

The Philippine Review of Economics

Editor-in-Chief

EMMANUEL F. ESGUERRA

Editorial Advisory Board

EMMANUEL S. DE DIOS

RAUL V. FABELLA

HAL CHRISTOPHER HILL

CHARLES Y. HORIOKA

KIAN GUAN LIM

ROBERTO S. MARIANO

JOHN VINCENT C. NYE

GERARDO P. SICAT

JEFFREY G. WILLIAMSON

Associate Editors

LAWRENCE B. DACUYCUY

FRANCISCO G. DAKILA JR.

JONNA P. ESTUDILLO

MARIA S. FLORO

GILBERTO M. LLANTO

Managing Editor

HONLANI RUTH R. RUFO

ARTICLES IN THIS ISSUE

Shared prosperity characterized by four development goals: pro-poor growth, pro-poor development, inclusive growth, and inclusive development

Nanak Kakwani
Zakaria Siddiqui

Piketty inequality, meta-market failures and the new role of the state

Raul V. Fabella

Diamond and Dybvig in developing economies and in a digital world

Margarita Debuque-Gonzales

Toward a general neoclassical theory of economic growth

Delano S. Villanueva

Measuring fiscal policy sustainability in developing Asia: what does the Markov Switching Augmented Dickey-Fuller Test tell us?

Dannah Ysabel M. Premacio
Ezra Rebecca G. Vidar
Toby C. Monsod

The 16th century *Carrera del Pacífico*: its sailor-merchants and their trade goods

Kristyl Obispado



A joint publication of the
University of the Philippines
School of Economics
and the **Philippine Economic Society**





The Philippine Review of Economics

A joint publication of the UP School of Economics (UPSE)
and the Philippine Economic Society (PES)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Emmanuel F. Esguerra
UP SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Emmanuel S. de Dios
UP SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Raul V. Fabella
UP SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Hal Christopher Hill
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Charles Y. Horioka
KOBE UNIVERSITY

Kian Guan Lim
SINGAPORE MANAGEMENT UNIVERSITY

Roberto S. Mariano
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

John Vincent C. Nye
GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Gerardo P. Sicat
UP SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Jeffrey G. Williamson
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Lawrence B. Dacuycu
DE LA SALLE UNIVERSITY

Francisco G. Dakila Jr.
BANGKO SENTRAL NG PILIPINAS

Jonna P. Estudillo
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Maria S. Floro
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY (WASHINGTON D.C.)

Gilberto M. Llanto
PHILIPPINE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES

MANAGING EDITOR

Honlani Ruth R. Rufo
UP SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Aims and Scope: The *Philippine Review of Economics* (PRE) invites theoretical and empirical articles on economics and economic development. Papers on the Philippines, Asian and other developing economies are especially welcome. Book reviews will also be considered.

The PRE is published jointly by the UP School of Economics and the Philippine Economic Society. Its contents are indexed in the *Journal of Economic Literature*, EconLit, and RePec. PRE's readership includes economists and other social scientists in academe, business, government, and development research institutions.

Publication Information: The PRE (p-ISSN 1655-1516; e-ISSN 2984-8156) is a peer-reviewed journal published every June and December of each year. A searchable database of published articles and their abstracts is available at the PRE website (<http://pre.econ.upd.edu.ph>).

Subscription Information:

Subscription correspondence may be sent to the following addresses:

- css@pssc.org.ph
- PSSC Central Subscription Service,
PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, 1101, Diliman,
Quezon City, Philippines.
P.O. Box 205, UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City,
Philippines 1101
PHONE: 922-9627, FAX: 924-4178/926-5179

Submissions: Authors may submit their manuscripts to the addresses below:

- pre.upd@up.edu.ph
- The Editor, The Philippine Review of Economics, Rm 237,
School of Economics, University of the Philippines, Diliman,
Quezon City, 1101.

Manuscripts must be written in English and in MS Word format. All graphs and tables must be in Excel format. Submission of a manuscript shall be understood by the PRE as indicating that the manuscript is not under consideration for publication in other journals. All submissions must include the title of the paper, author information, an abstract of no more than 150 words, and a list of 3–4 keywords. Complete guidelines can be viewed in the PRE's website.

Copyright: The *Philippine Review of Economics* is protected by Philippine copyright laws. Articles appearing herein may be reproduced for personal use but not for mass circulation. To reprint an article from PRE, permission from the editor must be sought.

Acknowledgements: The PRE gratefully acknowledges the financial support towards its publication provided by the Philippine Center for Economic Development (PCED). The Review nonetheless follows an independent editorial policy. The articles published reflect solely the editorial judgement of the editors and the views of their respective authors.

The Philippine Review of Economics

Vol. LX No. 2
December 2023

p-ISSN 1655-1516
e-ISSN 2984-8156
DOI: 10.37907/ERP3202D

- 1 Shared prosperity characterized by four development goals: pro-poor growth, pro-poor development, inclusive growth, and inclusive development
Nanak Kakwani
Zakaria Siddiqui
- 25 Piketty inequality, meta-market failures and the new role of the state
Raul V. Fabella
- 39 Diamond and Dybvig in developing economies and in a digital world
Margarita Debuque-Gonzales
- 64 Toward a general neoclassical theory of economic growth
Delano S. Villanueva
- 81 Measuring fiscal policy sustainability in developing Asia: what does the Markov Switching Augmented Dickey-Fuller Test tell us?
Dannah Ysabel M. Premacio
Ezra Rebecca G. Vidar
Toby C. Monsod
- 104 The 16th century *Carrera del Pacífico*: its sailor-merchants and their trade goods
Kristyl Obispado

The 16th century *Carrera del Pacífico*: its sailor-merchants and their trade goods

Kristyl Obispado*

University of the Philippines

This article focuses on the sailors who served during the initial years of the *Carrera del Pacífico*, one of the globalizing projects of the Spanish Monarchy. In particular, the paper aims to examine the sailors who took advantage of the Pacific trade circuits by actively participating in various income-generating activities created by the *Carrera*. Using the sailors' economic endeavors, especially as sailor-merchants, as a lens can elucidate how early global trade was conducted and demonstrate the dynamics of the early Pacific trade. The paper argues that by seizing the opportunities presented by the *Carrera*, primarily by assuming the dual roles of sailors and merchants, these laborers helped consolidate the Spanish-Pacific region and reshape the consumption pattern of its local population. The sailors engaged in the transportation, sale, and purchase of global commodities during the early modern period, including textiles and chinaware, which catered to the demands of the broader consumer base in Spanish America. The sources draw data from the Royal Treasury of Acapulco registers during its first decade (1590-1600), where 1,574 sailors were identified. It belongs to Archivo General de Indias' *Contaduría* (Account) records, which contain the duties of commodities entering and leaving the port of Acapulco.

