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Mendoza	Juan de	grumete indio	1614, 1618, and 1624	yes		
Mendoza	Lorenzo de	marinero	1632	yes		
Mendoza	Mateo de	grumete indio	1613, 1615- 1616, and 1619	yes		
Mendoza	Pablo de	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Mendoza 2	Juan de	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Mendoza 2	Mateo de	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Mendoza 3	Mateo de	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Mental	Diego	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Mercado	Cristobal de	marinero	1615	yes		
Mercado	Domingo de	grumete español	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Mercando	Agustin de	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Merino	Juan	grumete español	1602			discovery
Mesa	Antonio de	marinero, soldado, artillero, and condestable	1616-1628 and 1633	yes		
Mesa	Bartolome de	grumete español	1598	yes		
Mesa	Gabriel de	artillero and marinero	1595	yes		
Mesa	Geronimo de	marinero	1593-1595	yes		
Mesa	Gregorio de	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		

Mesa	Lucas de	marinero	1623	yes		
Mesa	Manuel de	grumete español, marinero, and artillero	1593-1595	yes		
Mesa	Marcos de	marinero and guardian	1622-1626, 1629-1630, 1632, and 1639-1640	yes		
Mesan	Pablo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Mezina	Antonio de	marinero	1596-1599	yes		
Mezquita	Gregorio de	marinero	1619	yes		
Mical	Miguel	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Micheleno	Juan	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Miclar	Pedro	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Micon	Esteban	grumete español	1594-1595	yes		
Mieres	Hernando de	marinero and despensero	1618, 1621, and 1623	yes		
Miguel	Agustin	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Miguel	Francisco	grumete indio	1602-1603			discovery
Miguel	Juan	marinero and guardian	1594-1595 and 1597- 1601	yes		
Miguel		carpintero indio and grumete indio	1594 and 1598	yes		
Miguel	Pedro	marinero and alguacil de agua	1612-1615, 1618, and 1620	yes		
Miguel	Roque	marinero and condestable	1594-1595 and 1600- 1601	yes		
Miguel 2	Agustin	marinero	1592 and 1594	yes		
Miguel 2	Francisco	grumete indio	1615 and 1625	yes		
Miguel 2	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Miguel Francisco	Juan	marinero	1603		Tehuantepec	
Milla	Benito dela	grumete español	1590-1592	yes		
Minac	Francisco	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Minela	Gaspar	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Minela	Gaspar	grumete indio	1600	yes		
Miqued	Lucas de	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		

Miranda	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes	
3.22.02	,		1608-1610	7	
Miranda	Luis de	marinero	and 1615-	yes	
			1616		
Miravalles	Juan de	marinero	1617	yes	
Mirvan	Miguel	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Misina	Bartolome de	marinero	1632	yes	
Mitre	Juan de	marinero	1619	yes	
Mo Roman	Francisco	paje	1596	yes	
Moanga	Agustin	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Мос	Sebastian	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Mochilanga	Martin de	marinero	1614-1615	yes	
Modeno	Marin	marinero	1607	yes	
Mogano	Pablo	marinero	1594	yes	
Mogo	Bastian	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Mogo	Pablo	grumete español	1622	yes	
Mogot	Sebastian	grumete indio	1614-1616	yes	
Molina	Antonio de	marinero	1618	yes	
Molina	Fabian de	marinero	1618	yes	
Molina	Juan de	marinero	1607	yes	
Molina	Lorenzo de	marinero	1621	yes	
Molina	Luis de	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Molina 2	Antonio de	marinero	1624	yes	
Molina Garceran	Miguel de	marinero	1629 and 1633	yes	
Moloc	Juan de	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Moloco	Francisco	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Monaca	Simon	grumete indio	1593-1595 and 1599- 1600	yes	
Moncholo	Perico	grumete indio	1600	yes	
Mongas	Andres	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Mongay	Juan	marinero	1610	yes	
Mongo	Francisco de	grumete indio	1621	yes	
Monje	Antonio	marinero	1632	yes	
Monran	Simon	marinero	1607	yes	
Monroy	Manuel de	marinero	1622 and 1628	yes	
Montalbo	Juan de	marinero	1620	yes	
Montaner	Francisco	marinero	1622	yes	
Montanes	Juan	marinero	1624	yes	
Monte	Bartolome	grumete indio	1633	yes	

Monte	Diego del	marinero	1613	yes		
Monte	Domingo de	marinero	1631	yes		
Monte	Miguel	marinero	1591-1592	yes		
Montero	Andres	marinero	1615	yes		
Montero	Anton	marinero	1619	yes		
Montero	Antonio	marinero	1611 and 1615-1618	yes		
Montero	Baltasar	marinero	1623	yes		
Montero	Esteban	marinero	1592 and 1598	yes		
Montero	Hernando	marinero	1590-1592	yes		
Montero	Martin	marinero	1590-1595	yes		
Montero	Mateo	marinero	1593	yes		
Montero 2	Martin	marinero	1601	yes		
Monterroso	Domingo de	marinero	1612 and 1614-1615	yes		
Monterroso	Juan de	marinero	1623	yes		
Monterroso 2	Domingo de	marinero	1621-1623	yes		
Monterroso 3	Domingo de	marinero and grumete español	1630-1631	yes		
Montes	Diego de	marinero	1625	yes		
Montes	Francisco de	marinero	1632	yes		
Montes	Nicolas de	marinero	1630-1632	yes		
Montesinos	Domingo	marinero	1623	yes		
Montosi	Hernando	marinero, contramaestre, and despensero	1608-1612	yes		
Mora	Antonio dela	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1624-1628	yes		
Mora	Damian de	marinero	1608	yes		
Morales	Baltasar de	marinero	1633	yes		
Morales	Baltasar	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Morales	Bartolome de	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Morales	Cristobal	grumete español	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Morales	Francisco de	marinero	1619-1624	yes		
Morales	Gaspar de	marinero	1624	yes		
Morales	Juan de	marinero and calafate	1595-1597, 1600, and 1602	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Morales	Juan	marinero	1603		Tehuantepec	

Morales	Miguel de	grumete español	1632	yes		
Morales	Pedro de	marinero	1603	yes		
Morales	Silvestre	marinero	1610	yes		
Morales	Simon de	marinero	1600 and 1612	yes		
Morales 2	Francisco de	marinero	1631-1632	yes		
Morales 2	Juan de	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Morales Gasurto?	Pedro	marinero	1593	yes		
Moreira	Fernando	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Moreno	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Moreno	Antonio	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Moreno	Cristobal	marinero	1591-1592	yes		
Moreno	Domingo	marinero	1610-1611	yes		
Moreno	Francisco	paje	1596	yes		
Moreno	Joseph	marinero	1619	yes		
Moreno	Juan	grumete español	1608	yes		
Moreno	Sebastian	marinero	1600-1601 and 1606- 1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Moreno 2	Juan	marinero	1591	yes		
Moreno 3	Juan	marinero	1625 and 1631	yes		
Moreno 3	Martin	grumete español	1608	yes		
Moreno 4	Juan	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Moreno 5	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Moreno Cabeza	Bartolome	marinero and artillero	1600	yes		
Morera	Alberto	marinero	1614-1615	yes	Tehuantepec	
Morera	Lamberto	marinero	1613	yes		
Morera	Mateo	marinero	1615	yes		
Morera	Vicente	marinero	1598	yes		
Morera 2	Alberto	marinero	1622	yes		
Morera 2	Vicente	marinero	1623	yes		
Moresa	Hernando de	marinero	1628-1629	yes		
Moris	Juan de	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Moro	Marcos	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Moron	Antonio de	grumete español	1595-1596	yes		
Moron	Lazaro	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Moron	Sebastian	marinero	1600	yes		

Mosquera	Pedro	marinero	1620	yes	
Mosso	Luis	marinero	1632	yes	
Mota	Diego	marinero	1623	yes	
Moya	Damian de	grumete indio	1596	yes	
Moya	Esteban de	marinero	1620	yes	
Mozo	Francisco	grumete indio	1595-1596 and 1598- 1599	yes	
Mozo	Rodrigo	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Mozon	Juan	grumete indio	1620	yes	
Mugaburu	Juan de	marinero	1622	yes	
Mujica	Francisco de	grumete español	1617	yes	
Mulato	Mau	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Mundaray	Domingo de	marinero	1632 and 1639-1640	yes	
Mundo	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Munoz	Bartolome	marinero	1627-1628 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Munoz	Tomas	marinero	1624	yes	
Munoz	Vicente	marinero	1628	yes	
Munoz	Juan	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Munoz 1	Diego	marinero	1596-1597 and 1599	yes	
Munoz 2	Diego	grumete español and marinero	1597 and 1601	yes	
Munoz 2	Juan	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Munoz 3	Juan	marinero	1640	yes	
Muñoz	Agustin	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Muñoz	Francisco	grumete español, marinero, and contramaestre	1610, 1612- 1613, 1615- 1616, 1619, 1624-1625, and 1633- 1634	yes	
Muñoz	Geronimo	marinero	1620	yes	
Muñoz	Nicolas	marinero and calafate	1612-1613 and 1615- 1616	yes	
Muñoz	Sebastian	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Muñoz 2	Sebastian	marinero	1622	yes	
Murguia	Alejo de	grumete español	1622	yes	

Nabi	Alonso	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Naldia	Pedro de	marinero	1623-1628, 1634-1635, and 1639- 1640	yes		
Nangasaki	Miguel	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Napoles	Cipion de	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Napoles	Domingo de	marinero	1591	yes		
Napolitano	Geronimo	marinero	1596	yes		
Navarra	Juan de	marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Navarro	Cristobal	marinero	1628 and 1632-1633	yes		
Navarro	Gaspar	marinero	1639-1641	yes		
Navarro	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Navarro	Miguel	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Nayun	Pablo	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Negro	Agustin	grumete indio	1602-1603			discovery
Negro	Alejo	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Negro	Cosme	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Negro	Juan	grumete indio	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Negro	Pedro	grumete español	1594	yes		
Negro	Sebastian	grumete indio	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Negro	Silva	grumete indio	1602			discovery
Neyra	Juan de	marinero	1632	yes		
Nez Profeta	Juan	marinero	1618	yes		
Nicaragua	Francisco de	grumete español	1591	yes		
Nicholas	Constantin de	marinero	1603	yes		
Nico	Vicente	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Nicolao	Andres	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Nicolao	Estefano	marinero	1600	yes		
Nicolao	Olivo	marinero and carpintero	1601	yes		
Nicolas	Garcia	grumete español	1631	yes		
Nicolas	Jorge	marinero	1590-1591, 1594, and 1597	yes		
Nicolas	Jorge	marinero	1619	yes		
Nicolas	Juan	marinero and guardian	1591-1592, 1610, and 1614-1615	yes		

Nicolas	Lorenzo	marinero	1634 and 1639-1640	yes		
Nicolas	Miguel	marinero	1608	yes		
Nicolas		grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Nicolas Griego	Juan	guardian, marinero, and acompañado de piloto	1590-1592, 1594-1596, 1601, 1612, and 1622	yes		
Nicula	Diego	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Nieto	Gaspar	marinero	1615	yes		
Nieto	Juan	marinero	1597	yes		
Nieto	Rodrigo	marinero	1591 and 1595-1598	yes		
Ninao	Francisco	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Ningala	Antonio de	grumete indio	1602-1603			discovery
Nipit	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Nis	Antonio de	marinero	1600	yes		
Noan	Ventura	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Noble	Manuel	marinero	1591-1593	yes		
Noe	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Noguera	Juan	guardianejo	1633	yes		
Noguera	Miguel de	marinero	1610			discovery of las islas rico de plata y oro
Nola	Benito de	marinero	1603		Tehuantepec	
Nongal	Agustin	grumete indio	1628	yes		
Notach	Agustin	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Nova	Francisco de	grumete español	1608	yes		
Novera	Julio	marinero	1615	yes		
Novo	Agustin	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Novo	Alonso	marinero, despensero, guardian, and contramaestre	1620, 1622, 1625, 1627, 1629-1630, and 1634- 1635	yes		
Noyo	Bartolome de	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Nuco	Nicolas	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Nuebla	Carlos de	marinero	1592	yes		
	1		1510	Mod		
Nufio	Francisco	grumete español	1619	yes		
Nufio Numali	Francisco Sebastian	grumete español grumete indio	1619	yes		
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Nunez	Gregorio	marinero	1597	yes		
Nunez	Manuel	marinero	1633	yes		
Nunez	Simon	marinero	1596	yes		
Nunez Lascar	Diego	carpintero and marinero	1594-1603 and 1606- 1610	yes		
Nuñez	Antonio	marinero	1619	yes		
Nuñez	Domingo	marinero and buzo	1601	yes		
Nuñez	Francisco	marinero	1616-1628	yes		
Nuñez	Joseph	grumete español	1625	yes		
Nuñez	Juan	grumete español	1590-1591	yes		
Nuñez	Melchor	marinero	1614-1615	yes		
Nuñez 2	Francisco	grumete español	1595-1596	yes		
Nuñez 2	Juan	marinero	1618-1619 and 1621	yes		
Nuñez de Rivera	Miguel	marinero	1620-1630	yes		
Nurcio	Martin de	marinero	1592-1593	yes	yes	
Oblea	Antonio de	marinero	1614	yes		
Obren	Andres	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Ocampo	Cosme de	marinero	1597	yes		
Ochoa	Juan	marinero	1622	yes		
Ochoa	Miguel de	marinero	1618	yes		
Ochoa	Pedro de	marinero	1611	yes		
Ocon	Diego	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Ojeda	Alonso de	grumete español	1607	yes		
Ojeda	Francisco de	marinero	1601	yes		
Ojeda	Leonardo de	marinero and calafate	1608, 1615- 1619, and 1626	yes		
Olanda	Lorenzo de	marinero	1619	yes		
Olandes Maeno	Martin	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Olandra	Francisco de	marinero	1591	yes		
Olas	Juan de	grumete indio	1615-1616 and 1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Olate	Lucas de	marinero	1634-1635	yes		
Olea	Juan de	marinero	1619	yes		
Olea 2	Juan de	marinero	1624-1628 and 1631- 1633	yes		

Oles	Cristobal de	marinero	1611-1615	yes		
Oletes	Pedro	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Oliva	Francisco de	marinero	1632	yes		
Oliva	Geronimo de	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Oliva	Guillermo de	marinero	1596-1597	yes		
Oliva	Juan de	marinero	1617	aviso		
Oliva	Juan	marinero	1635 and 1639-1640	yes		
Oliva	Pedro de	marinero	1615-1633	yes		
Oliva 2	Juan de	marinero	1622	yes		
Oliva 2	Pedro de	marinero	1628	yes		
Oliva 3	Pedro de	marinero	1633	yes		
Olivares	Pedro de	marinero and alguacil de agua	1608	aviso		
Olivaro	Pedro de	grumete español	1625	yes		
Olivera	Antonio de	piloto mayor and marinero	1614-1615	yes		
Olivera	Baltasar de	marinero	1610			discovery of las islas rico de plata y oro
Olivera	Gaspar de	marinero	1597	yes		
Olivera	Manuel de	marinero	1618	yes		
Olivera	Sebastian de	marinero	1608	yes		
Olivia	Bartolome de	marinero	1610	yes		
Ollero	Antonio	marinero, soldado, and contramaestre	1602-1603		Tehuantepec	discovery
Olmeda	Alonso de	marinero	1618	yes		
Olmos	Alonso de	marinero, alguacil real, and alferez	1626-1632	yes		
Olmos	Juan de	marinero	1608	yes		
Olobon	Juan	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Ome	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Ondarro	Santiago de	marinero	1592-1593	yes	yes	
Ondiz	Diego de	marinero, despensero, and contramaestre	1613-1615, 1621-1622, 1625, and 1628	yes		
Ondiz	Ventura de	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Onorato	Claudio	marinero	1596-1597	yes		
Orengan	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Orgaz	Juan de	marinero	1627 and 1632-1633	yes		

Ormundo	Bernardino de	artillero	1623	yes	
Oron	Agustin de	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Orrego	Diego de	marinero	1625-1634	yes	
Ortega	Agustin de	marinero	1613	yes	
Ortega	Gonzalo de	grumete español	1603	yes	
Ortega	Juan de	marinero	1622	yes	
Ortega	Melchor de	marinero	1611-1632	yes	
Ortigas	Jaime	marinero	1608	yes	
Ortino	Juan	grumete español	1596	yes	
Ortiz	Agustin	grumete indio	1611 and 1614-1615	yes	
Ortiz	Diego	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Ortiz	Gabriel	grumete español	1619	yes	
Ortiz	Gonzalo	marinero	1633	yes	
Ortiz	Joseph	marinero	1633	yes	
Ortiz	Juan	grumete español	1596	yes	
Ortiz	Marcos	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Ortiz	Martin	marinero	1621	yes	
Ortiz	Pedro	grumete español and grumete indio	1591 and 1610-1611	yes	
Ortiz	Phelipe	grumete indio	1615 and 1618	yes	
Ortiz 1	Francisco	marinero and artillero	1594-1598	yes	
Ortiz 2	Francisco	marinero and artillero	1594	yes	
Ortiz 2	Juan	marinero	1608	yes	
Ortiz 3	Francisco	marinero	1595-1596	yes	
Ortiz 3	Juan	marinero	1615	yes	
Ortiz 4	Francisco	marinero	1620 and 1622	yes	
Ortiz 5	Francisco	marinero	1629-1630	yes	
Ortiz de Carauz	Francisco	marinero	1595	yes	
Ortubia	Juan de	grumete español	1625	yes	
Osa	Luis	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Osorio	Benito	marinero	1594	yes	
Osorio	Juan	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Osorio 2	Juan	grumete español	1624	yes	
Ostriate	Sebastian de	marinero	1596	yes	

Osuna	Juan de	marinero	1632	yes		
Otaiza	Lazaro de	marinero	1621	yes		
Oviedo	Juan de	marinero	1620	yes		
Oyon	Andres	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Paala	Alonso	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Paandoc de Matia	Miguel	grumete indio	1593 and 1595	yes		
Pablillo		grumete indio	1595	yes		
Pablo	Damian	marinero	1632	yes		
Pablo	Juan	marinero	1615, 1618, and 1621	yes		
Pablo	Luis	marinero	1615 and 1621	yes		
Pablo	Nicolas	marinero, acompañado de piloto, and lombardero	1592-1597	yes	yes	
Pablo		grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Pablo 2	Juan	marinero	1633	yes		
Pacali	Alonso	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Pachala	Diego	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Pacheco	Francisco	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Pacheco	Gaspar	marinero	1592	yes		
Pacheco	Geronimo	marinero	1595	yes		
Pacheco	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1596 and 1603	yes		
Pacheco	Lorenzo	marinero and grumete indio	1608 and 1630-1632	yes		
Pacheco	Marcos	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Pacheco	Pedro	marinero	1623-1628	yes		
Pacheco	Simon	marinero	1619	yes		
Pacheco 2	Francisco	marinero	1628 and 1633	yes		
Padan	Antonio de	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Paderes	Alonso de	marinero	1640	yes		
Paez	Antonio	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Pagasilan	Tomas	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Pago	Miguel	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Pagote	Lucas	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Paguian	Agustin	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Paguihuan	Andres	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Paguinagun	Ambrosio	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Paguncan	Miguel	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		

Pagunota	Luis	grumete indio	1615 and 1623	yes	
Pahama	Andres	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes	
Paiba	Manuel de	marinero	1615	yes	
Pajare	Juan de	marinero	1591	yes	
Palaan	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Palaan Masa	Agustin	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Palabacan	Andres	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Palacio	Antonio	marinero	1615	yes	
Palacio 2	Pedro de	marinero	1617	yes	
Palacio 3	Pedro de	marinero	1625	yes	
Palacios	Diego de	marinero	1595	yes	
Palacios	Juan de	grumete español, artillero, and condestable	1608, 1614, 1618-1623, and 1629- 1630	yes	
Palancon	Agustin	grumete indio	1592	yes	
Palangan	Alonso	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes	
Palao	Juan	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Palathe		grumete indio	1595	yes	
Pales	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Palma	Alonso de	marinero	1624-1628 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Palma	Alonso dela	grumete español	1607	yes	
Palma	Gregorio de	marinero	1591	yes	
Palma	Juan de	marinero	1618	yes	
Palma		grumete español	1590-1592	yes	
Palma	Sebastian de	marinero	1614-1615 and 1618	yes	
Palmares	Luis de	marinero	1633	yes	
Palomino	Nicolas	grumete español	1618	yes	
Pampanga	Lucas de	grumete indio	1591	yes	
Pampanga	Martin	grumete indio	1598	yes	
Pampanga	Miguel	grumete indio	1601	yes	
Panal	Juan	marinero	1614-1615	yes	
Panalo	Andres	grumete indio	1598	yes	
Pancar	Juan de	marinero	1623-1632	yes	
Pando	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Panelan	Juan	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Panga	Diego	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	