JEL classification: F13, B15, B17, N76

Keywords: Pacific trade, sailor-merchants, early globalization, Philippine-Chinese goods

1. Introduction

The term *Carrera del Pacífico*¹ (*Carrera* from here forward) or Pacific trade is used instead of its more popular name, Manila-Acapulco trade, to have a more nuanced understanding of its formal and informal traffics, including the Canton-Manila-Acapulco-Lima route [Bonialian 2012]. The galleons and their incessant navigations attempted to mark and connect the Spanish commercial highways in the West (Spanish America) and East (Asia) Indies. Due to this trade, the massive encounter of people from different continents led to the consolidation of the global spatial network and, to a certain extent, helped change the consumption pattern in Spanish colonies in the Pacific region.

* Address all correspondence to knobispado@up.edu.ph.

¹ The terms *Carrera de las Islas Filipinas*, *Carrera de Nueva España*, and *La Real Armada de Filipinas* also appear in the archival documents.

This study's examination of the pre-1593 period is crucial in understanding the intercolonial commercial interactions before royal policies were created to regulate trade. It should be emphasized that from the time of the *Carrera's* establishment in 1571 through its first decades, the general nature of the transaction as tax-free endured. The royal decree issued on April 14, 1579 allowed any Philippine ships to trade with New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, and Tierra Firme (part of the present-day Central and South America) without restrictions, a landmark and irreversible act that opened the Spanish-American market—formerly the exclusive domain of the Portabelo-Europe circuit—to Asian products (Schurz [1918]; Borah [1975]; Iwasaki [1992]; Bonialian [2014]). As a result, the first decades, which witnessed the local-global transformation of spaces with the increased movements of ships, people, and goods, significantly influenced its trajectory for centuries to come.²

In 1593, even when the Spanish Crown began to implement its trade as a government monopoly, its initial ambivalence towards strict trade restrictions between its colonies resulted in the persistence of triangular trade between Asia, New Spain, and Peru through contraband activities [Borah 1975]. Regarding the royal commerce between Acapulco and Manila, when the Spanish Crown imposed restrictions, reducing the annual trips of 250-300-ton ships from four to three, with the third vessel serving as a backup in emergencies, colonial officials compensated for this by augmenting the ship sizes. Another repeatedly used loophole involved designating King's vessels for non-commercial purposes such as dispatch, exploration, expedition, and supply procurement. Moreover, a notable change occurred with the introduction of higher taxes by 1606. Previously, the tariff on imported goods in Manila had been fixed at three percent. However, it was raised to six percent and remained at this rate until the 1640s. In addition, export goods destined for New Spain faced a two-percent tax alongside a 12-peso ship freightage fee per ton [Qing 2018].

The Crown's gradual regulation of the *Carrera* significantly favored the royal sailors. But even before the 1593 prohibition, it must be emphasized that they had already been benefitting from the trade.³ Since there was no restriction to the quantity of goods officials and crew could carry, the sailors had been active participants since the very beginning (Álvarez [1993]; Álvarez de Abreu and Yuste [1977 (1736)]; Recopilación [1973]; Obispado [2021]).⁴ When the 1593 royal order prohibited residents of New Spain and other parts of Spanish America from engaging in the trade, sailors capitalized on their privilege to transport and traffic commercial goods. With this setting, the Pacific sailors played protagonist

² For more details about the early phase of Pacific commercial activities, see Borah [1975] and Iwasaki [1992].

³ Iacarrino [2011] notes that before the establishment of the *permiso*, Spanish merchants enjoyed a high degree of freedom, allowing them to load whatever quantities of goods they desired onto multiple ships. However, the same royal decree imposed restrictions, limiting the size of the galleons to a mere 300 tons.

⁴ It was in 1602 when a decree was first issued regarding cargo distribution in the galleon: among the 300 tons of load distributed in the ship, each Spanish sailor had a right to half a ton while each *grumete*, a *fardo* (1/8 of a ton).

roles as merchants during the early trade. They helped to incorporate global commodities such as textiles and chinaware into the Spanish-American market. It is evident in the archival data, which reveals that throughout the 16th century, ten percent of the sailors took part in the trade route where they served as sailors: Manila-Acapulco, Acapulco-Peru and Central America, and Peru and Central America-Acapulco.

Documented on the *Cuentas de Real Hacienda of Acapulco* (Account of the Royal Treasury of Acapulco), one finds a meticulous account of trade commodities and their *almojarifazgo* or duty collected in Mexico. Across a thousand folios of *Contaduría* number 898 is a trove of information, including details of apportioned spaces, names of the owners or consignors of goods, and the three designated individuals responsible for handling the disposal of commodities in Acapulco. Initially, as mentioned before, the duty was at a rate of 12 pesos per ton and later increased to 45 pesos in 1586. However, by 1591, it was fixed at a ten percent ad valorem rate. The proceeds generated from the *almojarifazgo* were then remitted to Manila as a component of the *situado*.⁵

Given the detailed record of every sailor's consignment and corresponding duty, these sources shed light on the operation of 16th century trade and present some of the earliest inventories of goods transported by sailors, often referred to as cargo manifests. The primary strength of this data lies in its documentation of the actual commodities that were consistently exported, marketed, and consumed across various regions. It reveals a significant shift in trade dynamics, moving away from premium products like spices toward essential products routinely carried by ships. This transformation could signify the diminishing gap between producers and consumers as they became closely interconnected within a global trade network. Furthermore, these records demonstrate the trade of goods with a global reach, encompassing affordable consumer products designed to cater to diverse household needs. These items span a wide range, from clothing and bedding to kitchen utensils, providing information on household consumption patterns in the early modern world.

This study does not consider contraband goods loaded onto ships, which might include luxury items such as spices and jewelry. Notably, during this specific decade, there was a substantial surge in silver importation to China, estimated at 6,000,000 pesos. Apparently, the 500,000-peso limit was exceeded by more than tenfold, indicating that it is far from accurately representing the true extent of the trade volume [Bonialian 2021].

2. Sailors as merchants

The trade activities of the sailors during the initial period of the Pacific trade were intricately tied to their occupational mobility, especially the voyages from

⁵ See Luis Alonso's [2019] comprehensive discussion regarding Philippine royal situado.

Manila to Acapulco. However, their responsibilities extended beyond the Manila-Acapulco route and became instrumental in the Spanish empire’s military and commercial expeditions in larger Spanish America and the Asia-Pacific regions. Consequently, these areas became an indispensable source of commercial products for the traders, which included the sailors. This section traces the geographic origin, job history, level of participation in trade, and commercial routes followed by these sailors in the 16th century. In the process, it aims to articulate how a particular non-elite group experienced the global commercial changes during the period. For the sources, it draws data from the registers of the Caja Real de Acapulco in its first decade (1590-1600), where a total of 1,574 sailors, comprising *marinero* (sailors), *grumete español* (Spanish apprentices), *grumete indio* (native apprentices), *paje español* (European pages), and *paje indio* (native pages) are identified. The findings of this study indicate that ten percent of these individuals participated in the trading activities of the ships while serving as sailors. These trade routes included Manila-Acapulco, Acapulco-Peru and others, and Peru and others-Acapulco.

2.1. Sailors’ origin and mobility

Set in the context of the early global trade, the *Carrera* generated a lot of jobs and pulled towards its port crew members originating from Asia, Europe, and Spanish America. Asians and Spanish Americans constituted about 36 percent of the crew and served primarily as *grumetes indios*. At the same time, nearly 63 percent were Spanish and non-Spanish Europeans. The enlisted sailors of Asian origin came from the Philippines or other territories with commercial relations with the Portuguese in Macao and Spaniards in Manila during the Iberian Union. From the other side of the Pacific, particularly Acapulco and Mexico City, which served as other key recruitment areas for the sailors, came the *indios novohispanos* (Mexican indigenous population) and *mulattos*. The Europeans entered the *Carrera* through the Atlantic Veracruz, from whence they sailed to Acapulco and were hired as sailors, *grumetes españoles*, and *pajes españoles*.

TABLE 1. Geographic origin of sailors, 1590-1600

Sailors	Geographical Origin	Frequency	Percent
Grumete español (Spanish apprentice)	Europe	153	9.72
Grumete indio (Native apprentice)	Asia and America	568	36.09
Marinero (sailors)	Mostly Europe	825	52.41
Paje español (European page)	Europe	26	1.65
Paje indio (Native page)	Asia and America	2	0.13

Source: AGI [1591-1603].

The geographic origin and religion of sailors determined their rank as *marineros*, *grumetes*, or *pajes*, which would affect their salary and other remunerations. However, examining their job history suggests that their post as sailors was highly flexible. Table 2 shows that among the identified 1,574 sailors (*marineros*, *grumetes españoles*, *grumetes indios*, *pajes españoles*, and *pajes indios*), a total of 162 were registered to have served simultaneously or alternately in other positions aboard the ship and at ports between 1590 and 1600.⁶ The frequency is the number of times any of these 162 sailors assumed other positions. For example, one or any of them took the position of a shipmaster five times.

TABLE 2. Sailors' mobility across ranks, 1590-1600

Position	Annual salary in pesos de oro comun	Frequency	Percent
shipmaster	200	5	1.32
boatswain		1	0.26
assistant pilot	150	3	0.79
assistant to chief pilot	300	1	0.26
water bailiff	200	4	1.05
captain	180-200	5	1.32
gunner	120-200	34	8.95
barber and surgeon	150-250	1	0.26
plumber	83p 2t 8g	1	0.26
diver	300	2	0.53
caulker	300	11	2.89
captain and master	300	1	0.26
carpenter	300	6	1.58
native carpenter	100-250	7	1.84
chief gunner	250-300	6	1.58
shipmaster	250-300	11	2.89
dispenser	200	13	3.42
scribe	180	1	0.26
grumete español	100	40	10.53
grumete indio	50	21	5.53
grumete indio de chinchorro	50	1	0.26
port's grumete indio	50	3	0.79
steward	200	16	4.21
artilleryman	83p 2t 8g	4	1.05

⁶ The author utilized the appendix attached in Obispado [2021] to reconstruct the number of sailors who served in various positions in the Pacific trade between 1590 and 1600.

TABLE 2. Sailors' mobility across ranks, 1590-1600 (continued)

Position	Annual salary in pesos de oro comun	Frequency	Percent
maestre	300	4	1.05
marinero	150	147	38.68
port's marinero	120-150	4	1.05
paje español	80	2	0.53
paje indio	40	0	0
pilot	600	3	0.79
chief pilot	600	1	0.26
cooper	300	2	0.53
turner	83p 2t 8g	1	0.26
port's royal employees		18	4.73
Total		380	100

Source: AGI [1591-1603].

It means that even a *grumete indio* whose annual salary was 50 pesos could still take other jobs as captain, carpenter, and caulker and receive up to 250 pesos salary. Shifting between two or three jobs or being employed simultaneously for two to three positions also implies a greater chance of engaging in trade and increasing one's income. While waiting for their next voyage, they would take other jobs at the port. Finally, they alternately participated in different *Carrera* trade circuits: the Manila-Acapulco, Acapulco-Peru, and Peru-Acapulco. Between 1591 and 1600, 59 ships plied between the ports of Manila and Acapulco, which explained the demand for sailors [AGI 1591-1603]. The mobility observed among crew members hints at a potential crew shortage and budget constraints within the Treasury of Acapulco and highlights the sailors' ways to improve earnings. Their effort to augment their salary becomes particularly evident as they capitalized on the opportunities that the *Carrera* presented. The sailors had access to information about various goods and producers, fostered crucial contacts within their workplaces, and engaged in commercial interactions as they embarked on intercontinental journeys. Moreover, they were allowed to bring along slaves, a trunk for personal belongings, and extra luggage for their merchandise aboard during their voyages.

2.2. The sailor-merchants

Due to their occupation, sailors frequently found themselves in bustling commercial centers where goods circulated. They leveraged their privileges to generate income either by selling their allocation of a galleon's cargo space to non-Manila residents, by being owners or consignors, or by acting as consignees, earning a commission from those who were not eligible to engage in trade

(Ortigosa and Lee [2018]; Goode [2017]). During this period, some sailors temporarily left their maritime posts to concentrate on trading. Subsequently, several of them returned to their roles as royal sailors, while others did not. For example, Francisco Diaz, who served as a sailor in 1591, became a *consignatario* (consignee) in 1593 before resuming his service as a *Carrera* sailor in 1594, a post he maintained into the 17th century. Another case is that of Benito Juarez, who served as a sailor in 1591. However, by 1594, he repeatedly emerged as a consignee in Contaduría records. Francisco de Bolaños and Bernabe de Vera shared a similar trajectory. The former worked as a sailor from 1590 to 1591 but transitioned into the role of a trader in 1592. In contrast, the latter juggled his work as a sailor and trading activities in 1592. However, by 1594, Bernabe de Vera had left working as a sailor and dedicated full time to commerce, as his name no longer appeared as a sailor but kept surfacing as a trader until 1598 [AGI 1591-1603].