Panganiban	Agustin	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Pano	Juan	grumete indio	1593-1595 and 1598- 1599	yes	
Panolot	Juan	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Pansuayan	Alonso	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Pantas	Alonso	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Paracol	Agustin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Paracol	Alonso	grumete indio	1595 and 1599-1600	yes	
Paracol	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes	
Parada	Juan de	marinero	1610-1611	yes	
Paramban	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Paran	Domingo	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Paranaque	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Paranaque	Andres de	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Paranaque	Cristobal de	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Paranaque	Juanes de	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Paranaque	Marcos	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Paranaque	Miguel	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Paranas	Agustin	grumete indio	1592-1594	yes	
Parandan	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Paranday	Miguel	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Parañaque	Duarte de	grumete español	1614-1615	yes	
Parañaque	Juan de	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Paraz	Alonso	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Parca	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Pardo	Manuel	marinero	1610	yes	
Paredes	Bartolome de	marinero	1596	yes	
Pariana	Juan	grumete indio	1621	yes	
Paris	Francisco	marinero	1595 and 1599	yes	
Parra	Juan dela	grumete español	1610	yes	
Pasaliga	Diego	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Pasco	Pablo	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Pascual	Domingo	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Pascual	Juan	marinero, calafate, grumete español, and segundo acompañado de piloto	1591-1595, 1597-1598, 1600, and 1602-1603	yes	discovery

Pascual 3	Juan	marinero	1615		Tehuantepec	
Paso	Andres	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Passagua	Agustin	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Passia	Francisco	grumete indio	1613-1615	yes		
Passiao	Andres	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Pastor	Domingo	marinero	1621	yes		
Patangui	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Patingan	Simon	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Patiño	Juan	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Patiño 2	Bartolome	alguacil de agua	1613	yes		
Patiño 2	Juan	grumete indio and guardianejo	1613 and 1624	yes		
Pay	Marcos	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Payna	Francisco	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Paz	Antonio de	marinero	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Paz	Francisco de	marinero	1618	yes		
Paz	Juan dela	grumete español	1622	S		
Paz	Lazaro dela	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Paz	Lazaro dela	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Pedraza	Juan de	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Pedro	Alberto	marinero	1597	yes		
Pedro	Andres de	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Pedro	Gaspar	marinero	1608	yes		
Pedro	Jorge	marinero	1596-1598	yes		
Pedro	Martin	marinero and cirujano	1615-1616	aviso		
Pedro	Nicolas de	marinero	1603	yes		
Pedro		grumete indio	1597	yes		
Pedro 2	Gaspar	marinero	1617-1618			Japan to Acapulco
Pedro Hernandez	Alonso	marinero	1624	yes		
Pelacio	Pedro de	marinero	1592	yes		
Pele	Lucas	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Peli	Agustin	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Pena	Andres dela	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Pena	Francisco dela	marinero	1612	yes		
Penalber	Gaspar de	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Peña	Juan dela	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Peña	Manuel dela	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		

Pequeno	Ambrosio	mozo and	1594 and	yes	
Peralta	Lorenzo de	marinero grumete indio	1596-1598 1622	VOC.	
Perdomo		Ü	1618	yes	
Perdomo	Juan	marinero	1018	yes	
Perea	Alvaro de	acompañado de piloto	1623	yes	
Perea	Bartolome de	marinero	1599	yes	
Peredo	Juan de	marinero and despensero	1618 and 1620	yes	
Peregrino	Vicente	marinero	1595	yes	
Pereira	Alberto	marinero	1612-1620	yes	
Pereira	Juan	marinero	1608	yes	
Perejon	Gabriel	marinero	1629 and 1633-1634	yes	
Pereyra	Luis	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Pereyra	Manuel	marinero	1600-1601, 1621, and 1623	yes	
Perez	Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Perez	Alejos	marinero	1593-1596	yes	
			1594-1595,		
Perez	Alonso	marinero	1597, and 1610-1611	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec
Perez	Andres	grumete español and marinero	1592-1593 and 1595- 1596	yes	
Perez	Anton	marinero	1590-1591 and 1595	yes	
Perez	Antonio	marinero	1596	yes	
Perez	Baltasar	marinero	1591	yes	
Perez	Bartolome	marinero	1593 and 1599	yes	
Perez	Bernabe	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Perez	Bernal	marinero	1603	yes	
Perez	Bernardo	alguacil de agua and marinero	1611 and 1615	yes	
Perez	Constantino	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1615, 1624, and 1635	yes	
Perez	Cristobal	marinero	1633	yes	
Perez	Diego	marinero	1594	yes	
Perez	Domingo	marinero, buzo, and grumete español	1608, 1612- 1618, and 1624	yes	
Perez	Elias	marinero	1591	yes	
Perez	Esteban	marinero	1594	yes	

		marinero,				
Perez	Francisco	lombardero, artillero, and grumete español	1591 and 1593-1600	yes		
Perez	Frauste	marinero	1596	yes		
Perez	Gonzalo	marinero	1593 and 1596	yes	yes	
Perez	Ignacio	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Perez	Jacome	marinero	1619-1620 and 1622- 1624	yes		
Perez	Jorge	marinero	1613	yes		
Perez	Juan	marinero and guardian	1592-1598	yes		
Perez	Jusepe	marinero	1601	yes		
Perez	Lorenzo	grumete español and marinero	1591 and 1595	yes		
Perez	Lucas	marinero, lombardero, and artillero	1594-1598 and 1601	yes		
Perez	Luis	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Perez	Manuel	marinero	1606-1608	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Perez	Marcos	marinero, artillero, and grumete español	1619 and 1621-1622	yes		
Perez	Martin	marinero and contramaestre	1611 and 1613	yes		
Perez	Mateo	marinero	1598-1599 and 1601	yes		
Perez	Melchor	marinero	1596	yes		
Perez	Miguel	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Perez	Nicolas	grumete español and marinero	1615 and 1618-1619	yes		
Perez	Paulo	marinero	1598	yes		
Perez	Pedro	guardian, artillero, and marinero	1595-1598	yes		
Perez	Rodrigo	marinero	1615	yes		
Perez	Roque	marinero	1615	yes		
Perez	Sebastian	marinero	1608	yes		
Perez	Sico	grumete indio	1595	yes		

Perez	Tomas	marinero	1592-1595 and 1597	yes		
Perez 2	Alonso	grumete español and marinero	1611, 1617, 1631, and 1633	yes		
Perez 2	Andres	guardian and marinero	1606-1607, 1610, and 1612-1620	yes		
Perez 2	Antonio	marinero	1607-1608	yes		
Perez 2	Bartolome	marinero	1623	yes		
Perez 2	Diego	grumete indio	1594 and 1615	yes		
Perez 2	Francisco	paje	1608	yes		
Perez 2	Juan	grumete indio	1620 and 1622	yes		
Perez 2	Lucas	marinero and artillero	1615-1616	aviso		
Perez 2	Luis	marinero	1633	yes		
Perez 2	Manuel	marinero	1611	yes		
Perez 2	Martin	grumete español	1624	yes		
Perez 2	Mateo	marinero	1615	yes		
Perez 2	Melchor	guardian and marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Perez 2	Miguel	marinero	1619	yes		
Perez 2	Pedro	marinero and artillero	1610-1619, 1622-1627, and 1632- 1633	yes		
Perez 2	Roque	grumete español	1625	yes		
Perez 2	Tomas	grumete español	1615	yes		
Perez 3	Alonso	grumete indio	1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Perez 3	Antonio	marinero	1612	yes		
Perez 3	Bartolome	marinero	1633	yes		
Perez 3	Diego	artillero and marinero	1616-1623, 1629, and 1632-1633	yes		
Perez 3	Domingo	guardian and marinero	1610-1612 and 1615- 1624	yes		
Perez 3	Francisco	marinero	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Perez 3	Geronimo	marinero	1615	yes	пашисрес	

Perez 3	Juan	grumete español	1601	yes	
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Perez 3	Lucas	marinero	1622	yes	
Perez 3	Manuel	marinero	1620	yes	
Perez 3	Miguel	grumete español	1625	yes	
Perez 3	Tomas	grumete español	1625	yes	
Perez 4	Antonio	marinero	1617-1618 and 1620		Japan to Acapulco
Perez 4	Domingo	marinero	1630-1632	yes	
Perez 4	Francisco	marinero	1616	yes	
Perez 4	Juan	grumete español and marinero	1615, 1620- 1621, 1623, and 1625- 1626	yes	
Perez 4	Lucas	marinero	1631	yes	
Perez 4	Manuel	marinero	1623-1624	yes	Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Perez 4	Miguel	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Perez 5	Antonio	marinero and despensero	1625 and 1630-1632	yes	
Perez 5	Domingo	marinero	1615-1621 and 1623- 1627	yes	
Perez 5	Francisco	marinero	1620	yes	
Perez 5	Juan	marinero and calafate	1632-1634	yes	
Perez 6	Antonio	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Perez 6	Francisco	marinero	1624	yes	
Perez 6	Juan	marinero	1638-1640	yes	
Perez 7	Antonio	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Perez 7	Francisco	marinero and calafate	1628-1629, 1632-1634, and 1639- 1640	yes	
Perez 8	Antonio	marinero and calafate	1633-1634	yes	
Perez 8	Francisco	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Perez Arragoces	Juan	marinero	1594	yes	
Perez Arragoces	Lucas	marinero	1600-1601	yes	
Perez Cadosso	Francisco	marineroa and lombardero	1591	yes	
Perez Castellon	Hernando	marinero	1596	yes	

Perez Chantada	Pedro	marinero	1633	yes		
Perez Coronado	Andres	marinero and artillero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Perez de Aranguren	Martin	artillero and marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Perez de Arteaga	Juan	marinero	1608 and 1612-1615	yes		
Perez de Ayamonte	Juan	marinero	1594	yes		
Perez de Castro	Francisco	marinero	1631	yes		
Perez de Dionisio	Lucas	marinero	1631 and 1633-1634	yes		
Perez de Leon	Hernan	marinero	1608	yes		
Perez de Lesa	Juan	marinero	1627-1631 and 1633- 1634	yes		
Perez de Miranda	Diego	marinero	1621	yes		
Perez de Olea	Juan	marinero	1592-1594, 1596, 1598, and 1615	yes		
Perez de Pastrana	Francisco	marinero	1624	yes		
Perez de Vargas	Alonso	marinero and artillero	1591-1593 and 1598- 1599	yes		
Perez de Villar	Juan	marinero	1630-1631 and 1633	yes		
Perez dela Calle	Juan	marinero	1619-1627	yes		
Perez Delacida	Luis	marinero	1611	yes		
Perez Delgado	Andres	marinero	1613	yes		
Perez El Mozo	Juan	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Perez Machado	Antonio	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Perez Machado	Thome	marinero	1594-1598	yes and aviso		
Perez Martin	Diego	marinero	1633	yes		
Perez Matusinos	Juan	marinero	1629-1631	yes		
Perez Moron	Juan	marinero	1607	yes		
Perez Pañero	Francisco	marinero	1625-1628	yes		
Perian	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Perico		grumete indio	1593-1594 and 1596	yes		
Perleque	Francisco	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Peroche	Domingo	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Perreira	Francisco de	marinero	1624	yes		

Perreira	Melchor	marinero	1629 and 1632-1633	yes		
Peten	Esteban	grumete español	1610	yes		
Petri	Ricarte	marinero	1621-1622	yes		
Phelipe	Antonio	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Phelipe	Diego	marinero	1621	yes		
Phelipe	Martin	marinero	1612-1615	yes		
Phelipe 2	Diego	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Piamonte	Antonio de	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Picazo	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1619-1626	yes		
Pico	Antonio	marinero	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Pico	Luis	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Pila	Francisco	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Pile	Diego	guardianejo	1619	yes		
Piloto	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Pimentel	Alonso	marinero	1592	yes		
Pimentel	Geronimo	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Pimentel	Sebastian	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Pinato	Alonso	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Pinato	Lorenzo	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Pineda	Juan de	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Pineda	Sebastian de	marinero	1619	yes		
Pineda	Sebastian	marinero	1610	yes		
Pinero	Antonio	marinero	1622-1628	yes		
Pinero	Juan	marinero and soldado	1601-1602			discovery
Pinero	Miguel	grumete indio	1602			discovery
Pinilla	Pedro dela	marinero	1623	yes		
Pino	Nicolas del	marinero	1624-1626	yes		
Pinsala	Leonardo de	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Pinsan	Agustin	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes		
Pinto	Bartolome	marinero	1610	yes		
Pinto Lascar	Juan	marinero	1594-1596 and 1599	yes		
Piñate	Cristobal	marinero	1592	yes		
Pipin	Bartolome	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Piru	Domingo de	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Pito	Desiderio	marinero	1591	yes		
Plagayan	Juan	grumete indio	1592-1594	yes		
Plano	Pedro	marinero	1624	yes		

Plapean	Nicolas	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Plata	Agustin de	marinero	1628	yes	
Plaza	Sancho dela	marinero	1593-1598	yes	
Pliego	Geronimo de	alguacil de agua and marinero	1616-1632	yes	
Poca	Pedro	grumete español	1600	yes	
Polay	Nicolas	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Poles	Rodrigo	marinero, maestre, and contramaestre	1600-1601	yes	
Polingao	Alonso	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Polivan	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Polo	Diego	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1602-1603, 1608, and 1611-1612	yes	
Polon	Agustin	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Ponce	Francisco	capitan y maestre and piloto mayor	1615	yes	
Ponce	Juan	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Ponglo	Bastian	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Pongon	Andres	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Ponit	Juan	guardianejo	1610-1611	yes	
Pontana	Juanes de	marinero	1590-1591	yes	
Popoy	Andres	grumete indio	1592	yes	
Poras	Pedro de	marinero	1623	yes	
Porras	Antonio de	marinero	1622	yes	
Posigue	Francisco	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Potol	Juan	grumete indio	1606-1607 and 1613	yes	
Potot	Cristobal	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Pressa	Juan dela	marinero	1632	yes	
Prieto	Agustin	marinero	1595	yes	
Prieto	Phelipe	grumete indio	1623	yes	Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Prieto	Simon	marinero	1608	yes	
Puca	Marcos	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Puerto	Alonso del	marinero	1620	yes	
Puerto	Benito de	marinero	1608	yes	
Puno	Gabriel	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Punzalan	Alonso	grumete indio and guardianejo	1610-1611 and 1613- 1615	yes	
Puri	Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	

Pusa	Alonso	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Pusa	Pedro	grumete indio	1599-1601	yes	
Quesada	Melchor de	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Quesada 2	Melchor de	grumete español and marinero	1624, 1626, 1628-1630, and 1632- 1633	yes	
Quevedo	Baltasar de	marinero	1628	yes	
Quiapo	Don Baltasar	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Quicat	Pedro	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Quijano	Francisco	marinero	1620	yes	
Quilala	Agustin	gente del real servicio, grumete indio, and guardianejo	1611-1613 and 1621	yes	
Quilala	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Quilala	Antonio	grumete indio	1610	yes	
Quilala	Juan	grumete indio	1619 and 1621	yes	
Quilala 2	Juan	carpintero indio	1619	yes	
Quilan	Luis	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Quinenque	Antonio	carpintero indio	1622	yes	
Quingan	Antonio	grumete indio	1610 and 1615	yes	
Quinit	Domingo	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Quinones	Dionisio de	marinero	1624	yes	
Quintana	Lorenzo de	marinero	1618	yes	
Quintanilla	Juan de	marinero	1622	yes	
Quintero	Gaspar	grumete español and marinero	1596 and 1598	yes	
Quintero	Gonzalo	marinero	1632	yes	
Quintero	Hernando	marinero	1592	yes	
Quintero	Sebastian	paje	1596	yes	
Quintero 2	Gonzalo	marinero	1639-1640	yes	
Quipo	Domingo	grumete indio	1614-1615 and 1617	yes and aviso	
Quiros	Bernardo de	grumete español	1610	yes	
Rabelo	Manuel	marinero	1628	yes	
Rable	Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Rada	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes	
Rafael	Tomas	marinero	1610	yes	

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Ramirez	Agustin	grumete español and marinero	1621 and 1633	yes		
Ramirez	Antonio	marinero	1607	yes		
Ramirez	Baltasar	grumete español	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Ramirez	Diego	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Ramirez	Francisco	grumete español	1597-1598	aviso		
Ramirez	Gaspar	guardian, marinero, and despensero	1590-1595	yes		
Ramirez	Joseph	grumete español	1608	yes		
Ramirez	Juan	marinero and cirujano	1618-1628 , 1630, and 1633	yes		
Ramirez	Lucas	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Ramirez	Luis	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Ramirez	Manuel	piloto mayor and marinero	1593 and 1596	yes	yes	
Ramirez	Miguel	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Ramirez	Pedro	marinero and artillero	1615, 1617- 1618, 1622, and 1625	yes		
Ramirez 2	Gaspar	marinero	1615	yes		
Ramirez 2	Juan	marinero	1628	yes		
Ramirez 2	Pedro	grumete español	1622	yes		
Ramirez 3	Pedro	marinero	1633	yes		
Ramirez de Chavez	Juan	capitan y maestre, marinero, and acompañado de piloto	1594-1595	yes		
Ramirez de Vargas	Sebastian	artillero	1633	yes		
Ramirez Pardo	Pedro	marinero	1619	yes		
Ramiro	Pedro	marinero, cirujano, and barbero y cirujano	1608 and 1610-1611	yes		
Ramos	Alonso	grumete español	1596	yes		

Ramos	Amaro	contramaestre	1618-1619, 1622, and 1628-1630	yes		
Ramos	Andres	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Ramos	Antonio	marinero	1617	yes		
Ramos	Bartolome	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Ramos	Diego	marinero and artillero	1595	yes		
Ramos	Domingo	marinero	1594, 1597- 1598, 1600, and 1603	yes and aviso		
Ramos	Esteban	marinero, piloto mayor, and capitan	1629, 1632- 1633, 1636- 1637, 1642- 1645, and 1648-1653	yes		
Ramos	Francisco	buzo, marinero, and grumete indio	1613-1615 and 1622	yes		
Ramos	Gaspar	marinero	1591-1594	yes		
Ramos	Joseph	grumete español	1631	yes		
Ramos	Juan	marinero and grumete español	1599-1601 and 1624	yes		
Ramos	Luis	grumete español	1590-1591	yes		
Ramos	Marcos	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Ramos	Marcos	marinero	1612	yes		
Ramos 2	Amaro	marinero	1607, 1611- 1612, and 1615-1616	yes		
Ramos 2	Antonio	grumete español	1622	yes		
Ramos 2	Domingo	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Ramos 2	Gaspar	marinero	1594	yes		
Ramos 2	Marcos	contramaestre	1619	yes		
Ramos 3	Amaro	marinero and guardian	1627-1630	yes		
Rangel	Antonio	marinero	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Rangel 2	Antonio	marinero	1614-1615	yes	1 C1 U	
Rasina	Pedro de	marinero	1601	yes		
Raudon	Antonio de	marinero	1624	yes		
Ravelo	Gaspar	grumete español	1620	yes		
Ravelo	Geronimo	marinero	1625	yes		