Another observation is the active involvement of *marineros* and *indios grumetes* in the commodity trade. In 1592, several *indios grumetes* jointly traded goods valued at 350 pesos while traveling from Manila to Acapulco [AGI 1591-1603]. However, individuals in higher positions often made more significant investments. Consider the case of Francisco de Landia. He began as a sailor on February 28, 1591 and advanced to becoming sailor-boatswain the following year, on February 10, 1592. In the same year, he began participating in trade along the Manila-Acapulco route. He continued working as a sailor-boatswain until May 19, 1594, when he became a pilot from May 20 until July 1, 1595. Simultaneously, he engaged in trade with higher capital. His diverse positions included serving as a gunner, *marinero*, *grumete español*, shipmaster, and steward, which continued until 1622 [AGI 1591-1603].

Similarly, a trader named Antonio Rodriguez started his career as a pilot-merchant in the Manila-Acapulco route on July 8, 1592. On April 9, 1593, he remained as a pilot while trading in the Acapulco-Peru route. In 1594, he continued his service on dispatch ships involved in the galleon trade, with his trade goods on board. Toward the latter part of 1594, he again shifted his focus to the Acapulco-Peru route. Upon his return to Acapulco, he brought products from Peru and paid the five percent *almojarifazgo*. In 1595, he resumed his duties as a pilot on royal ships traveling from Acapulco to Peru. Concurrently, he purchased goods in Acapulco [AGI 1591-1603].

The last example is Gaspar Ramirez, who served as a steward for the Acapulco-Manila-Acapulco route from December 1, 1590 to June 12, 1591. Although it is not explicitly documented, he must have returned to Manila toward the latter part of the year, given that on July 8, 1592, he was en route from Manila to Acapulco, serving as a sailor. At the same time, he took advantage of his job by bringing trade goods. He continued in the capacity of a steward until January 26, 1593, after which he became a dispenser from January 27, 1593 to December 31, 1594.

He also registered trade goods within this period [AGI 1591-1603]. This pattern of dual involvement in trade and official roles extended throughout the service of the officials and crew. However, as the 17th century progressed, the documentation of sailors' commercial activities gradually faded. This shift might have been a strategic move to obscure contraband trade practices. As a result, the register of *almojarifazgo* (also called *flete de ropa*) ceased to provide specific information about the owners and brokers of the trade goods and only recorded the amounts they paid for the galleon commodities they loaded onto the ships.

If we survey the commodities they owned, most were textiles (especially silk and cotton), chinaware, furnishing, and other stuff, which came from their workplaces, such as Acapulco-Peru, Peru-Acapulco, and Manila-Acapulco trade networks [AGI 1591-1603]:

TABLE 3. Number of sailor-merchants from 1590-1600

	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1599	Total
Acapulco-Peru		1	10		1		12
Peru-Acapulco			3	2			5
Manila-Acapulco	1	76		36		9	122
Total	1	77	13	38	1	9	139

Source: AGI (Archivo General de Indias). 1591-1603. Caja de Acapulco. Cuentas de Real Hacienda [Treasury of Acapulco, Accounts of the Royal Treasury]. Contaduría 898-901.

The limited presence of sailor-merchants on the Acapulco-Peru and Peru-Acapulco routes can be attributed to a series of trade restrictions that came into effect, including an early prohibition on trade between Peru and the Philippines dating back to 1581. Subsequently, in 1591, another ban was imposed, which forbade inter-American commercial interactions from Callao to Tierra Firme and Guatemala. By 1604, all trade between the two viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru was completely prohibited [Iaccarino 2011:116]. Thus, a striking contrast emerges when we examine the situation in the years preceding these bans. For instance, all the sailors and crew members aboard the ship *Santa Maria de la Cinta*, which arrived in Peru in 1581, were actively involved in trading activities as owners and consignees.⁷

The peak in the number of sailor-merchants recorded in 1592 (Table 3) offers a significant glimpse into the actual engagement of the *Carrera* crew in trade activities. During the initial years of the *Carrera*, commercial ties between the Philippines and China remained unrestricted. However, changes began to take shape in 1586 when Spanish authorities petitioned the Council of the Indies for a shift in how purchases from Chinese merchants were conducted. This led to the request that individual arrangements be replaced by a wholesale agreement endorsed by a royal decree in 1589 [Iaccarino 2011]. This transition was

⁷ For the details of the trade goods aboard the ship *Santa Maria de la Cinta*, see Obispado [2023b].

ultimately enforced in 1593, along with new regulations governing the trade, which prohibited voyages to China for trade purposes and cessation of importing goods through Chinese vessels specifically consigned to individual Spaniards in Manila. Instead, the only permissible method for procuring Chinese imports became the *pancada* system, a wholesale bargaining mechanism. It was designed to regulate the volume of goods acquired annually for each galleon trip [Schurz 1939]. This shift in trade practices had a notable impact, as substantiated by the significantly more extended list of shippers in the 16th century when contrasted with the 18th century [Schurz 1939].

Post-1593, the merchants started resorting to contraband trade, looking for the loopholes of the royal decrees. Schurz details these practices, noting that merchants would set up specific shipments of goods from China at prearranged rates. The consignee would receive these consignments before the junk reached Manila Bay, or some merchants would buy goods ahead of the official appraisal, which involved a comprehensive examination of goods or samples with intricate classification and grading. Some opted to invest after the *pancada* had concluded, storing silk in private warehouses to await the sailing of the following year's galleon. Others chose to invest after the *pancada* had finished, holding silk privately to be dispatched on the following year's galleon [Schurz 1939].

3. Expanding market for Asian goods

As seen in the previous section, the workplace mobility of the sailors in the 16th century *Carrera*, in conjunction with their roles as traders and intermediaries, provides insights into Pacific commercial exchanges. In this time of early market expansion, the sailors were strategically positioned to influence the changing consumption pattern, especially in Spanish America. The surge in consumer demand can be attributed to increased access of the lower classes to silver and silk given the availability and cheapness of goods. By tracing the involvement of sailors in the Pacific trade networks, we can also gain a deeper understanding of how products underwent adaptation to align with the ever-evolving preferences of consumers as they became more intricately connected to the global trade system.

The variety and quantity of goods carried by the ship crew depended on the route of their journey [Obispado 2023a]. However, the context of the period in which the trade was conducted also played a crucial role. During the initial decade of the *Carrera* (1570s-1580s), coveted spices, such as cloves, pepper, sesame, nutmeg, and cinnamon, were exported by the officials and crew for up to more than 20,000 pounds. But between the late 16th and early 17th centuries, a few pounds of cinnamon became the only spice appearing among the items they transported. This period's commodity profile became dominated by cheaper raw, intermediate, and finished Philippine-Chinese goods. This section analyzes the context of the period that created the demand for Asian fabrics, earthenware, and other products.

It is an attempt to unbox and examine the tightly crated galleon cargo, an action that was inconceivable at any port, particularly from 1593 onwards.

3.1. *The pre- and post-1593 period*

From the economic angle, the *Carrera* became instrumental in the changing global landscape of production, consumption, and circulation of goods, gearing toward large-scale production. One of the earliest indicators of this new paradigm was the emerging and overlapping intercontinental commercial circuits, which encompassed geographical, political, commercial, and cultural dimensions. Moreover, the locations where this transformation was unfolding—ports, towns, urban centers, and hinterlands—relied on various network systems constantly expanding, contracting, and creating formal and informal venues for commercial transactions.

Interconnected global events marked the 16th century. Synchronous with the discovery of silver in Spanish America was the shift towards a silver-based economy in China. The conjunction of the low production cost of silver in America and its high demand in China gave birth to global trade [Flynn and Giraldez 1995]. It is crucial to underscore earlier events that propelled these global transformations: the Ming government's choice to open a part of the Fujian region for trade in the 1560s, followed by the establishment of the Spanish colonial outpost of Manila in the Philippines during the 1570s [Qing 2018]. The transfer of the Philippine capital from Cebu to Manila highlighted the government's intent to prioritize commercial ties with China, signifying a shift away from the trade in spices and toward silk. Because of its strategic location and its integration into preexisting Asian trade networks, Manila evolved into a commercial center. It became a pivotal conduit for exchanging luxury items catering to the elite while streamlining the regular exchange of bulk commodities between Asia and Spanish America [Gerritsen and Riello 2015]. Another significant episode was the dynastic union of Spain and Portugal, aligning with increased economic activity in Asia. As Tremml [2012] and Pinto [2014] posited, the Iberian Union amplified economic interactions between their Asian territories in the South China Sea, notably Manila and Macao, which further expanded to Melaka, India, and Japan. As a result of the abovementioned 16th century events, the Pacific World, the New World, and the Old World had indeed become permanently linked [Flynn and Giraldez 2008].

The second indicator was the increasing enforcement of the *almojarifazgo*. This term, derived from the Arabic word “al-musrif”, referred to the royal tariffs established for all Spanish colonies. In the Philippines, it was first introduced in the 1580s by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa when a three-percent tax was proposed on import and export goods in Manila and Acapulco as well as the 12-peso ship freightage for each ton on ships heading to New Spain. Qing [2018] considers 1591 to be the commencement of large-scale Philippine-Sino trade. This assertion is grounded in Juan Gil's comprehensive record of Chinese captains'

names and the customs duties paid upon their ships' arrival in Manila. This year, twenty-one Chinese ships registered and paid the three percent *almojarifazgo* in Manila. It translated to a substantial tax revenue of 16,829 pesos, five *tomíns*, and four *granos*, levied against the imported goods valued at 560,967 pesos.⁸ The evident expansion of trade compelled the Spanish crown to regulate it through strict implementation of taxation on the galleon goods. Eventually, the acceptable amount of merchandise *naos* (galleons) could transport from the Philippines to New Spain was limited to 250,000 pesos, while the monetary earnings should not exceed 500,000. But even with this limitation, the Chinese continued sending products to Manila that could reach up to several million pesos and stayed this way until 1615 [Qing 2018]. Given the 250,000-limit to the merchandise permitted to be brought to Acapulco, most Chinese goods could have been sent as contraband.

For the last indicator, the trade landscape from the 1570s, dominated by exotic goods such as spices, began to disappear. In contrast, what used to be considered a luxurious item, such as silk, became accessible to everyone, which somehow leveled the social rank among people. The Spanish Crown began implementing sumptuary laws in its various colonies to curb this. For example, in the Philippines, Governor Dasmariñas passed an ordinance as early as 1591 prohibiting Filipinos from wearing Chinese clothing [Iaccarino 2011].

3.2. Shift to Philippine-Chinese goods

One tangible outcome of the 16th century events was replacing Andalusian goods in Spanish America with Philippine-Chinese goods when the *Carrera* began. This shift could be elucidated by examining the composition of the Spanish trade monopoly. They primarily comprised raw or manufactured textiles crafted from silk, woolen, or cotton. While there was a sustained and constant demand for fabrics, the faltering Spanish textile industry needed help to meet this demand. Moreover, its products were considerably more expensive than those of its Mexican counterparts.

In Mexico, the local authorities had already developed their silk industry as early as 1522, cultivating mulberries and producing silk textiles [Iaccarino 2011]. A survey of textile goods that arrived in Puebla between 1549 and 1562, conducted by Boyd-Bowman [1973], highlighted substantial price disparities. For instance, Mexican silk, primarily sourced from Granada, was retailed for less than a third of the cost of Spanish imports. Similarly, locally produced taffeta was priced 25 percent lower than the average imported equivalent.

Meanwhile, as the galleon system evolved into an efficient means of cost-effective and systematic distribution, it was necessary to introduce novel and practical goods to broader markets. It started in 1573 when two ships brought 712 bolts of Chinese silk to Acapulco, 22,300 pieces of fine china gilt, and other

⁸ Eight silver *reales* or *tomines* made up a silver peso; while each *tomín* could be divided into twelve *granos*.

porcelain wares [Villiers 1980], eventually dominating the American market. Even the silk produced in Mexico could not match the quality of China's silk, which was available at nearly a third of the price of those made in Spain [Iaccarino 2011]. Leveraging the strategic nexus between Manila and Acapulco, as well as the burgeoning intra-Asian trade extending to Central and South America, the Philippines and China emerged as pivotal hubs for the production of galleon goods, particularly textiles, in the 16th century.