Ravelo	Manuel	marinero	1625 and 1627-1628	yes	
Ravelo 2	Manuel	marinero	1633	yes	
Raya	Antonio	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Raymundo	Antonio	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Razon	Miguel	contramaestre	1601	yes	
Rea	Francisco dela	marinero	1622	yes	
Real	Martin de	marinero	1615	yes	
Real	Martin	marinero and guardian	1624-1632	yes	
Reano	Marcos	grumete español	1624	yes	
Redondo	Juan de	marinero	1623	yes	
Regbero	Francisco	grumete español	1615	yes	
Rejas	Juan de	marinero	1628	yes	
Rello	Geronimo	marinero	1618	yes	
Rendon	Alonso	marinero and gente del real servicio	1618-1624 and 1628- 1630	yes	
Renolo	Geronimo	marinero	1628	yes	
Rentena	Francisco de	marinero	1619	yes	
Reyesna	Sancho de	marinero	1599	yes	
Restan	Bernardo	marinero	1616-1618	yes	
Restan	Bernardino	marinero	1618, 1624, 1628-1630, and 1632- 1633	yes	
Retana	Juan de	marinero	1633	yes	
Reten	Antonio	marinero	1619	yes	
Reten	Juan de	marinero	1618 and 1633	yes	
Reyes	Antonio delos	marinero	1624	yes	
Reyes	Antonio delos	marinero	1623		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Reyes	Baltasar delos	marinero	1614-1619	yes	
Reyes	Cristobal delos	marinero and soldado	1602-1603		discovery
Reyes	Diego delos	grumete español	1618	yes	
Reyes	Francisco de	marinero	1623	yes	
Reyes	Gaspar delos	marinero	1591-1593	yes	1
Reyes	Ignacio delos	marinero	1623		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil

Reyes	Juan delos	grumete español	1612	yes		
Reyes	Mateo delos	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Reyes	Mateo	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Reyes	Melchor delos	marinero	1606-1608	yes		
Reyes	Pablo delos	despensero and marinero	1594-1595	<u> </u>	Sonsonate	
Reyes	Pascual delos	marinero	1633	yes		
Reyes	Vicente delos	marinero	1597	yes		
Reyes 2	Baltasar delos	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Reyes 2	Gaspar delos	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Reyes 2	Melchor delos	marinero and grumete español	1621 and 1623	yes		
Reyes 3	Gaspar delos	marinero	1615	yes		
Reyes 3	Melchor delos	marinero	1627-1632	yes		
Reyes 4	Gaspar delos	marinero	1622, 1625- 1627, 1629- 1631, and 1633-1634	yes		
Reyes 4	Melchor delos	grumete español	1623	yes		
Reyes de Acosta	Juan	marinero	1610			discovery of las islas rico de plata y oro
Rezon	Agustin	marinero	1597-1598	yes		
Rialde	Hernando	marinero	1619	yes		
Ribao	Antonio	marinero	1617-1618			Japan to Acapulco
Ribera	Pablo de	grumete indio	1633	yes		rieupuico
Ribero	Manuel	marinero	1633	yes		
Ribero	Pablo	marinero	1600	yes		
Ricalde	Andres de	marinero	1610-1611	yes		
Ricalde 2	Andres de	marinero and grumete español	1632-1633 and 1639-140	yes		
Ricalde El Viejo	Andres de	marinero	1633	yes		
Ricardo	Ambrosio	marinero and buzo	1615 and 1618	yes		
Ricardo	Andres	marinero	1608	yes		
Ricardo	Jacome	marinero	1595	yes		
Ricardo	Juan de	marinero	1603	yes		
Ricardo	Tomas	marinero	1623	yes		
Richarte	Roberto	marinero	1619	yes		
Rigo	Geronimo	marinero	1608	yes		

Rijo	Domingo	marinero	1596	yes		
Rincon	Francisco	marinero	1595	yes		
Rio	Alonso del	marinero	1620-1623, 1625-1628, and 1632- 1633	yes		
Rio	Lucas del	marinero	1628 and 1630-1631	yes		
Rio	Pedro del	marinero	1622	yes		
Rios	Francisco delos	marinero	1600	yes		
Rios	Guillermo delos	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Rios	Hernando del	marinero	1594-1595		Sonsonate	
Rios	Sebastian delos	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Rios Marmero	Guillermo delos	marinero	1615	yes		
Riso	Geronimo	marinero	1619	yes		
Riva	Juan de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Rivas	Diego de	marinero and artillero	1621-1623 and 1632- 1633	yes		
Rivas	Domingo de	marinero	1622-1626	yes		
Rivas	Jaime de	marinero	1610-1612	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Rivera	Antonio de	marinero and grumete indio	1630-1631 and 1633	yes		
Rivera	Bernardino de	marinero	1628 and 1633	yes		
Rivera	Francisco de	grumete español	1594	yes		
Rivera	Gaspar de	marinero	1607	yes		
Rivera	Manuel de	marinero	1610-1611		Zacatula	
Rivera	Mateo de	calafate and marinero	1613	yes		
Rivera 2	Bernardino de	marinero	1628	yes		
Rivera 2	Francisco de	grumete español and marinero	1618 and 1621	yes		
Rivero	Antonio	marinero	1608 and 1621	yes		
Rivero	Paulo	marinero	1601	yes		
Rivero	Sebastian	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Riveros	Antonio de	marinero	1611	yes		
Riveros	Francisco	marinero	1635 and 1639-1640	yes		

Riveros	Juan	marinero and cabo de escuadron	1602, 1615- 1633	yes		discovery
Rizo	Bartolome	marinero	1596-1597 and 1600	yes and aviso		
Roberto	Anton	marinero	1591	yes		
Roberto	Michael	marinero	1613	yes		
Roberto	Miguel	marinero	1611-1615	yes		
Robles	Alonso de	marinero	1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Robles	Estefano	guardian and marinero	1631 and 1633	yes		
Robles	Geronimo de	grumete español	1600	yes		
Robles	Juan de	grumete español	1613	yes		
Roca	Pedro de	marinero and artillero	1595-1596	yes		
Roca Bruna	Juan de	marinero	1597	yes		
Rocas	Alonso de	marinero	1592	yes		
Rocha	Diego dela	marinero	1611	yes		
Rocha	Gaspar de	marinero and guardian	1592-1594	yes		
Rodas	Juan de	carpintero and marinero	1590-1591 and 1600	yes		
Rodriguez	Alonso	grumete español	1595 and 1599	yes		
Rodriguez	Amaro	guardian and marinero	1628, 1630, 1632-1633, and 1639	yes		
Rodriguez	Ambrosio	marinero	1594	yes		
Rodriguez	Andres	marinero	1597	yes		
Rodriguez	Antonio	piloto mayor	1592-1595	yes		
Rodriguez	Asencio	marinero and calafate	1611-1612, 1616, and 1622	yes		
Rodriguez	Baltasar	marinero	1610-1611	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Rodriguez	Bartolome	marinero	1591 and 1594-1595	yes and aviso		
Rodriguez	Benito	marinero	1594	yes		
Rodriguez	Cristobal	marinero, soldado, contramaestre, and artillero	1592-1593, 1595, 1600- 1603, 1607, 1610-1615, and 1617- 1619	yes	Acapulco to Peru	discovery

Rodriguez	Diego	marinero	1611 and 1615	yes		
Rodriguez	Estacio	marinero	1615	yes		
Rodriguez	Esteban	maestre, acompañado de piloto, acompañado de piloto, piloto, and marinero	1601-1602 and 1610- 1611		Zacatula	discovery; Japan
Rodriguez	Francisco	marinero, grumete español, and despensero	1591 and 1594-1600	yes		
Rodriguez	Gaspar	marinero	1610-1615	yes		
Rodriguez	Geronimo	marinero and maestre	1597, 1599, and 1601	yes		
Rodriguez	Gonzalo	marinero	1615	yes		
Rodriguez	Guillermo	marinero	1598 and 1608	yes		
Rodriguez	Hernando	acompañado de piloto, marinero, and acompañado de contramaestre	1593-1595	yes		
Rodriguez	Jacome	marinero	1593-1597 and 1600- 1601	yes		
Rodriguez	Juan	guardian, buzo, marinero, artillero, and carpintero	1610-1617, 1620-1621, 1623-1628, 1632-1633, and 1635	yes and aviso		
Rodriguez	Lorenzo	gente del real servicio	1601 and 1603	yes		
Rodriguez	Marcos	marinero	1591 and 1620	yes		
Rodriguez	Martin	marinero, artillero, and condestable	1594-1597 and 1599- 1600	yes		
Rodriguez	Mateo	marinero	1615		Tehuantepec	
Rodriguez	Matias	marinero	1614-1615	yes		
Rodriguez	Miguel	marinero and artillero	1623-1632	yes		_
Rodriguez	Nicolas	marinero	1593-1600	yes and aviso		
Rodriguez	Pablo	marinero	1613 and 1615	yes		

Rodriguez	Pedro	grumete español	1596 and 1598	yes		
Rodriguez	Simon	marinero	1632	yes		
Rodriguez	Vicencio	marinero	1633	yes		
Rodriguez 1	Juan	grumete español	1594	yes		
Rodriguez 1	Manuel	marinero and barbero y cirujano	1592-1596	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Ambrosio	paje	1594	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Andres	grumete español	1601	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Antonio	marinero	1600	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Bartolome	marinero	1613	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Diego	marinero	1622	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Francisco	marinero	1615, 1617- 1628, and 1633	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Geronimo	marinero	1629	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Gonzalo	marinero	1620	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Hernando	marinero	1631	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Jacome	grumete español and marinero	1620-1628 and 1633	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Juan	paje	1594	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Juan	guardianejo	1632	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Manuel	grumete español	1596	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Martin	marinero	1619	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Miguel	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Nicolas	marinero and alguacil de agua	1597-1598	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Nicolas	marinero	1613-1615 and 1617- 1618	yes	Tehuantepec	
Rodriguez 2	Pablo	marinero	1615	yes		
Rodriguez 2	Pedro	marinero and calafate	1614-1627	yes and aviso		
Rodriguez 3	Andres	marinero	1632	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Antonio	marinero	1606-1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Rodriguez 3	Bartolome	marinero	1632	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Diego	marinero and cabo de obra de calafate	1628-1633	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Francisco	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Geronimo	marinero	1633	yes		

Rodriguez 3	Juan	marinero	1596-1597	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Manuel	marinero	1615	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Martin	grumete indio	1625 and 1633	yes		
Rodriguez 3	Pedro	marinero	1620-1623 and 1625	yes		
Rodriguez 4	Antonio	marinero, condestable, and calafate	1613, 1615, 1619-1623, and 1625- 1633	yes		
Rodriguez 4	Diego	grumete español	1615	yes		
Rodriguez 4	Francisco	marinero	1606-1608	yes		
Rodriguez 4	Juan	marinero	1597	yes		
Rodriguez 4	Manuel	marinero	1619-1628, 1631, and 1633	yes		
Rodriguez 4	Pedro	marinero	1629, 1631, and 1633- 1634	yes		
Rodriguez 5	Antonio	marinero	1630-1632	yes		
Rodriguez 5	Francisco	marinero and buzo	1614-1619	yes		
Rodriguez 5	Manuel	marinero	1624, 1626- 1633, and 1635	yes		
Rodriguez 5	Pedro	marinero	1615	yes		
Rodriguez 6	Francisco	marinero and calafate	1622-1628 and 1631- 1634	yes		
Rodriguez 7	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes		
Rodriguez 8	Francisco	marinero and artillero	1606-1608	yes and aviso	Acapulco to Peru	
Rodriguez Avego	Hernando	marinero	1612, 1614- 1616	yes		
Rodriguez Bala	Simon	marinero	1623	yes		
Rodriguez Bejil	Francisco	marinero	1621	yes		
Rodriguez Boto	Manuel	marinero	1591-1593	yes		
Rodriguez Correa	Antonio	calafate and marinero	1603 and 1613	yes		
Rodriguez de Acosta	Juan	marinero	1607 and 1610	yes and aviso		
Rodriguez de Acosta	Miguel	marinero	1622	yes		
Rodriguez de Cadiz	Pedro	marinero	1633	yes		

Rodriguez de Camora	Juan	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Rodriguez de Ciquenca	Martin	marinero and acompañado de piloto	1619 and 1628-1630	yes	
Rodriguez de Lopez	Juan	marinero	1613	yes	
Rodriguez de Minaya	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes	
Rodriguez de Porto	Juan	marinero	1591	yes	
Rodriguez de Sevilla	Juan	marinero	1632	yes	
Rodriguez Ferreini	Jorge	marinero	1633	yes	
Rodriguez Flores	Diego	grumete español	1622	yes	
Rodriguez Lascar	Diego	marinero	1594	aviso	
Rodriguez Portugues	Juan	marinero	1592-1593	yes	
Rodriguez Sequera	Juan	marinero	1633	yes	
Rodriguez Vellido	Juan	marinero	1592-1595	yes	
Rodriquez	Domingo	marinero and soldado	1601-1602		discovery
Rodriquez	Melchor	marinero	1600	yes	
Rodriquez	Salvador	marinero	1619	yes	
Rodriquez	Sebastian	marinero	1594	yes	
Rodriquez 2	Domingo	marinero	1608 and 1610	yes	
Rodriquez 2	Sebastian	grumete español	1594	yes	
Rodriquez 3	Domingo	marinero	1615	yes	
Rodriquez 3	Sebastian	marinero	1608	yes	
Rodriquez 4	Domingo	marinero	1631	yes	
Rodriquez 4	Sebastian	marinero and artillero	1613 and 1615	yes	
Rodriquez Gallego	Domingo	marinero	1612	yes	
Roguero	Miguel	marinero and guardian	1619 and 1622	yes	
Rojas	Alonso de	marinero	1619	yes	
Rojas	Juan de	marinero and artillero	1592-1593 and 1598	yes	

Rojo	Antonio	marinero	1608 and 1611	yes	
Rojo	Hernandez	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Rollon	Domingo	marinero	1626	yes	
Rolon	Francisco	marinero, contramaestre, acompañado de contramestre, artillero, and maestre	1590-1595, 1597-1601, and 1606- 1607	yes and aviso	
Rolon	Gaspar	marinero	1606-1607	yes	
Rolon	Vicente	marinero	1624	yes	
Roman	Antonio	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Roman	Diego	marinero	1633-1634	yes	
Roman	Juan	marinero and soldado	1602-1603		discovery
Roman	Martin	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Roman	Tomas	marinero	1612-1615	yes	
Romanico	Francisco	despensero and marinero	1630 and 1633	yes	
Romero	Blas	marinero	1594-1595 and 1598	yes and aviso	
Romero	Cristobal	marinero	1595-1596	yes	
Romero	Diego	marinero	1632	yes	
Romero	Francisco	marinero	1626 and 1628-1632	yes	
Romero	Hernando	grumete español	1598	yes	
Romero	Juan	grumete español	1600	yes	
Romero	Lorenzo	marinero	1613-1619 and 1625- 1626	yes	
Romero	Pedro	marinero	1632	yes	
Romero	Vicente	marinero	1592-1593, 1596, and 1598	yes	
Romero 2	Francisco	marinero	1592	yes	
Romero 2	Juan	marinero	1608	yes	
Romero 3	Francisco	grumete español, marinero, and guardian	1614-1616	yes	
Romero 3	Juan	artillero	1618	yes	

Romero 4	Juan	marinero, artillero, tonelero, and alguacil de agua	1633 and 1635	yes	
Roncesvalles	Juan de	grumete español	1624	yes	
Roque	Antonio	marinero	1620	yes	
Roque	Esteban	marinero	1624	yes	
Roque	Francisco	marinero	1626	yes	
Rosa	Alberto dela	marinero	1616-1628	yes	
Rosa	Manuel dela	marinero	1615	yes	
Rosa	Pedro dela	contramaestre and marinero	1594 and 1596	yes	
Rosa 3	Pedro dela	marinero	1619	yes	
Roso	Esteban	artillero	1601	yes	
Rossal	Pedro del	marinero	1631	yes	
Rostro	Pedro de	marinero	1610	yes	
Rotoan	Agustin	grumete indio	1620	yes	
Roxas	Alexandro de	grumete indio	1623	yes	Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Rozel	Francisco	marinero	1628	yes	
Ruan	Miguel	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Ruano	Diego	marinero	1598	yes	
Rubio	Silvestre	marinero	1608, 1611, and 1613	yes	
Rueda	Juan de	marinero	1598	yes	
Ruiz	Anton	marinero	1615-1616	yes	
Ruiz	Antonio	marinero	1628	yes	
Ruiz	Bartolome	marinero and artillero	1616-1618, 1628-1632, and 1634- 1635	yes	
Ruiz	Diego	marinero	1620	yes	
Ruiz	Francisco	marinero	1614-1618 and 1622	yes	
Ruiz	Juan	grumete español	1591-1597	yes and aviso	
Ruiz	Luis	marinero and soldado	1602-1603		discovery
Ruiz	Marcos	grumete español	1628	yes	
Ruiz	Mateo	marinero	1623-1632, 1634, and 1639-1640	yes	
Ruiz	Sebastian	marinero	1591-1595	yes	

Ruiz 2	Diego	carpintero indio and grumete indio	1615-1616, 1627-1628, and 1633	yes	
Ruiz 2	Juan	capitan y maestre	1615	yes	
Ruiz 2	Mateo	marinero	1628	yes	
Ruiz 3	Juan	marinero	1625 and 1628-1631	yes	
Ruiz de Abendano	Diego	marinero and grumete español	1615 and 1618-1631	yes	
Ruiz de Peña	Miguel	marinero, soldado, and	1602-1603		discovery
Ruiz Franco	Francisco	carpintero	1619	yes	
Ruiz Quijada	Juan	marinero	1598 and 1600	yes	
Ruxo	Diego	marinero	1608	aviso	
Saa	Lope de	marinero	1633	yes	
Saavedra	Diego de	marinero	1615	yes	
Sabe	Agustin	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	
Sabicaya	Diego	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	
Saboay	Diego	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes	
Saboyano	Roberto	marinero	1596	yes	
Sacar	Feliz	marinero	1626, 1629- 1630, and 1632-1633	yes	
Saco	Nicolas	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Sacopan	Andres	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1611-1612	yes	
Sago de Gonzalo	Simon	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Sagoan	Antonio	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Saguran	Juan	grumete indio	1603	yes	
Salacut	Agustin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Salamanca	Francisco de	marinero	1627-1628	yes	
Salamanca	Francisco	marinero	1628	yes	
Salamanca 2	Francisco de	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Salamat	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Salami	Miguel	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Salan	Luis	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Salancan	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Salangan	Pablo	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Salas	Antonio de	marinero	1633-1634	yes	
Salas	Francisco dela	marinero	1615	yes	

Salas	Juan de	marinero	1632	yes	
Salazar	Antonio de	grumete español and marinero	1619, 1625- 1626, and 1629-1630	yes	
Salazar	Diego de	marinero	1595-1596	yes	
Salazar	Don Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Salazar	Hernando de	marinero	1601	yes	
Salazar	Juan de	marinero	1592-1595	yes	
Salazar	Miguel de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Salazar	M.or	marinero	1612	yes	
Salazar	Pedro de	marinero	1626	yes	
Salazar 2	Juan de	grumete español	1631	yes	
Salcedo	Domingo de	grumete español	1622	yes	
Saldaña	Juan de	marinero	1594	yes	
Saldaña 2	Juan de	marinero	1631	yes	
Saldivar	Gabriel de	grumete español and marinero	1596 and 1598	yes	
Salengo	Alonso	grumete español	1621	yes	
Salgado	Lorenzo	marinero	1632	yes	
Salinas	Alonso de	marinero	1623	yes	
Salinas	Andres	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Salinas	Diego de	marinero	1594	yes	
Salinco	Pedro	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Salit	Bartolome	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Salmon	Domingo	marinero and grumete español	1622-1623	yes	
Saloma	Juan de	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Salomac	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Salome	Agustin	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Salto	Pedro de	marinero	1598-1599	yes	
Salvador	Cristobal	marinero	1633	yes	
Salvador	Francisco	marinero	1595	yes	
Salvador	Juan	marinero	1619-1620	yes	
Salvador	Miguel	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Salvador	Pedro	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Salvador	Simon	grumete indio	1625	yes	
Salvatierra	Bartolome de	marinero	1618	yes	
Samuel	Jusepe	grumete indio	1617	yes	

San Custe	Esteban de	marinero	1596	yes		
San Lorenzo	Bernardo de	grumete indio	1619	yes		
San Pedro	Antonio	marinero	1624	yes		
San Pedro	Nicolas	grumete español	1624	yes		
Sanantan	Andres	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Sanao	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Sanao	Agustin	grumete indio	1596	yes		
Sancay	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Sanchez	Alonso	marinero	1593 and 1595-1596	yes	yes	
Sanchez	Andres	escribano, marinero, and grumete español	1592-1594, 1596, 1598, 1602-1603 and 1606- 1607	yes		discovery
Sanchez	Antonio	grumete español	1632	yes		
Sanchez	Benito	grumete español	1596	yes		
Sanchez	Damian	grumete español	1591	yes		
Sanchez	Diego	grumete español and paje	1590-1591 and 1595	yes		
Sanchez	Domingo	grumete español	1623 and 1633	yes		
Sanchez	Gaspar	marinero	1615	yes		
Sanchez	Juan	marinero	1594	aviso		
Sanchez	Lucas	grumete español	1610	yes		
Sanchez	Luis	grumete español and marinero	1590-1594 and 1597	yes		
Sanchez	Martin	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Sanchez	Mateo	marinero	1594-1596 and 1600	yes		
Sanchez	Miguel	grumete español and marinero	1598 and 1600	yes		
Sanchez	Pablo	marinero	1620	yes		
Sanchez	Pedro	marinero	1615	yes		
Sanchez	Roman	marinero	1593-1596	yes		
Sanchez 1	Cristobal	tonelero and marinero	1595-1597	yes		
Sanchez 1	Francisco	carpintero	1590-1591	yes		

Sanchez 1	Juan	marinero	1594-1595	yes		
Sanchez 10	Francisco	marinero	1608	yes		
Sanchez 2	Cristobal	marinero	1612-1614	yes		
Sanchez 2	Diego	marinero	1615	yes		
Sanchez 2	Francisco	grumete español	1590-1593 and 1595	yes		
Sanchez 2	Juan	marinero	1595	yes		
Sanchez 2	Luis	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Sanchez 2	Martin	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Sanchez 2	Pedro	marinero	1623			Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Sanchez 3	Cristobal	buzo, marinero, contramaestre, despensero, and capitan y maestre	1613-1615, 1617-1618, 1622-1623, and 1626- 1627	yes		
Sanchez 3	Diego	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Sanchez 3	Francisco	marinero	1594	yes		
Sanchez 3	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615 and 1617	yes		
Sanchez 3	Martin	marinero	1624	yes		
Sanchez 3	Pedro	grumete español	1628	yes		
Sanchez 4	Cristobal	marinero	1632	yes		
Sanchez 4	Diego	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Sanchez 4	Francisco	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Sanchez 4	Juan	marinero	1599	yes		
Sanchez 5	Francisco	grumete español and marinero	1615 and 1618-1620	yes		
Sanchez 5	Juan	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Sanchez 6	Francisco	marinero	1624	yes		
Sanchez 6	Juan	marinero and calafate	1612 and 1615	yes		
Sanchez 7	Francisco	marinero	1632	yes		
Sanchez 7	Juan	marinero and grumete español	1620-1622	yes		
Sanchez 8	Francisco	marinero	1615	yes		
Sanchez 8	Juan	marinero	1628	yes		
Sanchez 9	Francisco	marinero	1624	yes		
Sanchez Andayde	Gabriel	marinero and artillero	1595-1596	yes		

Sanchez Carrasco	Alonso	marinero	1624 and 1634-1635	yes		
Sanchez Chamorro	Pedro	marinero	1618	yes		
Sanchez de Basa	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Sanchez de Santos	Martin	marinero	1623	yes		
Sanchez Flores	Mateo	marinero and artillero	1629 and 1633-1634	yes		
Sanchez Montano	Juan	grumete español	1595	yes		
Sandal	Andres	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Sandali	Miguel	grumete indio	1611-1612	yes		
Sandan	Esteban	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Sandata	Alonso	grumete indio	1594-1595 and 1597	yes		
Sande	Francisco de	marinero	1620	yes		
Sandel	Diego de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Sandoval	Manuel de	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Sandre	Juana de	marinero	1591	yes		
Sangalan	Juan	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Sangual	Juan	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Sanlan	Alonso	grumete indio	1610	yes		
Sanqueto	Antonio	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Santaana	Cristobal de	marinero	1606-1607	yes		
Santacruz	Juan de	marinero	1621	yes		
Santamaria	Blas de	marinero	1624	yes		
Santamaria	Gregorio	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Santiago	Diego de	marinero	1618	yes		
Santiago	Diego	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Santiago	Francisco de	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Santiago	Juan de	grumete español	1622	yes		
Santiago	Mateo de	grumete español	1620	yes		
Santiago	Phelipe de	escribano, marinero, and soldado	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	discovery
Santiago	Salvador de	marinero	1624	yes		
Santibañez	Domingo de	marinero	1608	yes		
Santillan	Alonso de	marinero	1592	yes		
Santillan	Alonso	grumete español	1591	yes		
Santos	Domingo delos	marinero	1623	yes		

Santos	Juan delos	marinero	1631-1632, 1634-1635, and 1639- 1640	yes	
Santos	Pedro delos	marinero	1629	yes	
Santos 2	Pedro delos	marinero	1639-1640	yes	
Santoyo	Pedro de	grumete español	1612	yes	
Sao	Agustin	grumete indio	1602-1603		discovery
Sao	Gaspar	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Sapola	Juan	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Saque	Diego	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Saque	Pablo	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1611-1612	yes	
Saquel	Juan	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1610-1613	yes	
Sara	Francisco de	grumete español	1594-1595	yes	
Sara	Pedro de	grumete indio and marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Sarambao	Agustin	grumete indio	1610	yes	discovery
Sarandon	Sebastian de	marinero	1620	yes	
Sarapi	Alonso	grumete indio	1598-1600	yes	
Sardinas	Cristobal	grumete español	1622	yes	
Sargento	Hernando	marinero	1596	yes	
Sari	Antonio	grumete indio	1592	yes	
Sari	Diego	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Sari	Francisco	grumete indio	1595 and 1597	yes	
Sarit	Francisco	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Sava	Pablo	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Savalo	Juan	marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Savar	Lucas de	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Savi	Francisco	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Savile	Pedro	marinero	1592	yes	
Sayas	Agustin de	grumete indio	1632	yes	
Sayat	Antonio	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Sebastiano	Diego	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Sedano	Juan	marinero	1617	yes	
Sedeno	Pablo	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Seguera	Gaspar de	marinero	1628 and 1630-1633	yes	

Segui	Juan de	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Segundo	Juan	marinero	1620	yes		
Semiliano	Marcos	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Sena	Andres de	marinero	1590-1591 and 1595- 1597	yes		
Senedo	Francisco	grumete español	1611	yes		
Senyesgui	Francisco	grumete indio	1593 and 1595	yes		
Sequeira	Gonzalo de	grumete español and marinero	1621, 1625- 1626, and 1629-1630	yes		
Sequel	Andres	grumete indio	1619	yes		
Sequera	Domingo de	marinero	1633	yes		
Sequera	Manuel de	marinero	1622 and 1628-1631	yes		
Serrano	Agustin	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Serrano	Anton	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Serrano	Antonio	grumete español and marinero	1608 and 1610	yes		
Serrano	Diego	grumete español	1591-1592 and 1595	yes		
Serrano	Francisco	marinero	1619	yes		
Serrano 2	Antonio	marinero	1623	yes		
Servian	Miguel	grumete indio	1597	yes		
Servicial	Bonifacio	marinero	1618	yes		
Sestayo	Juan de	marinero	1618	yes		
Siba	Cristobal	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Sibua	Juan de	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Sierra	Antonio de	grumete español and marinero	1623 and 1633	yes		
Sierra	Domingo de	soldado and marinero	1602-1603			discovery
Sierra	Martin	marinero	1601	yes		
Sigua	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Sigue	Juan	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Siguri	Bartolome dela	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Silieca	Martin de	marinero	1621 and 1624	yes		
Silva	Anton de	grumete indio	1601-1602		Realejo to Acapulco	
Silva	Antonio de	grumete indio	1602-1603	yes		discovery
Silva	Diego de	marinero	1633	yes		

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Silva	Francisco de	marinero	1611 and 1613-1615	yes		
Silva	Hernando de	marinero	1625	yes		
Silva	Juan de	grumete español	1595	yes		
Silva	Manuel de	marinero	1607 and 1625	yes		
Silva	Sebastian de	marinero	1625	yes		
Silva 2	Antonio de	marinero	1619	yes		
Silva 2	Juan de	marinero	1621	yes		
Silva 3	Antonio de	marinero	1632-1633	yes		
Silva 3	Juan de	marinero	1633-1634	yes		
Simeon	Andres	marinero	1598 and 1600-1601	yes		
Simon	Francisco	grumete indio	1608-1609	yes		
Simon	Hernando	marinero	1611-1616	yes		
Simon	Marcos	marinero	1608	yes		
Simon	Mateo	marinero	1608	yes		
Simon	Nicolas	marinero and maestre	1590-1591 and 1599- 1601	yes		
Simon de Silva	Cristobal	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Simonillo		paje	1594	yes		
Simunay	Pedro	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Sincaba	Francisco	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Sinsar	Alonso	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Sipres	Ambrosio	marinero	1619	yes		
Sirao	Alonso	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Sobuco	Agustin	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Socama	Alonso	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Socote	Manuel	marinero	1629 and 1632-1633	yes		
Solas	Antonio de	marinero	1633	yes		
Soler	Agustin	grumete indio	1614	yes		
Soler	Bernardo	marinero	1622	yes		
Soli	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Solian	Juan de	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Solis	Alonso de	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Solis	Luis	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Solomon	Domingo	marinero	1594	yes		
Solon	Alonso	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		
Solorzano	Domingo de	marinero	1632	yes		
Solorzano	Gaspar	paje	1596	yes		

Solvian	Miguel	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Somey	Alonso	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Son	Juan	marinero	1596	yes		
Sonquit	Juan	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Sopel	Juan	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Sopol	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Sosa	Alvaro de	marinero	1592-1595	yes		
Sosa	Bartolome de	marinero	1624	yes		
Sosa	Esteban de	marinero	1593	yes		
Sosa	Gaspar de	marinero	1630-1632	yes		
Sosa	Gregorio de	marinero	1620	yes		
Sosa	Manuel de	grumete español and marinero	1595 and 1599-1601	yes		
Sosa	Miguel de	marinero	1592 and 1595	yes		
Sosa	Vicente de	marinero	1594 and 1597-1598	yes		
Sosa 2	Manuel de	marinero and guardian	1616-1620	yes		
Sosa 2	Miguel de	marinero	1613-1616	yes		
Sosa 3	Manuel de	marinero	1629	yes		
Sosa 4	Manuel de	marinero	1633	yes		
Sosa 5	Manuel de	marinero and grumete español	1612-1621 and 1623	yes		Calif/San Luc/Aviso to Phil
Soto	Alonso de	calafate and marinero	1595-1596, 1598, and 1600	yes		
Soto	Diego de	grumete español	1623	yes		
Sotomayor	Pedro de	marinero	1598	yes		
Sotto	Alonso	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Sual	Juan	grumete indio	1593, 1595- 1597, and 1603	yes		
Suarez	Alonso	marinero	1601 and 1603	yes		
Suarez	Diego	grumete español	1623	yes		
Suarez	Gonzalo	marinero	1621	yes		
Suarez	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Suarez	Lucas	marinero	1612	yes		
Suarez	Luis	marinero	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	

Suarez	Rodrigi	marinero and	1619-1623, 1626-1627,	yes		
	_	alguacil de agua	and 1629- 1630	-		
Suay	Benito	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Suay	Marcos	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Suazo	Juan de	marinero	1601	yes		
Suba	Nicolas	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Subreta	Juan de	marinero	1624	yes		
Suca	Nicolas	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Sucaya	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596 and 1598- 1599	yes		
Suco	Agustin	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Sugo	Andres	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Suman	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Suman	Luis	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Sunbi	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Suncay	Pedro	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Suride	Domingo de	marinero	1608 and 1625	yes		
Suy	Juan	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Та	Mateo	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Tababus	Alonso	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Tabalan	Martin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Tabangan	Agustin	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Tablada	Pedro de	marinero	1596-1598	yes		
Tablado	Damian de	marinero	1590-1591	yes		
Tablan	Agustin	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Tablan	Fabian	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Tablat	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Tabo	Alonso	grumete indio	1592-1593	yes		
Tabo	Gregorio	grumete indio	1610			discovery of las islas rico de plata y oro
Taboya	Raphael	grumete indio	1632	yes		
Tabuco	Diego	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Tacan	Martin	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Tacao	Diego	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Tachin	Miguel	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Tacla	Pedro	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Tacotan	Andres	grumete indio	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Tacotan	Luis	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes		

Тасро	Antonio	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Tagasyes	Pedro	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Tahan	Alonso	grumete indio and marinero chino	1619 and 1632-1633	yes	
Tahan	Francisco	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Tala	Agustin	grumete indio	1595 and 1599-1600	yes	
Tala	Pedro	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes	
Talagan	Juan	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Taliguat	Juan	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Talipa	Alonso de	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Talona	Agustin	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes	
Taman	Pedro	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Tambo	Phelipe	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Tamboa	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Tambul	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Tan	Simon	marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Tanco	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Tangac	Alonso	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Tangal	Bartolome	grumete indio	1603		Tehuantepec
Tangil	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Tangui	Antonio	grumete indio and carpintero indio	1614-1617	yes	
Tanguigru	Agustin	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Tanguil	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1598	yes	
Taniga	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Tanpoes	Diego	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes	
Tanpoy	Diego	grumete indio	1610-1611 and 1613	yes	
Tanqui	Diego	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Tanto	Gonzalo	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Tao	Juan	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Tapia	Juan de	marinero	1615	yes	
Tapia	Martin de	grumete español	1618	yes	
Tapia	Pedro de	marinero	1598-1599	yes	
Tapia 2	Juan de	marinero	1639-1640	yes	
Taque	Gaspar	grumete indio	1599-1601	yes	
Taquiel	Francisco	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1607-1610	yes	

Taquil	Cosme	grumete indio	1617	aviso	
Taral	Cristobal	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Tarala	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Taro	Alonso	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Taron	Alonso	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Tarria	Pedro	guardianejo	1622	yes	
Taso	Luis	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Tatol	Francisco	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Tatuya	Bautista	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Tavitan	Nicolas	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Taytay	Juan	marinero	1625	yes	
Tazique	Domingo	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Tegui	Don Sebastian de	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes	
Teguisa	Juan	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Tejeda	Antonio de	marinero and soldado	1602		discovery
Tejeda	Gonzalo de	grumete español	1631	yes	
Tejeda	Jimenez	marinero	1594	yes	
Tejeda	Pedro de	marinero	1601	yes	
Tejeda	Ventura de	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Tejeda 2	Antonio de	marinero	1622	yes	
Tejera	Antonio	grumete español	1618	yes	
Teocot	Juan	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Teran	Pedro de	marinero	1613 and 1615	yes	
Theda	Mateo	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Tibao	Francisco	grumete español	1600	yes	
Tibar	Diego	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Tibat	Juan	grumete indio	1594	yes	
Tiguio	Agustin	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Tilandoy	Agustin	gente del real servicio and grumete indio	1611-1612	yes	
Timban	Francisco	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1599-1600 and 1602- 1603	yes	
Timor	Antonio de	grumete indio and marinero	1594-1595	yes	
Timore	Antonio de	grumete español	1595	yes	
Tinac	Agustin	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	

Tinao	Agustin	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Tinec	Alonso	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Tingo	Francisco	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Tinoco	Andres	grumete español and marinero	1592-1594 and 1600- 1601	yes	
Tinongan	Alonso	grumete indio	1613	yes	
Tipo	Gabriel	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Tipon	Alonso	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Tipun	Juan	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Tira	Agustin	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Tirado	Melchor	marinero	1611-1612 and 1614- 1622		
Tiro	Francisco	marinero	1633	yes	
Tiznado	Francisco	marinero	1617-1624	yes and aviso	
Tobias	Miguel	grumete indio	1599-1601	yes	
Toc	Anton	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes	
Toco	Pedro	guardianejo	1607	yes	
Tocsan	Juan	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Todano	Joanbal	grumete indio	1602	yes	discovery
Togas	Juan	grumete español	1631	yes	
Toguez	Andres	grumete español	1614	yes	
Toguiz	Francisco	grumete indio	1614-1615 and 1620	yes	
Tolcan	Marcos	grumete indio	1592	yes	
Tolon	Juan	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes	
Toloran	Gabriel	grumete indio	1623	yes	
Tomangui	Nicolas	grumete indio	1611 and 1618	yes	
Tomas	Agustin	grumete indio	1618	yes	
Tomas	Anton	grumete indio and buzo	1600-1603	yes	
Tomas	Esteban de	marinero	1611	yes	
Tomas	Esteban	marinero	1610 and 1613	yes	
Tomas	Roman	marinero	1610	yes	
Tomas	Simon	marinero	1595	yes	
Tomay	Agustin	grumete indio	1611	yes	
Tonan	Alonso	grumete indio	1597	yes	
Tonayn	Pedro	grumete indio	1595	yes	

Tondo	Sebastian de	grumete indio	1603 and 1608	yes	Tehuantepec
Toquiz	Alonso	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Tora	Ambrosio	grumete indio and gente del real servicio	1595-1596 and 1601- 1602	yes	
Toral	Gonzalo del	contramaestre, marinero, and acompañado de maestre	1594-1595 and 1598- 1599	yes	
Torano	Juan de	marinero	1632	yes	
Tordeyeslla	Bartolome	marinero	1595-1596	yes	
Torg	Manuel	marinero	1621-1622	yes	
Torquemada	Bartolome de	marinero	1620	yes	
Torquemada	Francisco de	marinero	1621	yes	
Torre	Andres dela	marinero	1595	yes	
Torre	Francisco dela	marinero	1592-1593	yes	
Torre	Juan dela	marinero, escribano, and buzo	1592-1595 and 1612- 1615	yes	Sonsonate
Torre	Octavio dela	marinero	1618	yes	
Torre	Pedro dela	marinero	1591	yes	
Torre 2	Juan dela	marinero	1632-1633	yes	
Torreblanca	Sebastian de	marinero	1615	yes	
Torres	Alonso	grumete español	1594-1595	yes	
Torres	Andres de	grumete indio	1613 and 1615	yes	
Torres	Bartolome de	marinero	1622	yes	
Torres	Diego de	alguacil de agua, marinero, and grumete español	1591-1592 and 1594	yes	
Torres	Francisco de	marinero and grumete español	1617, 1620, and 1622	yes	
Torres	Isidro de	marinero	1625-1627 and 1629- 1630	yes	
Torres	Juan de	marinero	1603	yes	
Torres	Julian de	marinero	1627 and 1632-1633	yes	
Torres	Lazaro de	marinero	1613	yes	
Torres	Pablo de	marinero	1603	yes	

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Torres	Pedro de	grumete español and artillero	1625 and 1628	yes		
Torres	Tomas de	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Torres 2	Bartolome de	marinero	1628-1631	yes		
Torres 2	Francisco de	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Torres 2	Juan de	grumete español	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Torres Lorenzo	Miguel de	marinero	1624	yes		
Torres Mendez	Juan de	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Torresbanes	Antonio de	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Tota	Alonso	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Toto	Francisco	grumete indio	1618	yes		
Toto	Miguel	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	Acapulco to Peru	
Totoban	Tomas	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Trebacio	Hernando de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Trebacio	Silvestre	marinero	1610		Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Trevacio	Hernando	grumete español	1628	yes		
Trevino	Juan	marinero	1619-1631 and 1633	yes		
Trujillo	Alonso de	marinero	1625	yes		
Trujillo	Antonio de	grumete español and marinero	1623 and 1628-1629	yes		
Trujillo	Miguel de	marinero	1615	yes		
Trujilo	Juan de	marinero	1624	yes		
Tuan	Alonso	grumete español	1612	yes		
Tubo	Agustin	grumete indio, guardian, and gente del real servicio	1593-1594 and 1606- 1607	yes		
Tucoer	Domingo	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Tui	Miguel	grumete indio	1593-1594	yes		
Tuli	Sebastian	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Tunal	Pedro	grumete indio	1594-1595	yes		
Tuntia	Diego	marinero	1594	yes		
Tuta	Juan	guardianejo and grumete indio	1613 and 1615-1616	yes		
Tuta	Pedro	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Tuy	Agustin	grumete indio	1593 and 1599	yes		
Tuy	Juan	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		