From the Philippines, the survey of goods showed medrinaque and cotton as the most common products. Unsurprisingly, fabrics became core components of the early tribute payment system in the colony. For instance, in Manila, a standard non-monetary tribute included 185 pounds of rice, one cotton cloth that measured two to 2.6 yards long and one to 1.2 yards wide, one mae of gold, and one chicken (Obispado [2023b]; Hidalgo [1995]; Alonso [2019]). In the Visayas, *guinaras*, a cloth measuring 15 feet by 20 inches, became synonymous with *tributo* or tribute since they were used to pay tax [Castro 2018]. The fabric measurements stipulated for tribute are particularly noteworthy, suggesting the nature of the Philippines' principal exports destined for Mexico. It should be emphasized that from the precolonial period, the local populace, particularly women, had been actively involved in community and household economic tasks like weaving for internal consumption and fulfilling their traditional tribute obligations. With the rule of the Spanish Crown, they were continuously tapped to meet the growing demands for textiles in New Spain and other parts of Spanish America (Obispado [2023b]; Diaz-Trechuelo [1964]). In producing these handwoven fabrics, numerous processes, from stripping and dyeing abaca to spinning and weaving, were carried out in different households, especially by women.

The galleon system attracted manufacturers in China, who found a ready market for their goods in the *Carrera* merchants exporting to Mexico, Peru, and Spain [Trusted 2013:448]. The initial tax-free policy extended by the authorities was a significant incentive for exporters, most of whom were Chinese. Even when Governor Dasmariñas (1590-1593) set a six percent tariff on all Chinese goods, it did not deter the influx of Chinese traders. In fact, during the years spanning from 1581 to 1590, an average of 102 Chinese vessels arrived in Manila, and this number increased to 119 during the period from 1591 to 1600 [Iaccarino 2011]. These junks provided an assortment of silks, from raw materials to elaborately woven textiles such as velvets, damasks, and taffetas, each demonstrating a variety of weaves, textures, and shades. Additionally, there was a rich display of linens, cotton shawls, items adorned with gold, and intricate embroideries [Schurz 1939].

In addition to manufacturing hubs in China, workshops in Manila were another source of Chinese products. Caniquís and Sangley's thin mantas, which could have been produced in these workshops, were priced as affordably as native-made mantas, both carrying a two-tomín-price (Obispado [2023b]; AGI [1592]). As Bishop Salazar noted in his report to the king dated June 24, 1590,

some articles were crafted by Chinese artisans within Manila's Parián, and they did so "quickly and with better finish than in China" [Iaccarino 2011]. Workshops within this area were established starting in the late 16th century, producing both standard and luxury materials, including items made from ivory.

Trusted [2013] pointed out that the manufactured articles offer insights into their operation, hinting at broader workshop practices. The diversity of ivories discovered suggests that various versions or possibly duplicates of the same subject and composition were produced in significant quantities. Hence, it is likely that there was an existing production line, with the repetitions indicating not only an efficient method of production but also a consistent demand for popular sacred images.

In the context of the galleon trade in the 16th century, it becomes apparent that there was a presence of household or local manufacturing along with workshops in Manila, other capital cities, and central hubs in China, each engaged in the production of goods at various stages, encompassing raw materials, intermediate products, and finished goods.

4. Unboxing the shipped goods

Ortigosa and Lee [2018] underscore the complex and laborious nature of documenting merchandise for transport. Multiple variables are at play, such as the prevailing market conditions, the cargo capacity of the ship, and the strategic allocation of goods to optimize efficiency and profitability. This meticulous approach ensured that each voyage was tailored to meet the specific demands of the time while satisfying the interests of the shippers and the broader trade network. For the standard process, every package had to be sealed, labeled, and registered for taxation in the *libros de contabilidad* (manifest of goods). Upon arrival in Acapulco, the port officials headed by the *castellano* (port governor) 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 (Goode [2017]; McCarthy [1993]). To carry the merchandise ashore, they used *chata*, a flat-bottomed boat that the *cagayanes* (shipyard workers) usually fabricated for over 20 days.⁹ The officials paid the sailors four pesos daily to empty the ship's cargoes and appointed guards to monitor them closely. The activity usually lasted two weeks; however, other challenges, such as the arrival of vessels carrying sick crew members or the appearance of Spanish enemies, could prolong it [AGI 1606-1615].

For the taxation, the shippers had to provide a detailed account of their consignments and a declaration specifying each chest's volume and contents. In addition, they were under the obligation to formally swear, signifying their

⁹ They spent four days going to the mountains to cut and bring small knee, futtock timbers, and other woods; another 16 days to assemble it and its oars, from which they received a fee of five pesos per day. [AGI 1606-1615].

solemn acceptance of the stated information. This oath affirmed that the goods corresponded precisely to the provided description and that the shipper was the exclusive and original consignor of the shipment. Following the board of appraisal certification, the invoices were submitted to the *Contaduría*, which were meticulously copied into the galleon register. Then, the duties were assessed based on the declared value provided under oath [Schurz 1939]. The *almojarifazgo*, or tax owed to the King, depended on the origin of the vessels: ten percent if they came from the Philippines and five percent from Peru and other American ports. These taxes were sent back to Manila as part of the Philippine situado (AGI [1591-1603]; Schurz [1939]; Alonso [2009]).

However, as noted by several authors, it was almost impossible to appraise the ship's overall cargo without examining the goods. Depending on the container, one ton could be filled with approximately eight *fardos*, six *cajas*, or 12 wax cakes. Containers did not adhere to standard form and instead varied in size, weight, or capacity, as follows: *fardo* (bale), *fardo grande* (large bale), *fardo chico* (small bale), *fardillo* (small bale), *fardillo chico* (small fardillo), *cajuela* (small box), *cajon* (crate), *caja* (box), *cajoncillo* (small crate), *petaca* (chest), *balsa* (raft), and *lio* (bundle). Sometimes, they even utilized *escritorio* (desk) to pack the goods (Ortigoza and Lee [2018]; AGI [1591-1603]). Hence, opening the boxes of goods was the only method to ascertain the invoices' value. Due to the limitations in unlocking or untying the containers, examining the traded goods and confirming whether what was recorded in the manifest matched the merchandise's actual type, quantity, and value was nearly impossible. According to Ortigoza and Lee [2018]:

The vast variety of merchandise and the multitude of different units of measurement assigned, sometimes even for the same type of merchandise, along with the varying value of that unit depending on the time and port of registration, and the fact that the same product could be noted in different measures of capacity, weight, or length, all contribute to the complexity. Different records for the same type of merchandise introduced into the ship in various measurement forms, by a single merchant or multiple owners or representatives, on different days, and representing different amounts, serve as a brief example of this complication.

Before establishing the 1593 monopoly, three to four ships weighing 250-300 tons made yearly trips for the royal trade between Manila and Acapulco. For instance, in November 1592, three galleons, namely *Santiago*, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, and *San Pedro*, arrived in Acapulco. Since port authorities examined and appraised the goods brought by their crew, the ten percent tax they paid was as follows: *Santiago*, 2,104 pesos, three granos; *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, 583 pesos, three tomines, three granos; and *San Pedro*: 3,078 pesos, one tomin. These taxes would be charged to 76 crew and an unknown number of *indios grumetes* who loaded goods either on their account or as consignees of other merchants.