Uarte	Hernando de	marinero	1619 and 1623	yes		
Ubad	Agustin	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Uceta	Miguel de	marinero	1591-1595	yes		
Ugad	Esteban	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Ugalde	Juan	marinero	1613, 1619- 1628	yes		
Ugalde	Pedro de	marinero	1591	yes		
Ujeda	Bautista de	marinero	1599	yes		
Umano	Phelipe	marinero	1619	yes		
Unbac	Gregorio	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Urbina	Juan de	marinero	1596	yes		
Urdino	Pedro de	marinero	1632	yes		
Urena	Bartolome de	marinero	1597	yes		
Urena	Juan de	marinero	1596	yes		
Uribe	Juan de	marinero	1632	yes		
Urieta	Juan de	marinero	1619	yes		
Urivo	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Urquica	Juan de	marinero	1615	yes		
Urtayfe	Hernando de	marinero	1610-1611		Zacatula	
Utrera	Antonio de	marinero	1624	yes		
Utrera	Martin de	despensero	1601	yes		
Vaca Ramirez	Pedro de	marinero	1594	yes		
Vaenza	Agustin	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes		
Vala	Antonio	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Valderama	Cristobal de	marinero	1620	yes		
Valdes	Antonio de	grumete español	1619	yes		
Valdez	Pedro de	marinero	1594 and 1596	yes		
Valdez 2	Pedro de	capitan y maestre	1626-1627	yes		
Valdivieso	Francisco de	marinero	1618	yes		
Valen	Hernandez	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Valencia	Pedro de	marinero	1633	yes		
Valentin	Pedro	grumete indio	1624	yes		
Valiente	Pedro	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Valle	Bartolome del	marinero	1618	yes		
Valle	Juan del	marinero	1597	yes		
Valle	Pedro del	marinero, despensero, and guardian	1614-1615, 1618, and 1621	yes		

Vallecilla	Pedro de	marinero	1596-1598 and 1600- 1601	yes		
Vallecilla	Pedro	marinero	1592-1594, 1596-1598, and 1600	yes		
Vallejo	Cristobal	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes		
Vallejo	Simon de	marinero	1595-1596	yes		
Valo	Lucas	grumete indio	1608	yes		
Valos	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Valverde	Juan de	marinero	1611	yes		
Van	Olom	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Vanegas	Francisco	marinero	1619-1623 and 1629- 1630	yes		
Vanegas	Juan	carpintero indio, tornero, bombero, and marinero	1600, 1602- 1603, and 1615	yes		
Vanegas 2	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Vargas	Alonso de	marinero	1592-1594	yes		
Vargas	Andres de	grumete indio	1620	yes		
Vargas	Benito de	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Vargas	Diego de	marinero	1621	yes		
Vargas	Dionisio de	marinero	1592	yes		
Vargas	Juan de	marinero	1623	yes		
Vargas	Lorenzo de	paje	1590-1591	yes		
Vargas	Luis de	marinero	1619	yes		
Vargas	Sebastian	grumete indio	1603		Tehuantepec	
Vay	Hernando	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Vazquez	Alonso	paje	1594-1595	yes		
Vazquez	Diego	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Vazquez	Francisco	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery
Vazquez	Juan	marinero, grumete español, and artillero	1601, 1620, and 1633	yes		
Vazquez	Lorenzo	marinero and piloto mayor	1613 and 1617-1618	yes and aviso		
Vazquez	Tomas	marinero	1613	yes		
Vazquez 2	Juan	gente del real servicio	1613	yes		
Vega	Antonio de	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		

Vega	Antonio dela	marinero	1603	yes	
Vega	Bartolome de	marinero	1625	yes	
Vega	Diego dela	paje	1600-1601	yes	
Vega	Esteban de	artillero	1618	yes	
Vega	Francisco de	marinero and soldado	1602-1603		discovery
Vega	Hernando de	paje and marinero	1596 and 1623	yes	
Vega	Juan de	marinero	1624	yes	
Vega	Lucas de	marinero	1620	yes	
Vega	Luis dela	grumete español	1596	yes	
Vega	Pedro de	marinero	1618-1619	yes	
Vega	Sebastian dela	marinero	1621	yes	
Vega 2	Diego dela	marinero	1621	yes	
Vega 2	Juan de	marinero	1629-1630 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Velada	Agustin	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Velada	Antonio	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Velasco	Agustin de	marinero	1608-1609 and 1614- 1616	yes	
Velasco	Diego de	marinero and calafate	1629 and 1632-1633	yes	
Velasco	Juan de	grumete español	1622	yes	
Velasco	Mateo de	marinero	1639-1640	yes	
Velasco	Pablo de	grumete español	1631	yes	
Velazquez	Agustin	grumete indio	1627-1628	yes	
Velazquez	Diego	marinero	1603	yes	
Veles	Antonio	marinero	1594	yes	
Velez	Anton	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Vello	Pedro	marinero, alguacil de agua, guardian, and buzo	1626-1635	yes	
Venecia	Agustin de	marinero	1591-1592	yes	
Venecia	Cesar de	grumete español	1595	yes	
Venecia	Zacarias de	marinero	1592-1594	yes	
Veneciano	Antonio	marinero	1596-1597	yes	
Veneciano	Pedro	marinero	1597-1599	yes	

Venegas	Lucas	marinero and guardian	1615-1619	yes		
Venetia	Jorge de	marinero	1592-1593	yes		
Veno	Lucas	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Ventura	Jorge	marinero	1611	yes		
Ventura	Juan	grumete español	1622	yes		
Ventura	Nicolas	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes		
Ventura	Pablo	marinero	1601-1603	yes	Realejo to Acapulco	
Ventura 2	Pablo	grumete español	1622	yes		
Vera	Bernabe de	marinero	1592	yes		
Vera	Gaspar de	marinero	1596	yes		
Vera	Jacinto de	marinero	1623	yes		
Vera	Juan de	grumete indio	1621	yes		
Vera	Luis de	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Vera	Pedro de	marinero	1611	yes		
Vera 2	Pedro de	marinero	1623	yes		
Vera 3	Pedro de	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Vergara	Miguel de	marinero	1619	yes		
Vergas	Gonzalo de	marinero	1612, 1614- 1615	yes		
Vertuia	Agustin	grumete indio	1639-1640	yes		
Vesleque	Agustin	grumete indio	1622	yes		
Vetin	Mateo	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes		
Viafara	Anton	marinero	1600	yes		
Viafara	Domingo	marinero	1600	yes		
Viafara	Gaspar	marinero	1600	yes		
Vialo	Antonio	grumete indio	1615	yes		
Viana	Juan de	marinero	1594	yes		
Vicaya	Alonso	grumete indio	1593-1595 and 1597- 1598	yes		
Vicayas	Francisco	grumete indio	1598	yes		
Vicencio	Juan	marinero	1607	yes		
Vicente	Alonso	marinero and calafate	1591, 1595, 1597, and 1601	yes		
Vicente	Ambrosio	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Vicente	Cristobal	paje and grumete español	1596-1598, 1600, and 1603	yes		
Vicente	Juan	marinero	1622	yes		

Vicente	Lazaro	marinero	1635 and 1639-1640	yes		
Vicente	Sebastian	marinero	1591-1593	yes		
Vicente	Simon	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru	
Vicente 2	Alonso	marinero	1622	yes		
Vicente Epoya	Andres	marinero	1634-1635	yes		
Victoria	Gabriel	marinero	1613-1615	yes		
Vidal	Bartolome	marinero	1594-1596	yes	Sonsonate; Sonsonate, Peru and Costa del Mar	
Vidal	Gonzalo	marinero	1611	yes		
Vidal	Lorenzo	paje and marinero	1612 and 1619-1632	yes		
Vidal de Figueroa	Miguel	grumete español and marinero	1622-1632	yes		
Vidal de Figueroa	Pedro	marinero	1629-1630	yes		
Vidana	Iñigo de	marinero	1610-1611	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec	
Vidana	Tomas de	marinero	1621	yes		
Viejo	Correa el	marinero	1595	yes		
Viel	Martin	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Viera	Francisco	marinero	1629 and 1633	yes		
Vigla	Diego	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Vijil	Francisco	marinero	1621-1628	yes		
Vilad	Antonio	grumete indio	1625	yes		
Vilan	Juan	grumete indio	1595 and 1624	yes		
Vilao	Francisco	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Vilao	Luis	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Villa	Francisco de	marinero	1631	yes		
Villa	Pedro de	marinero	1595	yes		
Villalobos	Antonio de	marinero	1631	yes		
Villalobos	Francisco de	grumete español	1597	yes		
Villalobos	Martin de	grumete español	1595	yes		
Villanueva	Alonso de	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes		
Villaran	Alvez de	marinero and soldado	1602-1603			discovery
Villaran	Luis de	marinero and soldado	1602			discovery

Villegas	Antonio de	grumete español	1616-1619		and	gapura I Playa onda
Villegas	Francisco de	piloto mayor	1619	yes	1	Jilaa
Villegas	Lucas de	grumete indio	1633	yes		
Villegas	Sebastian de	paje	1608	yes		
Villegas	Tomas de	marinero	1619 and 1625	yes		
Vinaca	Pedro de	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes		
Viyeslet	Antonio	grumete indio	1610-1611	yes		
Vitoria	Gabriel de	marinero	1615	yes		
Xenis	Bartolome	marinero	1603, 1611 and 1614	yes		
Xil dela Guarda	Manuel	marinero	1594	yes		
Xo	Miguel	grumete indio	1613	yes		
Yaba	Juan	grumete indio	1612	yes		
Yanes	Gonzalo	marinero	1591	yes		
Yanez	Alonso	marinero	1600	yes		
Yanez	Lorenzo	marinero	1600-1601	yes		
Yanez	Rodrigo	marinero	1596	yes		
Yangal	Alonso	grumete indio	1596-1597	yes		
Yañez	Antonio	marinero	1622	yes		
Yañez Soltero	Pedro	grumete español and marinero	1614-1623	yes		
Yao	Juan y	grumete indio	1611	yes		
Yaon	Mateo	grumete indio	1623	yes		
Yartua	Antonio de	marinero	1597	yes		
Yasa	Hernando delo	marinero	1633	yes		
Yavay	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Yba	Antonio	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes		
Ybañez	Juan	grumete español	1632	yes		
Ybar	Miguel de	marinero	1596	yes		
Ybat	Diego	grumete indio	1595	yes		
Ybat	Nicolas	grumete indio	1597-1598	yes		
Ybio	Pablo	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes		
Ybo	Diego	grumete indio	1594	yes		
Ybon	Juan	grumete indio	1603	yes		
Yesso	Agustin	marinero	1611 and 1615-1628	yes		
Ygarra	Alonso	grumete indio	1598-1599	yes		
Ygarza	Domingo de	marinero	1622	yes		
Ygueldo	Miguel de	marinero	1596	yes		

Ylaga	Andres	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
			1595-1596		
Ylan	Francisco	grumete indio	and 1615	yes	
Yligan	Nicolas	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Yloco	Agustin	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Yloco	Francisco	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Yloco	Tomas	grumete indio	1607-1608	yes	
Ylon	Pablo	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Ymaliman	Pablo de	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Ymaliman	Pablo	grumete indio	1615	yes	
Ymaquel	Luis de	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Ynaga	Alonso	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Ynaga	Pablo	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Ynala	Agustin	grumete indio	1599-1600	yes	
Ynala	Alonso	grumete indio	1608 and 1615	yes	
Ynca	Antonio de	grumete indio	1595-1596	yes	
Yngles	Nicolas	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Ynlan	Agustin	grumete indio	1619	yes	
Yraceta	Juanes de	marinero	1618	yes	
Yrada	Martin de	marinero	1631	yes	
Yraegui	Domingo de	grumete indio	1622	yes	
Yran	Juan	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Yraolo	Juan	grumete indio	1624	yes	
Yrargui	Antonio de	marinero	1628-1630	yes	
Yrigoyen	Martin de	grumete español	1596	yes	
Yyesque	Juan	grumete indio	1615-1616	yes	
Yta	Diego	grumete indio	1595	yes	
Yta	Pedro	grumete indio	1593-1595	yes	
Ytan	Domingo	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Yturdivi	Bernardo de	marinero	1624	yes	
Yturiza	Pedro de	grumete español and marinero	1626-1628 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Yturriza	Juan de	marinero and despensero	1618-1623 and 1632- 1633	yes	
Yzaguirre	Domingo de	marinero	1622	yes	
Zacuria	Cristobal	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Zalama	Francisco	grumete indio	1612	yes	
Zaldivar	Luis de	grumete español	1617	yes	

Zamora	Francisco de	marinero	1624	yes	
Zamorano	Francisco	marinero	1610-1611	yes	Huatulco/Te huantepec
Zamorano	Pedro	paje	1594-1595	yes	
Zamorin	Agustin	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru
Zamudio	Antonio de	marinero	1611 and 1615-1623	yes	
Zamudio 2	Antonio de	grumete indio	1633	yes	
Zamudio	Zamudio Juan de		1610, 1614- 1620, 1622, and 1628	yes	
Zanbrano	Martin de	marinero	1613	yes	
Zapio	Alonso	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Zarraga	Alonso de	marinero	1618	yes	
Zavala	Gaspar	grumete indio	1608	yes	
Zazira	Juan	grumete indio	1614-1615	yes	
Zenteno	Sebastian	marinero	1622	yes	
Zestayo	Juan	marinero	1618 and 1622-1623	yes	
Zestna	Manuel	marinero	1635 and 1639-1640	yes	
Zetas	Juan	grumete indio	1614	yes	
Zetin Bistosa	Juan	marinero	1594-1596	yes	Sonsonate
Zeton	Don Lucas de	grumete indio	1606-1607	yes	
Zibelo	Bernardino	marinero	1607		Acapulco to Peru
Zupecho	Andres	grumete indio	1630-1632	yes	
Zuzaya Banuezo	Antonio de	marinero	1601	yes	

Source: AGI, Contaduría, 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

Appendix B.1: The entry of ships to Acapulco, 1590s-1630s

			try of ships to	•		ojarifazgo	(5%)
Ship	Date	Origin	Product	Price	pesos	tomines	granos
	ı		1592				
San Juan	Apr 15, 1592	Peru, Guatamela & other parts	20 cargas de cacao	20 pesos (p)/carga	20		
			23 cargas de cacao	20p/carga	23		
Rosario	Dec 31, 1592	Peru					
Total			1500		10798	2	5
	T		1593		1		
San Juan	Apr 7, 1593		cacao				
Santa Ana	Apr 25, 1593	Peru	102 botijas de vino que registro en Lima.				
San Juan delos Reyes	Sep 7, 1593		102 cargas de cacao		91	6	5
			6 cargas de cacao		5	3	4
San Juan delos Reyes	Nov 10, 1593		18 botijas de vino	6p/each	8	3	4
			2 de vinagre a 2p	2p/each	O	3	4
	Τ	12 No	ov 1593 to Enero				
San Joseph	Dec 16, 1593	parts	de cacao	18p/carga	389	5	10
Rosario		Peru & other	740 cargas de cacao	18p/carga	698	4	2
nosurio		parts	6 quintales de amir	1p/libra	070		1
			609 cargas de cacao	20p/carga			
			4671 libras de amir	1p/libra			
Bartolome	Jan 4, 1594	Peru & other parts	300 calabacilllas de balsamo	2 tomines (t)/each	850	7	
			3 botijelas de balsamo	10p/each			
			cacao sin registro (7 1/2%)				

Total					1549	3	2
Jan to Dec							
1594 Lorenzo	Jan 4, 1594		cecina, cebo, manteca, meil, gallina	260p	13	3	
San Juan	Feb 20, 1594		trujo registro pero no se carga aqui				
			20 quintales de pasa higado	10p/quintal			
			340 botijas de vinagre	2p			
San Juan			400 arrobas de lana	1p	288	6	
Bautista	Apr 16, 1594		300 arrobas de sal	2t			
	Apr 19, 1594	_	210 cargas de cacao	20p			
		_	140 cargas de cacao	20p			
			40 cargas de cacao.	20p	200		
San Diego		1	3770 cargas de cacao	20p	4178		
			7825 libras de amir	1p/libra			
			3513 cargas de cacao	18p/carga			
San Juan Bautista		_	6211 libras de amir	1p	3464	7	2
			3 botijuelas de balsamo	10p			
			1288 cargas de cacao	18p/carga			
		_	30 botijas de vino de Peru	5			
Santiago	Dec 10, 1594		10 botijas de vinagre	1p ½	1174		1
J		-	1 quintal de sebo	1p/arroba			
		_	1 cajon con jicaros 500 manojos	2p			
Total			de tabaco	2t	11075	5	9
i Uldi					110/3	J	7

		22 De	c 1594 to 18 No	ov 1595			
Senora de Lao	Mar 27, 1595	Sonsonate					
Lorenzo	Jan 24, 1595						
Santa Ana	Jul 16, 1595						
San Bartolome	Oct 1, 1595	Sonsonate, Peru y Costa del Mar	tabaco y cacao				
Total					5403	5	
Copacabana	Nov 9, 1595	2 Nov 159 Villa de Trinidad	95 to 16 Nov 159	97: 18 ships	888	2	9
Santiago	Nov 29, 1595	Peru			220		
San Joseph	Dec 25, 1595	Huatulco			12	4	9
Ship from Colima	29 Jan 1596	Colima	gallos de la tierra, gallinas de Castilla y cebo		5		
Concepcion	Jan 31, 1596	Navidad	mil tajos gallinas		7	4	
Rosario	Feb 17, 1596	Peru	J		116	7	8
Antigua	Feb 20, 1596	Acaxutla			2981	5	9
San Joseph	Mar 26, 1596	Villa de Trinidad	cacao y otras		734	1	4
Antigua	Aug 24, 1596	Sonsonate	cacao y otras		3861		3
San Diego	Nov 11, 1596	Peru	vino, vinagre y otras		295	4	4
San Diego	Nov 11, 1596	Acaxutla	cacao y otras		339	5	4
Margarita	Nov 30, 1596	Callao & Lima	vino, vinagre, pasas y otra		243	1	2
Rosario	Dec 8, 1596	Acaxutla	cacao, añir y otras		1460	5	
Buen Jesus	Dec 10, 1596	Costarica	no trajo mercadurias		0		

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8

Bartolome

Feb 12, 1597

Peru

vino y otra

Felipe y Santiago	Jul 2, 1597	Acaxutla	cacao, añir y otras		5735	3	6
Encarnacion	Jul 2, 1597	Acaxutla	cacao y otras		1280	3	3
Santiago	Sep 6, 1597	Acaxutla	cacao y otras		164	3	
Total					18967	1	
		Sonsonate/A	v 1597 to 31 Ma	ay 1598			
San Diego	Nov 15, 1597	caxutla, Trinidad	otras mercadurias		3743	2	4
Rosario	Nov 15, 1597	Peru	botijas de vino y pasas		275	4	
Antigua	Nov 27, 1597	Peru	vino de vinagre y otras cosas		486	4	
San Juan	Dec 28, 1597	Sonsonate/T rinidad, Guatemala	cacao y tobaco		125	1	6
San Juan Bautista	Jan 2, 1598	Paita/Peru	botijas de vino y otras cosas		39	6	
San Lorenzo (7 1/2%)	Jan 15, 1598	Navidad	100 gallinas de Castilla y 6 de la tierra, 20 arrobas de tasajos, 20 arrobas de cebo del puerto de Chiametla		3	6	
Barca de Alvaro Diaz (7 1/2%)	10 Mar 1598	Lima	miel, gallinas, jabon, candelas y carne salada de Colima	38p 4t	2	6	8
Encarnacion	Mar 8, 1598	Sonsonate	cacao y añir		444	6	6
Total					5511	5	
		27 M	ay 1598 to 27 Ju	ıl 1601			
San Juan Bautista	Nov 12, 1598	Sonsonate			485	3	8

Concepcion	Nov 12, 1598	Huatulco			100	3	1	
San Juan y Santiago	Nov 21, 1598	Peru			763	5	5	
Santiago	Dec 4, 1598	Peru			410	4		
Rosario de Campiano	Dec 17, 1598	Peru			308	5	6	
Antigua	Dec 17, 1598	Peru			207	6		
Rosario de					225	1		
Macedo					325	1	6	
Arazanzu	Dec 31 1598	Peru			112	4		
Magdalena	Jan 15, 1599	Colima						
Magdalena	Mar 23, 1599	Chiametla			6			
Asuncion	Aug 30, 1599	Sonsonate	cacao		183	1		
La O	Dec 8, 1599	Peru	plata		194	2	6	
Catalina	Dec 14, 1599	Sonsonate			no tuvo de que se cobrasen derechos			
San Diego	Dec 13, 1599	Sonsonate	cacao		1354	4	9	
Santiago	Dec 16, 1599	Peru	plata y vino		373	3		
Antigua	Dec 26, 1599	Peru	plata y vino		327		10	
Aranzazu	Feb 2, 1600	Sonsonate	cacao		1624	5	10	
Catalina	Apr 18, 1600	Sonsonate	cacao		1050	5	6	
Encarnacion	Jun 6, 1600	Sonsonate	cacao		2467			
Catalina	Aug 14, 1600	Sonsonate			969	5		
Guia	Nov 11, 1600	Sonsonate			1305	6		
fragata de Chiametla	2 Jan 1601	Chiametla						
Rosario	Jan 18, 1601	Colima			7	4		
San Antonio					27			
Bautista					183			
Ildefonso	Feb 6, 1601	Peru	plata		105			
Lorenzo	Feb 21, 1601	Celagua			5	5		
Francisco	Mar 7, 1601	Compostela			7	4		
Remedios	May 22, 1601	Sonsonate			1670	1	1	
fragata de Tehuantepec	10 Jul 1601	Tehuantepec	sal y tasajos		50			
Total					15537	3	8	
27 Nov 1601 to 4 Jul 1603								
Francisco	Dec 3, 1601	Compostela			15			

Dogaria	Dog 10, 1701	Culiagan	 		5	5	1			
Rosario	Dec 10, 1601	Culiacan				4				
Antigua	Dec 14, 1601	Peru			320	7				
Tomas	Dec 23, 1601	Acaxutla			2403	/				
Barquilla de pesqueria de Pablo de Landa	23 Dec 1601	Huatulco	16 quintales de brea trajo (sin registro)		7	4				
Lorenzo	Jan 4, 1602	Chiametla	mras (sin registro)		3	6				
Concepcion	Feb 16, 1602	Huatulco	20 arrobas de camaron seco (sin registro)		3	6				
Diego	Mar 13, 1602	Acaxutla			2673	1				
Fletes de Diego	13 Mar 1602	Acaxutla			2106	7				
Ave Maria	Mar 13, 1602	Peru			661	2				
San Diego	Sep 18, 1602	Acaxutla			4114					
Concepcion	Dec 22, 1602	Huatulco			54	4				
San Luis de Nra Sra de la Rabida	Nov 25, 1602	Peru			193	6				
San Juan y Santiago (La Contadora)	Dec 15, 1602				55					
Lorenzo	Dec 29, 1602	Compostela			1	6				
Santa Ana	Dec 30, 1602	Acaxutla			2756	2				
Jesus Maria	Jul 9, 1602	Guaxutla			508	4				
San Juan	Jul 13, 1602	Guaxutla			761					
Jesus Maria	Oct 21, 1602	Huatulco			7	4				
total of 7										
1/2 % de entrada de navios y barcas					14546	5				
- Dui cus	16 Aug 1606 to 30 Jul 1607									
San Phelipe y San Pelayo	Dec 7, 1606	Acajutla & Sonsonate			2327	3				
Catalina	Dec 8, 1606	Chuchetengo			22	7				
San Juan Bautista	Feb 17, 1607	Realejo & Sonsonate			2083	3				
Ave Maria	Feb 21, 1607	Peru			377	2	6			
San Juan Bautista	Feb 27, 1607	Peru								

_	T	T	<u> </u>	<u> </u>		Ī
San Francisco	Mar 5, 1607	Peru		148	8	
Guadalupe	May 2, 1607	Acajutla		662	2	9
Jesus Maria	Jun 16, 1607	Sonsonate		120		
Concepcion	Jun 29, 1607	Tehuantepec				
Total				5795	7	9
		21 De	ec 1607 to 9 Dec 1608			
Remedios	Dec 12, 1607	Paita		2	4	
Rosario	Dec 31, 1607	El Realejo & Sonsonate		1175		7
Buena Esperanza	Jan 9, 1608	El Realejo & Sonsonate		96	6	
Francisco	Feb 3, 1608	El Realejo & Sonsonate		1370	1	3
Santiago	Mar 13, 1608	Sonsonate		822	1	11
San Luis	Mar 13, 1608	Sonsonate & Huatulco		327	6	
San Andres	Mar 25, 1608	Peru		243	6	6
Remedios	Apr 20, 1608	Peru		213	6	
Candelaria	May 19, 1608	Sonsonate		152		
Esperanza	Aug 11, 1608	Sonsonate		472	6	
Total				4976	6	3
		4 Dec	c 1609 to 31 Oct 1610			
Joseph	Feb 3, 1610	El Realejo & Sonsonate		196	6	8
Remedios	Feb 4, 1610			19	6	
Francisco	Feb 6, 1610	Acajutla via Tehuantepec		175	1	
Candelaria	Feb 9, 1610	de Peru para Sonsonate y se derroto Acapulco		5	2	
Felipe	Mar 9, 1610	Lima		3		
San Juan Bautista	Mar 9, 1610	Sonsonate		2408	3	
Bernabe	Dec 24, 1610	Huatulco & Tehuantepec		200		
San Juan Bautista	Sep 6, 1610			1230	3	2
Candelaria	Jun 30, 1610	Peru		202	1	

total of 5 y 7 1/2%					4440	6	10
		6 Dec	c 1610 to 25 Sep	o 1611			
Joseph	Jan 10, 1611	El Realejo & Sonsonate			111		
Candelaria	Jun 30, 1610	Peru	64 docenas de cordovanes	10p ensayados 3p y 4t/each	11	4	
San Juan Bautista	Jan 25, 1611	Realejo & Tehuantepec	300 fardos de sal	3p/fardo	147	4	
Antonio de Castilla (pasajero)			20 cargas de cacao	600	30		
Vicente Martin		El Realejo & Sonsonate	35 cargos de cacao		8	6	
Juan Martines dela Cruz			10,200 manozos de tabaco	1t/each	63	6	
Total					2028	6	
Alegria	Nov 26, 1611	Peru	o 1611 to 21 No		172	4	
Bernabe	Jan 17, 1612	Santisima Trinidad			3122	3	
Natividad de Nuestra Señora	Dec 21, 1611	Peru			129	6	
Total					3424	6	
		22 No	ov 1612 to 1 Ma	r 1614			
Total					1047		
		3 Ma	ur 1614 to 7 Jan	1615			
Rosario	Mar 9, 1614				1571	3	
Total					1571	3	
		7 Jan	n 1615 to 31 De	c 1616			

Rosario	Feb 5, 1615	Huatulco	39 qles de brea	6p/quintal, total of 2034p	101	6	
barco de Pedro Diaz Patino	Mar 3, 1615		bastimentos y menudencias		21	6	
Margarita	Apr 8, 1615	Peru	600 botijas de vino (sin licencia)		210		
Total			,		333	4	
		2	Jan to 31 Dec 1	616			
			medio botija de vino				
			50 botijas de				
1			vino				
			70 botijas de				
			vino				
			440 botijas				
Remedios			de vinagre				
			8 quintales				
			de añir				
			25 botijas de				
			vino				
			40 botijas de				
			vino				
			150 botijas				
			de vino				
Total					226		
		2	Jan to 31 Dec 1	617			
			194 cargas de cacao	40p/carga	388p		
Gregorio	Feb 6, 1617	Guayaquil	70 cargas de cacao		140		
			95 cargas de cacao		190		
Sebastian	May 9, 1617	Navidad	60 gallinas de Castilla	3 reales(r)/eac h	2	6	
			8 botijas de miel	4p/each			
			2 mil botijas de vino	1p 1/2 ensayado/ea ch in Callao	212	4	

			370 cargas	50p	925		
			de cacao 130 cargas	•			
Santiago	May 22, 1617	Peru	de cacao		2	2	
			160 cargas		2	4	
			de cacao			4	
			hierro		0.0		4.0
			2 mil botijas		39	2	10
Total			de vino		1902	2	10
Total			ı		1702		10
		1,	Jan to 31 Dec 1	618			
			160 cargas	16p in	152		
			de cacao	Panama, 35p in Acapulco	152		
			80 cargas de cacao		76		
			300 cargas				
			de cacao		285		
			50 cargas de cacao		47	4	
			20 cargas de cacao		19		
			450 botijas de vino	7p 1t in Panama, 7p 4t in Acapulco	8	4	
			12 quintales de cebo	9p/quintal	5	3	2
Candelaria	Apr 3, 1618	Panama	1 mil pies de cordobanes	13p/dozen in Panama, 11r/piel in Acapulco			
			300 libras de pita torcida	4p/libra in Panama, 5p in Acapulco	46	4	5
			300 libras de pita floja	6r/libra in Panama, 2p in Acapulco			
			400 pares de zapatos	4r in Panama, 6r in Acapulco			

Total			50 botijas de vino fuera de registro, se tomaron perdidos por denunciacion	se remataron a 3p/botija, appraised at 7p 4t	18 658	6 5	7
		2	Jan to 31 Dec 10				
		2,	jan to 31 Dec 10	019			
			1037 cargas de cacao	33p/carga, total of 34221p	1711	2	
			9260 libras de añil	1p/libra, total of 9260p	463		
			200 botijas de vino	5p/botija, 1000p	50		
Alegria	Jan 8, 1619	Sonsonate	700 botijas de vinagre	4p ½/botija, total of 3150p	157	4	
			30 botijas de miel	6p/botija, total of 180p	9		
			150 manojos de tabaco	2 r/manojo, total of 37p 4t	15 reales		
					<u>2392p</u>	<u>5</u>	
			694 cargas de cacao	total of 17960p	898		
Limpia	Feb 25, 1619	Peru	4332 botijas de vino	total of 9060p	453		
Concepcion	100 23, 1017	rcru	500 botijas de vinagre	4p/botija, total of 2000p	100		
					<u>1451</u>		
Total					3843	5	
		2,	Jan to 31 Dec 10	620			
Bernabe		Peru	cacao, vino, vinagre				
Nicolas		Philippines	cera, lampotes, escudillas chicas y vastas				
Total					891	4	8

	2 Jan to 31 Dec 1621										
Santa Clara	Jun 4, 1621	Realejo	694 cargas de cacao	13p de su mayor crecimiento/ carga por haber pagado los dros en reino de tierra firme y pto de perico de donde vinieron a raz de 12p /carga en que fueron aval	444	5					
			229 qls, 3 arrobas y 25 libras de brea de Nicaragua	6p/quintal	69						
Total					513	5					
		2	Jan to 31 Dec 1	622							
			186 cargas de cacao	26p/carga, total of 4836p	241	4					
Santiago	Jan 2, 1622	Realejo	8 quintales de tinta de añil	4t/libra, total of 400p	20						
			300 qles de brea	6p/quintal, total of 1800p	90						
					<u>351</u>	<u>6</u>					
Visitacion	Jan 2. 1622	Panama	300 botijas de vino de Peru	4 1/2p/uno	22	4					
Santiago											
Rosario y Nuestra Senora de Soto	Nov 1622	Huatulco	700 qles de brea	5p/quintal, total of 3500p	175						
Visitacion	1621	Panama	300 botijas de vino	6p/botija, total of 1800p	90						

			225 cargas	total of	197	4	
			de cacao 1500 botijas de vinagre	3950p 3p/each, total of 4500p	225	1	
Bautista	1622		300 botijas de vino	6p/each, total of 1800p	90		
Dautista	1022	Peru	11 bariles de				
			pasa				
			1 tinaja de				
			pasa 22 bariles de				
			aceituna				
			1 botija de				
			aceituna				
Total					1043	6	
	<u> </u>	19	Feb to 31 Dec 1				
	Dec 24, 1623	B Peru	160 cargas de cacao	22p/each in Acapulco, 12p ensayados en Callao	72	2	
Trinidad			650 cargas de cacao	22p/each in Acapulco, 12p ensayados en Callao	80		
			120 cargas de cacao	22p/each	572		
			250 cargas de aceituna	5p/botija	62	4	
Geronimo	Dec 7, 1623	Realejo	160 cargas de cacao	22p in Acapulco, 6p in Realejo	128		
Total					914	6	
		17	Jan to 31 Dec	1625			
			271 botijas de vino	5p			
Concepcion	Sep 10, 1624	Peru	200 botijas de vinagre	3p ½			
(Aviso)	- F - , - 2 - 2 - 2		481 botijas				
			de vino y				
			vinagre (sin				
			registro)				

Total					102	6	
			Ene to Dec 162	6			
			116 cargas of cacao from Sonsonate		174		
			1791 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil		716	3	
Jacinto que vino de Villa		Peru	340 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil		120	3	
			230 cargas de cacao de desecho		92		
			200 botijas de vino		80		
			125 cargas de de añir		1	4	
			1100 cargas de añir		41	2	
Total					1225	4	
		J	an to 31 Dec 16	27			
			625 cargas de cacao	18p/carga	562	5	
			200 cargas de cacao		180		
		Peru	500 cargas de cacao		450		
			157 cargas de cacao		141	3	
			300 botijas de vino	5p/each	75		
Total					1409		
		6.	Feb to 31 Dec 1	628			
			375 cargas de cacao.	18p/carga	227	4	

Rosario		Peru	200 cargas de cacao a 18p pago sus rls dros de salida de Lima y entrada en Acap y en el genero de salida van cargados los dros en partida de 90p q monta la salida		180		
			36 cargas de cacao	20p/carga in Sonsonate, 28p in Acapulco	14	5	
			3014 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil	10p/carga in de los Reyes, 18p in Acapulco	1205	5	
Telmo	Apr 30, 1628		35 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil con otras 150 cargas mas de las cuales dhas 25 cargas no se cobraron ninguna dros y aquí se cargan en virtud de dicho reg		14		
Total					1641	6	
			70 cargas de cacao	16p/carga			
			50 botijas de aceituna 590 cargas	5p/botija			
			de cacao				
			70 cargas de cacao				
			500 cargas de cacao				

•							
			170 cargas				
			de cacao				
- II.		Б	35 cargas de				
Evangelista		Peru	cacao				
			50 cargas de				
			cacao				
			40 cargas de				
			_				
			cacao				
			200 botijas	4p/botija			
			de vinagre				
			300 botijas	5p/botija			
			de vino	ору со съја			
			7525 libras	5t/libra			
			de estaño	5t/ IIbi a			
			300 botijas				
			de vino			<u></u>	
			600 cargas				
			de cacao				
			50 cargas de				
			cacao				
			1300 cargas				
			de cacao				
			100 cargas				
San Jose		Acajutla	de cacao				
			60 cargas de				
			cacao	15p/carga			
			500 cargas				
			de cacao				
			60 cargas de				
			cacao				
Total			cacao		2035		
Total			1630		2033		
			103 <i>0</i>	11 :			
			859 cargas	11p in			
			de cacao de	Sonsonate,	129		
			Guayaquil	14p in			
			_	Acapulco			
	D 00 1600		347 cargas y				
San Pedro	Dec 29, 1629	Guayaquil	media de				
			cacao de	14p/carga	243	1	
			Guayaquil sin				
			registro				
			1800 libras	6r/libra	67	4	
			de añir tinta	oi/iibi a	07	т	
			300 botijas				
			de vinagre y	6p/botija	150		
			200 de	งคุ/ มงนาล	130		
			aceituna				
Francisco		Callao	200 botijas	On /hatiia	00	·	
			de vino	8p/botija	80		
•							-

			174 [?] de conchas? de estaño	5t/libra	171		
Total					1313	6	4
			1631				_
			60 botijas de aceituna	5p 2t ½ in Lima & Realejo, 7p in Acapulco	5		
Ildefonso	Eab 0 1621	Peru	105 quintales de brea		31	6	
nueionso	Feb 8, 1631	Peru	15 quintales de jarcia labrada		18		
		100 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil sin registro		120			
			1800 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil		1080		
Agustin		Peru	300 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil		180		
			80 cargas de cacao		48		
Total			cacao		1482	6	
		2	Jan to 31 Dec 10	632			
			400 botijas de vino y 356 de aceitunas	5p/botija	189		
T			2 mil libras de estaño	5r/libra	62	4	
Limpia Concepcion		Callao	300 cargas de cacao de Peru	12p/carga	180		
			200 botijas de vinagre	3p/botija	30		
			65 cargas de cacao		39		
Rosario		Acajutla jurisdiction of Sonsonate	300 cargas de cacao	7p/carga in Acajutla, 12p in Acapulco	75		

		200 cargas de cacao		50		
Santa Isabel	Caldera provincia de Costa Rica	300 cargas de cacao	7p/carga en Caldera, 12p in Acapulco	75		
Total				700	4	
	1 J	an to 31 Dec 1	633			
		300 cargas de cacao	12p/carga	180		
		500 cargas de cacao	12p/carga			
Ambrosio	Peru	5 botijas de vinagre	5p/carga	347	4	
		50 de aceituna	9p/uno			
		400 botijas de vino	9p/uno	180		
San Pedro y San Pablo	Realejo	500 cargas de cacao	6p in Realejo, 12p in Acapulco	150		
Rosario	Realejo	500 cargas de cacao	8p in Realejo, 12p in Acapulco	100		
Total				957	4	
		1635				
Ambrosio	Peru	1700 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil fuera de registro	12p/carga	2040		
San Nicolas de Tolentino	Acajutla de Sonsonate	800 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil	8p in Acajutla, 12p in Acapulco	160		
Total				2200		

Source: AGI, Contaduría, 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

Appendix B.2: The departure of ships from Acapulco, 1590s-1630

Ship	Date	Destination	Product	Price	Alomo	jarifazgo (2 1/2%)
эшр		Destination	Troudet	11100	pesos	tomines	granos
	•		1592		•	•	
Ave Maria	Feb 9, 1592	Peru					
Rosario	Mar 6, 1592	Peru					
San Juan delos Reyes	Sep 15, 1592		mitad de quintales de pasa y higo 35 botijas de vinagre	170 pesos	12		
Total					13288	5	6
			1593				
Rosario	Jul 24, 1593	Peru					
Concepcion	Apr 9, 1593	Peru					
Asuncion	Apr 9, 1593	Peru					
San Juan	Apr 13, 1593	Peru					
Rosario	Apr 12, 1593	Peru					
Total	1593	-			10630	5	1
	•	12	Nov 1593 onw	ard			
Rosario	Apr 9, 1593	Peru	ropa		282	1	
Santiago	Apr 29, 1593	Peru	Î		1776	7	2
Santa Ana	Jun 11, 1593	Peru			2142	5	10
San Juan	Aug 6, 1593	Peru			1129	2	
San Juan y Santiago	Oct 17, 1593	Peru			1378	7	5
Total					4650	7	3
	•	22 Dec	c 1594 to 18 No	v 1595	•	•	
Santiago	Feb 26, 1595	Sonsonate					
San Diego	Apr 5, 1595	Peru					
San Juan Bautista	Apr 20, 1595	Peru					
San Joseph	Apr 29, 1595						
San Juan delos Reyes	Jul 11, 1595	Peru					
San Joseph	Sep 26, 1595						
Total					3472	6	11
		Sep 159	8 to Nov 1599,	17 ships			
Copacabana	Apr 2, 1596	Peru			146	5	2
Santiago	Jun 20, 1596	Peru			2253		1
San Joseph	Jan 4, 1596	Sonsonate			64	2	4
Santa Ana	Mar 9, 1596	Peru			4438	2	11
Santa Ana	Mar 13, 1597	Navidad					
Rosario	Aug 3, 1596	Peru			2287	3	5
Antigua	Mar 2, 1597	Peru			2072		
La O	Mar 9, 1596	Peru			1835		1

	A 04 450¢		I		1 0		4.0
Antigua	Apr 24, 1596	Acaxutla			9	1	10
San Diego	Jun 28, 1597	Sonsonate			65	7	4
Margarita	Feb 25, 1596	Peru			1106	4	7
Rosario	Jan 28, 1597	Sonsonate			21	4	10
Bartolome	Jan 22, 1596	Peru			666	6	5
San Felipe y Santiago (o San Andres)	Jul 4, 1597	Peru			218	4	1
Encarnacion	Oct 12, 1597	Sonsonate			181	4	10
Santiago	Mar 14, 1597	Sonsonate			16	3	10
Francisco	Jun 15, 1596	California	mercadurias de la tierra		sin registro		
San Jose	Jun 15, 1596	California	mercadurias de la tierra		sin registro		
Sebastian	Jun 15, 1596	California	mercadurias de la tierra		sin registro		
Total					14383	2	11
	1		1598				1
Buen Jesus	Apr 12, 1598	Peru			867	7	7
Rosario	Apr 11, 1598	Peru			1679	7	6
Antigua	May 8, 1598	Peru			1865		7
Juan Marin (master of the ship)	Jan 29, 1598	Sonsonate			195	1	
San Juan Bautista	Apr 12, 1598	Peru			1161	1	1
Antonio	Mar 16, 1598	Navidad, Thiametla & other parts			9	5	2
Sebastian	May 21, 1598	Peru			223	4	10
Total					5997	3	9
		27 M	ayo 1598 to Ju	l 1601			
Encarnacion	Dec 30, 1598	Peru		1	7		
Lorenzo	Jan 11, 1599	Colima y Calagua		16			
Concepcion	Jan 14, 1599	Colima		9	5	6	
Magdalena	Jan 15, 1599	Colima		6	1	4	
San Juan Bautista	Mar 2, 1599	Sonsonate		51	3	4	
Rosario	Mar 18, 1599	Peru		132	7	2	
Magdalena	Mar 25, 1599	Colima		7			
Santiago	May 7, 1599			1367	7		
San Diego	May 10, 1599	Sonsonate		181		3	
Rosario	May 13, 1599	Peru		1065			