The ten-percent tax for the merchandise they brought amounted to 5,760 pesos, four tomines, six granos de oro común, or almost 60,000 total value of goods, equivalent to nearly 25 percent of the permissible total value of goods.

4.1. *Sailors' inventory of goods*

An inventory of trade commodities owned by the galleon crew is shown in the Appendix encompassing a diverse spectrum of 15 distinct categories: food and spices, lead, personal items, home essentials, live animals, slaves, raw materials, woven fabrics, textile accessories, head coverings, personal cloths, garments, footwear, beddings and curtains, and others. Furthermore, this extensive array could be further divided into a staggering 229 varieties, contingent on specific attributes such as their place of origin (Philippines, China, Japan), size (small to medium-sized), dimension (six to 11 yards), weight (lightweight), thickness (thick, thin), color (white, painted, dyed), quality (ordinary, unrefined), texture (coarse, fine), authenticity (imitation, damask-like), material or fiber composition (cotton, silk, linen), types of woven fabrics (grogram, damask, satin), accompanying accessories and decorative finishes (braided, embroidered, brocaded, striped), and processing stage (raw, intermediate, and finished).

The majority of these products came from Asia. Philippine goods included cotton yarns, medrinaque, Moro and Ilocos woven textiles, and other cotton cloths, comprising 50 percent of the total exports.¹⁰ The indigenous population used them, especially plain white cotton or abaca cloth, to make pants, loose shirts, waistcoats, or women's garments. As I have discussed in another article, among the Asian woven fabrics, those from the Philippine islands, which composed 50 percent of the galleon trade goods in the 16th century, were the cheapest, with the price ranging from two to four tomines depending on the types, patterns, and technique used to manufacture the textiles [Obispado 2023b]. Other Philippine manufactured goods that became regular export throughout the galleon trade were Cebu gauze; Ilocos sailcloths, petticoats, and hammocks; Lubang and Ilocos linen sheets; Manila cotton stockings; and tablecloths, bed canopies, and coverlets from other provinces [Schurz 1939].

Chinese mantas were also affordable, albeit costlier than those from the Philippines. Most of their products were made from lower-quality materials and had undergone rapid production. They were described as *ordinaria* (ordinary), *llano* (plain), *común* (common), *basta* (coarse), *cruda* (unrefined), *pequeña* (small), *angosta* (lightweight), loosely woven, and imitation, priced for as low as six tomines. Examples are Cantonese and Chincheo's ordinary and unrefined woven textiles. According to Iaccarino [2011], these goods were made in Jiangnan factories and sent through Cantonese and Fujianese maritime trade networks. The latter, known for its mulberry and porcelain production, became

¹⁰ In another article the focus of discussion is the Philippine local produce in the sixteenth-century galleon trade. See Obispado [2023b].

hubs where shipowners could set up shipping businesses and export goods from Fujian and other provinces. Later on, with the endorsement of the Ming provincial authorities, these items, mainly the Chinese silks, were transported by Fujian merchants to Manila. One of the most common items inside the sailors' boxes was labeled based on the ports where the textiles originated, such as Chincheo and Lanquin. From Lanquin came blankets, plain satin, silk cloth with satin stripes, linen, and cotton (Yuste [1984]; Castro [2018]).

The most expensive components on the list of woven Chinese textiles underwent a more intricate process: for example, damask, program, taffeta, satin, and fabrics that were embroidered, adorned, or finely colored. Considered premium goods were *raso negro de Lanquin* (black satin from Lanquin), followed by *raso negro de Canton* (black satin from Canton), priced at 13 and 11 pesos *de oro común*, respectively. Also costly, which sold for five to six pesos, were *telilla de oro y seda* (fabrics woven from gold or silk) and *raso de Lanquin de color fino o negro* (Lanquin's fine-colored satin), both sold at six pesos; *damasco ordinario o común de 11 varas* (ordinary damask that measured 11 yards), black or colored satin (usually from Canton), and *tafetán de Lanquin* (Lanquin taffeta), each for five pesos [AGI 1592].

Regarding the processing stage, the more economical raw materials like cotton or silk yarns were prevalent. They were available in loose and twisted forms, typically sold by weight or quantity. Notably, the twisted variety commanded a higher price than the floss thread [AGI 1592]. However, it is worth highlighting that the list was dominated mainly by intermediate or semi-finished products, with mantas or woven fabrics taking the lead. The term manta encompasses a wide range of ordinary cloth types produced in various regions. This can include coarse cotton or linen used as bed covers. Furthermore, as indicated by Castro [2018], it is a general term for everyday fabric manufactured in various locations, including the Philippines. The preference for these cloths in Mexico, especially the unbleached cotton fabric, stemmed from its appeal to the lower-end market, where it found significant consumer demand.

These textiles manufactured in large volumes came in standard dimensions, varying from 5.5 to 11 yards, ready to be adjusted based on the clothing needs and specifications of the target consumers. Standard measurements were employed for various woven fabrics: 7.33 yards for general use, 6.87-7.33 yards for ordinary white or colored taffeta, ten yards for damasks, and ten to 11 yards for Chincheo fabrics. These dimensions served practical purposes. For instance, taffeta, measuring 6.87 yards, was used in crafting veils. In the Philippines, the 7.33-yard fabric served as the customary length for *lompot*, utilized by indigenous communities for various purposes such as gauzy canvas-like materials, blankets, cotton fabric for shirts, tablecloths, and sheets [Castro 2018]. Establishing standardized dimensions and colors for these intermediate goods was pivotal in facilitating a more extensive scale of intercontinental trade between Asia and the Spanish Pacific.

4.2. Finished goods

Many goods, produced in large quantities, were intended for everyday use, spanning various categories, including clothing for the body, bedroom essentials, and kitchen items. Ready-made clothing items were available, such as the *camisa de manta llana* (plain cotton shirt) priced at seven tomines, the *jubón de lienzo sin mangas* (sleeveless linen jacket) at one peso, the *ropilla de raso negro* (black satin and double-sleeved short jacket) at one peso, the *jubón de tela* (linen jerkin) at one peso and two tomines, and a pair of satin sleeves at one peso and two tomines. Breeches, known as *calzones*, came in two varieties: ordinary white ones made of manta, sold for three tomines, and higher-priced black satin breeches, which were priced at three pesos. Stockings also had their distinctions, with linen ones costing one tomin, cotton ones at two tomines, and silk stockings considered luxury items priced at two pesos per pair. Additionally, a selection of shoes and slippers was available [AGI 1592]. As can be seen, the most abundant and affordable clothing items were made from mantas, cotton cloth, or coarse fabric. However, there were also numerous satin and silk choices catering specifically to the high-end market.