	ı	1		1	1 1		ı
Antigua	May 17, 1599	Peru		1648	6	11	
Aranzazu	Jun 4, 1599	Sonsonate		27	3	2	
Concepcion	Mar 10, 1601						
Catalina	May 13, 1601	Peru		1030	3	4	
Rosario	Oct 18, 1599	Peru		138	6		
Antigua	May 29, 1600	Peru		709	7	2	
Rosario	Dec 31, 1599	Chiametla		35	1	4	
Asuncion	May 22, 1600	Peru		7	6	6	
La O	Jun 24, 1600	Peru		752		3	
San Diego	May 29, 1600	Peru		1517	6	11	
Aranzazu	Jun 5, 1600	Peru		1676	3		
Catalina	Jan 15, 1600	Huatulco		93	2	11	
Encarnacion				48	3		
Guia	May 22, 1600	Sonsonate		145	5	6	
Guia	Mar 4, 1601	Peru		15			
Rosario	Feb 22, 1601			5			
San Antonio	Mar 5, 1601						
Lorenzo	Mar 9, 1601						
Remedios	Jul 12, 1601	Peru		947		2	
Contadora	Jul 5, 1601	Peru					
Felipe y				1633	3	8	
Santiago							
Total				13281	2	9	
	T=		ov 1601 to 4 Jul	1603	1 1		1
Rosario	Feb 21, 1602	Acaxutla			92		
Lorenzo	Feb 8, 1602	Compostela			5		
Concepcion	Sep 4, 1602	Huatulco			3	7	
Diego	May 4, 1603	Callag			835	7	
Ave Maria	Aug 7, 1602	Callao de Lima			2988		6
San Luis	May 25, 1603	Callao			1325	2	
San Juan y Santiago (La Contadora)		Callao			1730	6	
Lorenzo	Jan 21, 1603	Chiametla, no Chiamala			46	5	
Santa Ana	May 9, 1603	Callao			673	3	
San Juan	Jul 22, 1603	Huatulco			1	2	
Jesus Maria	Feb 3, 1603	Huatulco y Tehuantepec			174	3	
Total					7875	4	
	-	16 Au	g 1606 to 31 Ju	ıl 1607	•		-

Jagua Maria	Inn 0, 1607	Hustulas			2	I
Jesus Maria	Jan 9, 1607	Huatulco		8	Z	
Jesus Maria	Mar 31, 1607	Huatulco y Tehuantepec		264	7	
Santiago	Jun 15, 1607	Huatulco y Tehuantepec		18		
Total		•		291		
		5 A	ug to 30 Sep 1607			•
Phelipe y Pelayo	Aug 6, 1607	Peru		3705	4	
Candelaria	Aug 13, 1607	Huatulco y Tehuantepec		36		
Guadalupe	Sep 2, 1607	Callao		1305	2	
San Juan Bautista	Sep 20, 1607	Peru		820	2	
Ave Maria	Sep 24, 1607	Peru		1030	4	
Total				6957	4	
		21 De	c 1607 to 9 Dec 1608			
Remedios	Sep 11, 1608	Peru		2766	6	2
Rosario	Apr 17, 1608	Huatulco y Tehuantepec		311	6	1
Buena Esperanza	Apr 12, 1608	Huatulco y Tehuantepec		177	7	8
Francisco	Aug 13, 1608	Peru		1669	4	2
Santiago	Apr 28, 1608	Valle de Banderas		29	6	10
Catalina	Jan 25, 1608	Huatulco		30		
Felipe	Feb 8, 1608	Celagua		12		7
Total				5007		6
		4 Dec	1609 to 31 Oct 1610			
Ave Maria	Dic 13, 1609	Peru		7303	7	10
Candelaria	Mar 5, 1610	Huantepec		21	2	
Bernabe	May 15, 1610	Callao		1910		
Juan Bautista	Jun 12, 1610	Sonsonate		45		
Joseph	Jun 26, 1610	Sonsonate y Realejo		208	4	
Total		-		9388	5t	
		6 Dec	1610 to 25 Sep 1611			
Total				706		
		26 Sep	1611 to 21 Nov 1612			
Juan Bautista	Nov 21, 1611	Callao		2693		
Guadalupe	Mar 30, 1612	Philippines		717	7	
Pedro	Mar 30, 1612	Philippines		2	1	
Alegria	Jul 21, 1612	Peru		2,074		
Bernabe	Jul 21, 1612	Peru		1563	6	
	,, _ 		I		-	·

37 1 3 3 3	<u> </u>		<u> </u>	I	Ī	Ī	
Natividad de		-					
Nuestra	Jul 24, 1612	Peru			721	2	
Señora							
Phelipe y	Aug 15, 1612	Sonsonate			100	6	
Pelayo	1146 10, 1012	Bonsonate					
Total					7872	6	
		22 No	v 1612 to 1 Ma	r 1614	•	T	
Total					4504	7	2
Total					1301	,	L
		7)	an to 31 Dec 1	615			
Santiago	Mar 7, 1615	Philippines			296	2	
Andres	Man 7 1615	Dhilinninga			125	6	
Allules	Mar 7, 1615	Philippines			125	0	
Rosario	Jul 30, 1615	Peru			1931		
Total					2352	1	
		2)	an to 31 Dec 1	616			
Total					709	3	2
		2)	an to 31 Dec 10	617	•	•	
Gregorio	Oct 2, 1617	Peru					
Total					7393	3	
		1)	an to 31 Dec 1	618	•		
Total		Philippines			5795	5	11
		• • •					
	•	1)	an to 31 Dec 1	619			
					46-	_	
Total		Philippines			135	6	
			1620		1	1	
			19 cajones,				
			11 concillos				
			7 barriles de				
Nicolas		Philippines	vino, 16 de		47	4	
11100103		1 minppines	aceituna, 4		1,	,	
			petacas de				
			regalos				
			regaios				

i e			1		T			
			15 tercias de cacao, 48 cajas y cajones 36 bariles, 6 petacas, 9 fardo		98	6		
			16 cajones, 7 bariles, 2 petacas, 4 cajoncillos		28	1		
Concepcion		Guayaquil, Peru			238	7		
					312	7		
					331	1		
					537	4		
					125			
					338	3		
								
Bernabe		Callao, Peru						
		,						
					148 4 18 13			
						18 13 582 95 95 3 29 3 34 5		
Total					3480	7		
10001			1621		0.100	<u> </u>	<u>I</u>	
Andres		Philippines			176	6	6	
Alegria	Feb 13, 1621	Peru			284			
Total					460	6	6	
		2)	lan to 31 Dec 10	522			•	
			mras aval 2860p		71	4	3	
Rosario		Philippines	2 pipas de vino		5			
			8 barriles de vino		5			
			3 cc		2	4		
Santiago		Philippines	mras		79			
Januago		· ·····ppiiics	mras		50			
			10 cc		12p 1/2			
			10 sacas de		12			
			lana y 8cc					
			mras		668			
			mras		391	4		

i	I	I			00-		
			mras		227	3	
Rosario		Peru			487	1	
					92	7	
					62		
					16	6	4
					663	7	4
Total					2847		7
	T		an to 31 Dec 16	523		ı	1
Total		Philippines			132	6	
	T		Feb to 31 Dec 1	624		ı	
Total		Philippines			180	6	
		17	Jan to 31 Dec 1	625			
Trinidad y Atocha	Apr 6, 1625	Philippines			250	2	
			335 botijas				
			de vino				
			200 botijas de vinagre				
			que saco del				
Limpia		de salida del	Peru de que				
Concepcion		Peru	se consumieron		59	3	
Concepcion		Peru					
			en viaje 64				
			botijas de				
			vino de que				
			no pago				
			derechos de				
			entrada				
San Agustin	Jun 29, 1625	Callao			1011		
Concepcion	Jun 30, 1625	Callao			1536	5	
Total					3757	2	
	Т	т	Jan to Dec 1620	5		1	
			200 h - 444 -				
			200 botijas				
			de vino (vino				
			registrado en				
			Jacinto pero				
To all 1			no conto por		1.0		
Jacinto			el registro		16	3	
			haber pagado				
			la salida en				
			puerto de				
			Guayaquil				
			donde salio				
						l	

Luis y mras y cosa de regalo que monto 4160p mras y regalos que monto 6611p mras y regalos que monto 6611p mras y regalos que monto 2400p mras y regalos que monto 4370 mras y regalos que monto 5863p mras y regalos que monto 5863p mras y regalos que monto 2934p mras y regalos que monto 2		T	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	1
Luis y Reymundo Reymundo Rey			de regalo que	104		
Marie			regalos que	185	2	
Total	Reymunuo		regalos que	60		
Santo Dec 1627 1 petaca de mercaderias 16 18 18 18 19 19 19 19 19			regalos que	119	3	
Peru	Total			485		
Peru Peru Peru 18		Т	i	T		T
Peru Peru Peru			mercaderias	16		
Jacinto Peru				18		
Capitana y Almiranta				5		
Maras 164 4 164 164 174 185	Jacinto	Peru		11		
Marianta				85		
Capitana y Almiranta				14		
Philippines				164	4	
Capitana y Almiranta Philippines regalos que monto 5863p 144			regalos que	122	3	
mras y regalos que monto 2934p mras y regalos que monto 4970p Total Total mras y regalos que monto 4970p 474 1 628 5		Philippines	regalos que	144		
regalos que monto 4970p 124 2 474 1 Total 628 5		rimppines	regalos que	73	4	
Total 474 1 628 5			regalos que	124	2	
				474	1	
6 Feb to 31 Dec 1628	Total				5	
		6.	Feb to 31 Dec 162	28		

Agustin Capitana y Almiranta	Mar 19, 1628	Peru Philippines	200 cargas de cacao fuera de registro mras		90 2100 228	3	
Total					2418	7	
Tour					2110	,	
		1)	lan to 31 Dec 16	029	1		
			mercadurias y regalos		32	4	
Capitana y Almiranta		Philippines	mercadurias y regalos		42	4	
			mercadurias y regalos		71	2	
			14 cajas de goma que monto 800p		20		
			mercadurias y regalos		846		
Rosario		Peru	mercadurias que monto 15215p		380		
			mercadurias que monto 35223p		880	4 4 4	
Total					2314	3	
			1630				
Pedro			salida de Guayaquil de 347 cargas y media de cacao	14p/carga	121	5	
Bautista		Philippines	regalos que monto 1965p		49		
Bautista		1 milppines	regalos que monto 1750p		43		
Total					214	3	
			1631				
Ildefonso		Peru	100 cargas de cacao de Guayaquil sin registro		12p/car ga	60	

I	Ī				
		mercadurias			
		que monto		1260p	
		50,391p			
Total				1320	
		1632			
		mercadurias			
		y regalos que		027	
		monto		827	
		33101p 4t			
				381	
				750 453	4
	_				6
Agustin	Peru			150	7
				216	4
				694	
				1611	
				841	
				242	2
				142	2
Total				6311	1
	1	Jan to 31 Dec 1633	<u>I</u>		
		que monto	919	2	
Rosario		mercadurias			
		que monto	221	1	
		8844p 4t		_	
Total		- r	1140	3	
·	L	1634	1		
Total	Peru			1020	
•	•	1635	•		
-					

Ambrosio Peru mando q se cobra los dros sencillos de salida de			Peru y se cobro a raz de 12p ensayados a como fue avaliado en	
Ambrosio Peru mando q se cobra los dros sencillos de salida de 0 del vir mando q se cobra los			cobro a raz de 12p ensayados a	
Ambrosio Peru mando q se 850			dros sencillos de salida de	
	Ambrosio	Peru	o del vir mando q se	850
			de cacao de Guayaquil fuera de registro y	

Source: AGI, Contaduría, 897-905A: Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1591-1640

APPENDIX C: Sailors as merchants of the Pacific trade with commercial routes in Manila, Acapulco, Peru, and other parts in the last decade of the sixteenth century

		in	the last decade of the sixte	enth centur	<u>y</u>		
					Almojarifazgo del producto		
				Valor del		7.5	5%
Nombre	Plaza	Año	Producto	producto	10%	5%	2.5 %
					Man- Aca	Per- Aca	Aca- Per
Alonso, Pedro	MAR	1592			8p 6t om		
Alvarez,	MAD	1504	4 fardillos de ropa de China		9p 7t 5g oc		
Antonio	MAR 1594	1 fardo y 1 cajon de mercadurias		62p 5g oc			
Amaya, Sebastian de	ART	1594	2 fardos de mercadurias		15p 7t oc		
Andres, Esteban	MAR	1592			14p 7t om		
Antonio, Sari	GI	1592	1 cajuela: 39 cajones de mantas blan co 7 mantas de sangley angos tes	16p 2t om	1p 5t om		
Antonio, Marco	MAR	1593	6 cargas de cacao	108р ос		5p 3t 4g oc	
Baez, Pedro	MAR	1592			71p 6t oc		

			17 mantas listadas de azul y blanco			
Bautista Aragon, Juan	MAR	1594	1 cajon y 2 fardos		27p 6t 10g; 8p 4t oc	
Bautista, Juan (1)	MAR	1592	130 mantas de chincheo	97p 4t om	9p 6t om	
Beltran, Juan	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 67 mantas de sangley ango stas 65 tocas crudas ordinarias 23 camisas de mantas 12 pares de medias de algo dón	62p om	6p 2t om	
Benito, Juarez		1594	4 fardos de mercadurias		6p 3t; 19p 4t oc	
Bobo, Juan	GI	1592	1 cajuela: 9 canganes azules 6 mantillas listadas 7 mantas de sangley angos tas 6 mantas de Moro 10 tocas crudas ordinarias 4 calzones blancos	20p 2t om	2p 2g om	
Bolaños, Francisco de		1592	2 fardos: 120 mantas de chincheo 5 cates de hilo blanco 4 piezas de mantas de seda 140 mantas de Canton 15 canganes 5 cates de hilo	198p om	19p 7t om	
Caceroz, Anton de	MAR	1597	2 fardos de mercadurias y 500 piezas de loza		24p 8g	
Cana, Juan	MAR	1592	7 fardillos, 1 petaca, 1 cajon de loza y loza suelta : 240 mantas de chincheo 40 cates de seda de color floja 16 doc de loza 10 piezas de gorgoran 16 pares de medias de algo don 50 docena de losa 50 limetas 16 fardillos de ropa de Chin a	389p 6t om	38p 7t 11g om 34p 5t 8g;	
		1594	ropa que trujo en su caja otro fardo		20p 4t; 6p oc	

Candia, Jorge de	MAR	1592			35p 7t om		
Carao, Marcos	GI	1592	1 fardillo: 30 mantas de Canton 40 mantillas pintadas 32 tocas crudas 23 paños de manos 2 pares de medias de seda	48p 4t om	4p 6t 6g om		
Carvallo, Simon Carvallo con	MAR	1592	200 mantas crudas de Cant on 1,500 platos de gallina de l	125p om	12p 4t om		
Pedro de P alacio			oza basta	220p om	22p om		
Chagaray, Lope de	MAR	1592			15p 3t 6g om		
Colon, Juan	MAR	1592			98p oc		
Comana d e Candia, Nicolas	MAR	1594	2 cajones de loza		15p 4t 10g oc		
Correa, Gonzalo	MAR	1594	mercaderias que trujo en su caja		12p 1t 4g oc		
Dante, Luis	MAR	1594	más de 5 fardos: 375 mantas 160 mantas otras 30 mantas 135 mantas		18p 3t oc		
Deluno, Pedro	MAR	1592			19p 1t 3g; 25p 5t om		
Diaz, Francisco		1593	mitad de quintales de pasa y higo 35 botijas de vinagre (por Manuel Martin, calafate)	170р ос		12լ	o oc
Diaz, Gonzalo	MAR	1594	6 fardos, 4 fardillos y 3 cajones		36p; 65p; 4p 1t; 2p, 6t 3g oc		
Diaz, Pedro de (2)	ART	1594	1 fardo y 3 fardillos de mercadurias		14p 2t oc		
Escalante, Juan de	MAR	1592			10p 4t 5g om		
Estrada, Francisco de	MAR	1592			35p 5t oc		
Feria, Miguel de	MAR	1592	1 fardo grande y 14 fardos chicos: 1,500 mantas de chincheo de 11 a 12 varas	562p 4t oc	56p 2t oc		

			4.6. 101			
Freile, Antonio	MAR	1592	4 fardillos: 700 tocas 500 piezas de loza comun	251p om	25p 1t om	
Gali, Bernardin o	MAR	1592	100 mantas crudas de Cant on 110 mantas de chincheo (por Juan Carpintero)	115p om	14p 4t om	
			1 fardo: 100 mantas de Canton	62p 4t om	6p 2t om	
			45 pares de medias de algo dón (por San Juan de Azcain)	12p om	1p 2t om	
Gali, Terencio	MAR	1592	1 fardo: 100 mantas de chincheo co munes	50p om	5p om	
					12p 4t; 57p	
					3t 9g; 5p; 4t om	
Garcia de Cardenas, Juan	MAR	1592			33p 6t oc	
Garcia, Pedro con Francisco Rolón	GUA	1592	1 cajon, 2 fardillos y 1 caja: 20 docenas de loza comun plato y escudilla 100 mantas de chincheo 200 mantas de chincheo	120p om cada uno	24p om	
Gayac, Cristobal	GI	1592	35 mantas de algodon 20 mantas de cordoncillo 10 mantas pintadas 30 mantas de Sangley 4 cates de hilo blanco 20 mantas de Moro 105 libras de flueco de seda blanca 7 sinabafas	112p 6t oc	11p 2t 3g oc	
Geronimo, Pablo	MAR	1592	1 fardo, 2 fardillos chicos y 1 caja: 40 mantas de cordoncillo 40 mantas de oro de perdi z 106 toca ordinaria 19 mantas de Canton 1 escritorio dorado 7 cates de seda floja 118 platos de gallina 90 bacinillas que [ilegible] en la balsa de loza fina 110 limetas chicas 8 piezas de gorgaran 120 tocas de red	220p 4t om	22p 6g om	

		1593	1 caja, 1 fardo, 20 ranqueles y 1 fardillo: 5 piezas de raso de Canton 4 piezas de damascos 20 piezas de tafetanes 50 piezas de tocas 2 pares de medias de seda 20 cates de seda torcida 20 mantas de cordorcillo 100 mantas de Canton 200 veinte platos de gallin a bastos 500 piezas de loza basta 19 mantas de Canton	259p 4t om 811p 6t oc 632p	26p om	20p 3t oc 15p
				3t oc		7t oc
Gomez, Diego	MAR	1594	loza y seda		11p 1t 8g oc	
			30 fardillos, cajas y ranquel es y 1 balsa: 270 mantas de Canton 315 mantas de chincheo 838 mantas de Canton 290 mantas de chincheo 4,150 piezas de loza plato, etc 300 platos de gallina comu nes 400 piezas de loza fina 1 negro llamado Simon	1,674p 4t om	167p 4t om	
Gonzalez Sabili, Pedro	MAR	1592	1 petaca: 3 mantas de chincheo 2 mantas de cordoncillo 9 cates de hilo 6 camisas llanas 7 cuellos llanos 1 pieza de tafetan	17p om	1p 5t om	
			51 mantas de ojo de perdiz 7 mantas blancas y negras de Canton 2 cates y medio de seda floja comun	45p 2t om	4p 4t om	
			2 riachuelos y 2 fardillos: 40 mantas de Canton 90 mantas de chincheo	93p om	9p 3t om	
Gonzalez, Amador	MAR	1592	varias mercadurias	154p om	15p 4t om	
Gonzalez, Antonio (2)	MAR	1592	1 cajon y 4 fardos: 3 cajuelas doradas chicas 12 piezas de tocas comune s 11 piezas de tafetanes	315p om	31p 4t om	

			1 pieza de raso negro de C anton			
			3 sobrecamas de damasqui			
			200 cucharas de nacar 300 peines de palo 100 abanillos comunes			
			20 mantas azules 400 mantas de Canton de a 8 varas			
			1 bacilla y unos atados de			
			plato: 6 docenas de loza de Maca n 96 platos de losa comun	22p om	2p 2t om	
Gonzalez, Gaspar (1)	MAR	1592			25p om	
Gonzalez, Juan	MAR	1594	1 petaca, 1 fardillo de ropa y 14 fardos		41p 4t; 7p 4t; 9p 6t; 45 p; 28p 1t; 15p 3t oc	
Gonzalez, Pedro (1)	MAR	1592			183p om	
grumetes i ndios	GI	1592			35p 5t; 61p 3t 6g om	
Guecho, Martin de	MAR	1593	3 fardos de mercadurias (por Miguel de Arrona)	300р ос		7p 4t oc
Gutierrez, Francisco con Bernardin o de Angulo (encomen dero)	MAR	1592	1 cajon: 65 piezas de gorgoranes 2 piezas de damascos de c olores de arretes 4 piezas de raso blanco 6 piezas de raso negro de L anquin 10 piezas de raso negro y de colores de Canton 6 mantas anchas de ojo de perdiz 7 mantas de Cantón 2 mantas crudas	716p 7t oc	71p 6t oc	
					56p 2t oc	
Hernande z Lamprea, Luis	MAR	1594	3 fardillos de mercadurias		34p 6t oc	
	MAR	1592	40 piezas de tafetanes 30 tocas comunes	141p om	14p 1t om	

			20 mantas da Cantan anud		1	1	
			20 mantas de Canton crud				
			2 cajitas doradas				
			2 pabellones de tafetanes				
			3 sobrecamas de damasco				
			1 fardo y 2 cajones: 80 mantas de Canton de a				
Hernande			8 varas				
			6 piezas de tafetanes				
Z,			30 piezas de tafetanes de c				
Diego (1)			olores				
			30 pares de ligas comunes	150p om	15p om		
			30 cates de seda	_	_		
			floja común				
			2 cajuelas chicas doradas				
			6 cates de hilo 20 tocas de red				
			12 mantas de Canton de a				
T			8 varas		7		
Jerez,	MAR	1592	1 fardo:	72p om	7p		
Anton de			96 mantas de chincheo	_	2t om	200	C140
Jorge,	MAR	1594	180 cargas de cacao	3,600p oc			for 140
Damian			-		10	car	gas
Juan, Manuel	MAR	1594	7 fardillos de China		18p		
Manuel			Más de A faudilles y 1		6t oc		
			Más de 4 fardillos y 1				
			cajuela: 256 tocas comunes				
			12 cates de hilo blanco				
			12 mantas de chinchineo				
			20 platos chicos bastos				
			21 mantas crudas angostas				
		1592	de chincheo	219p	22n om		
Juarez,	MAR	1392	50 medriñaques	4t om	22p om		
Lucas	MAK		3 piezas de razo de Canton				
			20 mantas de chincheo				
			2 arrobas de [ilegible] azul				
			400 piezas de loza basta				
			21 mantas de chincheo				
			50 tocas comunes				
					47p 6t		
		1594	6 fardillos		11g oc		
Lamproa					11g 0t		
Lamprea,	MAR	1594	4 fardillos de mercadurias		19p oc		
Juan			1 fardo:	87p	8p		
			117 mantas de chincheo		•		
			117 mantas de chilicheo	6t om	6t om		
			2 fardos sin número y 2		41p om		
Landia,	MAR y		3 fardos sin número y 2				
Francisco	ACM	1592	fardillos: 300 mantas de chincheo				
de			100 mantas de chincheo	222n am	32p		
			30 tocas ordinarias	322p om	2tom		
			1				
			mil escudillas ordinarias		j	j	

	PIL	1594	1 fardo y 15 fardillos de mercadurias		107p 3t 8g; 10p 4t oc	
Lavi, Juan	GI	1592	1 fardillo: 50 mantas de sangley ango stas 20 pañitos de narices 20 paños de manos 4 piezas de gorgoran negro 10 piezas de tocas	33p 2t om	3p 2t 6g om	
Lopez, Diego	MAR	1594	1 fardo y 1 fardillo de mercadurias		15p oc	
Lorenzo, Francisco	MAR	1594	4 fardillo, 3 cajones y 1 caja de ropa de China		129p 7t 3g oc	
Luis, Juan	MAR	1592	2 Cajones: 40 piezas de tafetanes de colores 20 piezas de damascos de 11 varas 20 piezas de rasos negros y de colores de Canton 30 toca ordinaria 17 piezas de damasquillos ordinaria 11 piezas de damascos de a 11 varas 27 mantas de Canton crud as 70 piezas de toca cruda 415 cates de hilo 1 cajon: 150 mantas de chincheo	426p 7t om	41p 5t om	
Mandayo, Pedro	GI	1592	1 fardillo: 30 mantas de Canton 10 mantas de Moro 20 piezas de tocas crudas	25p om	2p 4t om	
Manuel, Pedro	MAR	1594	2 cajones de mercadurias		44p oc	
Marquez, Juan	MAR	1594	3 fardos y 2 fardillos de mercadurias (por Juan Gonzalez dela Meira) 6 fardos y		34p 1t; 146p 4t 2g	
			1 cajon de mercadurias (por Miguel Ruiz)		3t oc	
Martin de Triana,	MAR	1592	2 fardos: 100 mantas de chincheo 140 mantas de Canton 1 negro llamado Hernando de edad de 18	147p 4t om 120p om	15p 6t om 12p om	
Juan			400 piezas de loza comun, platos y escudillas 300 platos y escudillas fino s de Macan	113 pesos oc	11p 3t oc	

			16 cates y medio de				
			seda torcida de oro				
			100 medriñaques	53p	5p		
			una arroba de algodon	2t om	3t om		
					44p		
					4t om		
Martin de			5 fardillos:				
Viana,	MAR	1592	170 mantas de chincheo q	42p	4p		
Domingo	141111	1372	ue son angostas de	4t om	2t om		
Domingo			Sangley				
			140 mantas de Canton				
			14 piezas de tafetan 2 piezas de raso de Canton				
			7 piezas de seda de Japon				
			5 piezas de ligas de Japon				
Martin,	DES	1592	50 tocas ordinarias	201p om	20p		
Alonso			400 piezas de loza dorada		1t om		
			1 cajon con 1 arroba de alb				
			ayalde				
			2 docenas de escudillas chi				
14			quitas de bejuco			22 4:	
Martin,	MAR	1593	25 cargas de cacao	450р ос		22p 4t	
Pedro (1)				_	9p 4t 3g;	2g oc	
			4 fardillo, 2 fardos de China		33p 3g;		
			y 1 cajon de ropa de China		31p 5t		
34 .					3g oc		
Mateo	MAD	1594	1 fardo de mercadurias				
Griego, Gabriel	MAR	1594	(por Alonso de Albarrán)		12p oc		
dabilei			1 fardo de mercadurias		33p		
			(por Pedro de Morales)		5t oc		
			2 fardos de mercadurias		27p		
Mataa			(por Tomas de la Barrera)		_		
Mateo, Pablo	MAR	1594	1 cajon de ropa		78p 9g oc		
Mendez de)g 00		
Menacz ac		4===			1p		
Sotomayor	MAR	1592			2tom		
, Don Luis							
Monte,	MAR	1592	2 fardos:	55p om	6p om		
Miguel	IMITAIN	1392	20 mantas de Moro	22h am	ob om		
			1 caja:				
			40 piezas de Canton				
			24 piezas de tafetanes				
			3 toca negra ordinaria 2 almirezes				
			1 cate de pasamano negro				
Montero,	MAR	1592	de hilo	257p	25p		
Esteban		10,2	2 toquillas blancas	4t om	6t om		
			2 lanternas pequenas				
			50 rosarios				
			10 mantas blancas				
			2 cates de seda floja				
			3 cates de hilo blanco				

			2 cajitas doradas			
Moreno, Cristobal	MAR	1592			49p 4t oc	
Nicolas Griego, Juan	MAR	1592			21p 2t; 6t 6g om	
Nuebla, Carlos de	MAR	1592			52p 3t 6g oc	
Nurcio, Martin de	MAR	1592	2 Cajones: 200 peines pintados de pal 0 250 peines de tortuga 29 mantas pintadas 98 caracoles 24 cajuelas de agujas 16 piezas de toca comun 2 reatas 3 mantas de cordorcillos 4 piezas de telillas comun 2 piezas de pajaras 200 cucharas de concha 1 pieza de burato 1 pieza de raso negro de C anton 2 piezas de tafetanes 4 sabanas 5 piezas de medias de lienz 0 2 mantas moradas 400 cucharas de conchas 2 piezas de tocas 4 almojadas de manta 10 paños de mano 4 pañuelos de narizes 3 ropillas de raso negro 9 piezas de mangas de raso 2 cubijas blancas bordadas 3 jubones de tela 2 calzones de raso negro 5 mantas azules 2 sabanas de manta 5 cates de hilo 12 reatas 1 jubon de manta 8 cates de seda de colores Otros	165p om	16p 4t om	13p
Ondarro, Santiago de	MAR	1592	mercaduria para Peru (por Geronimo de Mendizabal)	4t oc		23p 2t oc 11p 7t 5g oc 3p 4t oc

Pablo, Nicolas	MAR	1592	24 fardillos y 1 caja: 240 mantas de Canton 300 mantas de Canton 20 cates de hilo gordo blan co 20 piezas de tafetanes 50 tocas comunes 13 fardos, 1 fardo,	398p om	77p 4t om: 40p om		440
		1593	1 fardillo y 1 cajon de mercadurias 10 botijas de vino	1,795p 2t 100p oc		7n 4t	44p 7t oc
Pacheco, Gaspar	MAR	1592	4 quintales de pasa 25 piezas de razos de color es 25 piezas de tafetanes 5 piezas de damascos de colores de China 10 piezas de tocas de a 7 varas 5 cates de seda blanca 20 mantas de chincheo	388p 6t oc	38p 7t oc	7 p 4 t	2g oc
Palacio, Pedro de	MAR	1592	2 cajones y 1 fardo: 40 cates de seda de color 12 cates de seda cruda 6 piezas de damascos de a 11 varas 8 piezas de tafetan 25 caracoles 80 piezas de toca comun 12 mantas de chincheo 6 piezas de damascos de 11 varas 10 piezas de tafetan 25 cates de hilo 8 cajitas doradas 25 piezas de canganes 7 arrobas de algodon	240p om	24p om		
Palancon, Agustin	GI	1592	1 fardillo: 66 mantas crudas de Canto n	41p 1t om	4p 1t om		
Perez, Francisco	MAR	1594	9 fardillos de ropa de China		33p 7t oc		
Perez, Gonzalo	MAR	1593		224р ос			5p 5t oc
Perez,	MAR	1594	5 fardos de mercadurias		37p 7t 6g oc		
Lucas		1595		500p oc			12p 4t oc
Pimentel, Alonso	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 8 mantas de Moro 3 mantas de Sangley 8 cajitas pintadas 1 cate de hilo de algodon 1 libra de fluecos de hilo	11p 6t oc	1p 1t 6g oc		

			To ~ 1		T	1	
			2 paños de manos de mant				
			a				
Piñate,			2 cajones y		20p 1t		
Cristobal	MAR	1591	1 fardo de mercadurias		10g oc		
Gristobai			1 fardillo:		10800		
			40 mantas angostas de San				
			gley				
_			12 pares de medias de algo				
Popoy,	GI	1592	don	25p om	2p		
Andres			17 pañitos de narizes de m	_	4t om		
			anta				
			6 paños de manos				
			14 tocas crudas				
Quintero,			3 fardos:	526p	56p		
Hernando	MAR	1592	468 mantas de chincheo	4t oc	2t oc		
Tiernanao			18 cates de hilo blanco				
			2 fardillos:	67p	6p		
			90 mantas de chincheo	4t om	6t om		
			1 petaca y 1 caja:				
			85 tachos y bacinicas de				
			metal	66p	6р		
			100 platos de gallina basto	4t om	5t om		
			s 100 platos chicos comunes				
			30 piezas de loza				
			50 piezas de 102a		6p		
					7t om		
					45p		
					1t om		
			3 fardillos y 2 cajones:				
			300 mantas crudas de Cant				
			on				
Ramirez,			42 atados de [ilegible]				
Gaspar	MAR	1592	blanco y negro				
daspai			23 cates de hilo blanco				
			20 piezas de tafetanes de c				
			olores				
			2 mantas de color listadas				
			11 bacias medianas de	254	26		
			metal	351p	36p		
			4 cates ½ de seda flora de colores	6t om	2t om		
			5 cates de				
			seda negra torcida				
			2 pares de medias de seda				
			1 par				
			de medias de algodon				
			10 docenas poco más o me				
			nos de				
			cucharas de concha				
I	1	1	1 escritorio				

	1			1	1	
			1 escribania dorada			
			2 cajitas pequenas comune			
			S			
			250 abanillos			
			3 piezas de tocas comunes			
			13 mantas crudas			
			1 pieza de sinabasta negra			
			16 cañiquies angostos			
			unas mantas de seda			
			6 piezas de Japon sencillos			
			3 piezas de tafetanes			
			3 piezas de razo negro			
			4 piezas de ligas sin puntas			
			5 cuerpos de ropillas de lie			
			nzo sin mangas			
			15 camisas llanas			
			8 jubones de lienzo sin ma			
			ngas			
			2 campanillas pequeñas			
			1 docena de zapatos y pant			
			uflos			
			16 cates de canela			
			6 bandejas de palo	22p om	2p	
			150 pires en		2t om	
			una petaquilla			
			8 fardillos de manta		15p oc	
		1594	2 fardillos y 1 cajon y		31p	
			medio de loza		2t oc	224 4
.						231p 6t
Ramirez,	DII	1593	4.6 1211			ос
Manuel	PIL		1 fardillo:	20. 4.	2p 6t 6g	
			40 mantas de Canton	28p 4t om	om	
			1 pabellon de manta			
			1 pasenon de manta			
			1 puberion de manea			
			1 fardillo:	28p	2p 6t	
			1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton	28p 4t om	2p 6t 6g om	
			1 fardillo:	_		
			1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton	_		
			1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton	_		
			1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton	_		
			1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton	_		
Rocas,	MAD	1502	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton	_		
Rocas, Alonso de	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta	_		
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo:	_		
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas	_		
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [llegible] pabellon [llegible] de razos	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon [Ilegible] de razos 1 (?) frontal con su frontalera 4 (?) ligas de japon	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon [Ilegible] de razos 1 (?) frontal con su frontalera	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon [Ilegible] de razos 1 (?) frontal con su frontalera 4 (?) ligas de japon	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon [Ilegible] de razos 1 (?) frontal con su frontalera 4 (?) ligas de japon	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon [Ilegible] de razos 1 (?) frontal con su frontalera 4 (?) ligas de japon	4t om	6g om	
	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 1 pabellon de manta 1 fardillo: 6 (?) sobrecamas [Ilegible] pabellon [Ilegible] de razos 1 (?) frontal con su frontalera 4 (?) ligas de japon	4t om	6g om	

Vellido,							
Juan							
Rodriguez, Antonio	PIL	1592	2 cajones, 3 fardillos y 2 lios: 24 mantas de mozo 1 pabellon blanco 12 cates de seda de colores 28 medios cates de hilo 1 sobrecama de manta 65 mantas de Canton 68 atados de loza 1,000 piezas de loza, plato s y escudillas bastas 20 docenas de loza 6 rodela (?) y 6 bandejas de palo	207p om	20p 7t om		
					21p 2t om		
		1593		1,125p oc			28p 1t oc
		1594			66p 5t 4g oc		
			25 cargas de cacao	450р ос		22p 4t oc	
		1595		2,290p 2t oc			57p 2t 2g oc
		1070		390p 3t oc			12p 2t oc
Rodriguez, Cristobal	MAR	1592	1 cajon y 1 cajuela: 10 piezas de razos de Cant on 30 piezas de toca comun 20 piezas de tafetanes 6 piezas de damascos 30 mantas de Canton 200 loza plato y escudilla 200 platos más	167p om	16p 6t om		
		1593	1 caja y 3 cajones de mercadurias	284p oc		01 - 65	7p 1t oc
			102 cargas de cacao	1,836р ос		91p 6t 5g oc	

Rolon, Francisco con Pedro Garcia (mar)	MAR	1592	1 cajon de loza, 2 fardillos y 1 caja: 20 docenas de loza comun, plato y escudilla 100 mantas de chincheo 200 mantas de chincheo	120p om cada uno	24p om	
		1594	1 fardillo de mercadurias (por Ynes de Santistevan)		4p oc	
Sanchez, Alonso	MAR	1593	2 cajas de mercadurias	84p oc		2p 1t oc
Sanchez, Luis	GE	1592	1 petaca y 1 cajon: 31 mantas de Canton 10 cates de hilo 4 arroba de azucar de cand e	44p 4t om	4p 4t om	
Sanchez, Roman	MAR	1594	4 fardillos de mercadurias		13p 4t oc	
Santillan, Alonso de	MAR	1592			9p 3t om	
Savile, Pedro	MAR	1592			6p 2t om	
Sosa, Miguel de	MAR	1592			56p 2t oc	
Tanco, Juan	MAR	1592	1 fardillo: 65 mantas angostas de San gley 44 tocas crudas ordinarias 8 paños de manos de mant a	33p om	3p 2t 6g om	
Tolcan, Marcos	GI	1592	1 fardillo: 40 mantas de Canton 20 calzones 20 paños de manos	37p 4t om	3p 6t om	
					1p 4t om	
Torres , Diego de	MAR	1592	7 fardillos: 1 pieza de damasco 2 piezas de tocas espumilla s 1 pieza de gorgoran tornas ol 2 cates de hilo 6 abanicos (por Marina de Torres)	8p 5t om	7t om	
Uceta, Miguel de	MAR	1594	2 fardos de ropa de China		6p; 4p 7t oc	
			1 fardo de mercadurias (por Juan de Arregui)		9p 6t oc	
Valle, Juan del	MAR	1594	1 fardo de mercadurias		1p 4t oc	

	MAR	1592	5 fardos: 155 mantas de cordoncillo 300 mantas de Canton 37 mantas crudas 152 mantas de chincheo 6 mantas finas de Lanquin 1 colcha blanca 5 sayas colchadas 140 tocas 13 cates de hilo	536p om	53p 5t om	
			12 pares de medias de algo dón		148p 6t	
					6g om	
Vera, Bernabe de			2 cajones: 38 piezas de rasos de color es finos de Lanquin 3 piezas de rasos de colore s arrollados 40 piezas de gorgoranes d e colores medio pico de seda torcida de colores al r eves 30 piezas de raso negro de Lanquin 31 piezas de damascos 10 piezas (?) de gorgoranes medio pico de seda torcida blanca (por secretario Alonso de Torres)	753p om	75p 2t 6g om	
		1594	1 fardillo y 8 fardos: pan (?) de cera 1500 piezas de loza 1 fardo de mercadurias (por Capitán Juan		12p; 27p 4t; 9p 3t; 10p 1t 8g; 40p 5t 4g oc	
			Esguerra)		22p 3t	
			2 cajuelas de mercadurias		2g	
		1598	1 mil piezas de lozas		16p 5t 4g	
			3 mil piezas de loza		50p 66p 5t	
			4 mil piezas de lozas		4g	
			1 cajoncillo de mercadurias		39p	

Source: AGI Contaduría 897-901. Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda, 1590-1603.

Note: Markers for plaza are ART (Artillero), GE (Grumete español), GI (Grumete indio), GUA (Guardian), MAR (Marinero), ACM (Acompañado de contramaestre), PIL (Piloto), and DES (Despensero)

Note: Markers for monetary units are p (pesos); t (tomines); g (granos); oc (oro comun or peso oro); om (oro de mina or peso plata)

Note:

1 oro comun = 9 reales or 306 maravedis 1 oro de mina = 13 ¼ reales or 450 maravedis 1 real = 34 maravedis¹

¹ Mateus, Augusto E. Albuja. *Doctrinas y parroquias del obispado de Quito en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*. Editorial Abya Yala, 1998. pp. 205-209