There was also an influx of clothing articles available during this time, especially those typically made of manta. These items included painted *pañuelo* (kerchiefs), *pañuelo de nariz* (handkerchiefs), *pañó de mano* (handcloths), and *pañuelo de rostro* (sweat cloths), with prices ranging from one to two tomines. *Mantillas* (painted scarves) were sold for two tomines, while the embroidered versions commanded a higher price of two pesos. As for *toca* or *toquilla* (headcloths), the plain and unrefined pieces (intermediate goods), measuring approximately six and a half yards, were priced at two tomines and six granos, regardless of whether they were colored or white. *Toca de espumilla* (loosely woven headcloth) was valued at two tomines and six granos. Ordinary *toca de red* (hairnet) had a price of three tomines, while *toca de puntilla* (those with narrow lace edging) was priced at one peso. [AGI 1592].

Affordable and expensive bedding and curtains were also standard among sailors' merchandise. *Almohada de manta* (pillow covers), *sabana de manta* (bedsheets), and *sobrecama de manta* (bedspreads) made of manta were worth two tomines, four tomines, and two pesos, respectively. A bedspread made of *damasquillo* and damask or embroidered could cost between four and six pesos per piece, while embroidered blankets were priced at seven. For *pabellón* (curtains), the ordinary made of manta cost three pesos, and the taffeta was sold at 15 pesos.

Another category of finished goods was home essentials, including crockery. Although there was a presence of fine Macanese plates and bowls or gilded chinás, what was found inside the boxes were mostly common, coarse, and undecorated earthenware, plates, bowls, and saucers. Their lack of elaborate design and uniform price of six tomines per dozen suggest the presence of general consumers

who owned silver to purchase them for everyday use. The use of *cuchara de concha* (shell-like shaped spoon) and *cuchara de nacar* (made of mother-of-pearl) were also popularized in New Spain with their price of two tomines per dozen.

In elite households in Spanish America, additional home essentials such as gilded writing desks, golden escritorios, and various pieces imported from China or Japan were standard. The official Japan-Philippine commercial relationship was only established between 1598 and 1613, under the leadership of Tokugawa Ieyasu [Borao 2005]. However, even before this time, Japanese commodities had already found their way to Manila. Their typical high-in-value items included *escritorio* (desk), *baul* (trunk), *escritorillo* (small desk), *bufete* (desk with cabinets), and various boxes containing Japanese mirrors and folding screens [Zapatero 2012]. These items were likely commonplace in the daily lives of the elite residents, contributing to the opulence and luxury of their homes.

Personal items include different types of combs (made of wood or tortoiseshell), rosaries, fans, and all sorts of boxes (small, golden, and needle boxes). It is not mentioned of which material the rosaries were made, but in comparison with other holy objects made of precious material, such as large-scale ivory figures destined for aristocratic collections in Spain and Europe, rosaries found aboard the sailors' trade goods also complied with its role as a religious item in the spread of Christianity but were more portable and less costly [Trusted 2013]. All these items clothed a Catholic woman with a veil, comb, fan, and rosary, all cheap and ordinary.

Finally, apart from the investments contained in their chests, officials and crew were also allowed to bring slaves, who were sold in Acapulco for 120 to 150 pesos [AGI 1592]. The ship's officials and crew members had dual roles—they could either act as slave traders or care for the slaves during the journey from Manila to Acapulco. In the latter scenario, the slave owners in Manila hired them to oversee the well-being of the slaves, providing them with food, drink, and accommodations throughout the voyage. Following the journey, it was their duty to sell the slave to the highest bidder in Acapulco and testify to the sale. In return for their services, they received a commission amounting to one-third of the selling price of the slave. Still, it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the cost of slaves, which nearly doubled, ranging between 200 and 400 pesos or even more, was contingent upon the slave's place of origin. Those categorized as "indios chinos" were the least expensive, while black slaves commanded the highest prices (AGI [1604-1632]; Oropeza [2007]; Seijas [2014]).

5. Final analysis

The institutionalization of the *Carrera de Pacífico* entailed a consistent supply of labor to carry out its operations: to facilitate the Trans-Pacific exchange, to deliver subsidies, to transport officials, missionaries, and soldiers to its overseas territories, and to access non-Spanish domains. The participation of sailors in these activities became indispensable, but what has been overlooked in the existing

studies is how they responded to the early global trade. The massive encounter of these people from different continents led to two things: the consolidation of the spatial interconnection of the globe and, to a certain extent, it helped change the pattern of consumption, especially in the colonies in Spanish America. Their geographical mobility as sailors spanned the Pacific Novohispano-Philippine channel and the Mar del Sur that connected the Novohispano with Central and South America. Their protagonist roles as sailors and merchants helped to incorporate global commodities such as textiles and chinaware into the American market. In the end, this paper highlights how the sailors maintained the trade routes and took advantage of these circuits by actively participating in various income-generating activities created by the *Carrera*. They became owners, consumers, and merchants of Asian commodities as they converted into brokers of global products, which had an exponentially expanding consumer base with their volume and variety. They typically consisted of affordable Asian goods of low to medium quality. Instead of being luxurious items or status symbols, the majority of these Asian imports were intended for general consumption and were tailored to meet the needs of a broad demographic in New Spain, Peru, and throughout Spanish America.

Acknowledgments. The author acknowledges the Office of the Chancellor of the University of the Philippines Diliman, through the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Development, for funding support through the PhD Incentive Award.

References

- Alonso, L. [2009] *El costo del imperio asiático: la formación colonial de las Islas Filipinas bajo dominio español, 1565-1800*. México: Instituto Mora, Universidade da Coruña.
- Alonso, L. [2013] “E la nave va: economía, fiscalidad e inflación en las regulaciones de la carrera de la Mar del Sur, 1565–1604”, in *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila*. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas:25-84.
- Alonso, L. [2019] “El ‘alivio de las Indias:’ la real hacienda Filipina, 1565–1800”, *Estudis: Revista de Historia Moderna* 45:35-67.
- Álvarez de Abreu, A. and C. Yuste [1977] *Extracto historial del comercio entre China, Filipinas y Nueva España (1736)*. México: Instituto Mexicano de Comercio Exterior.
- Álvarez F. [1993] *Galeón de Acapulco: el viaje de la misericordia de Dios, relato histórico (1620)*. Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo.
- Archivo General de Indias (AGI) [1591-1603] “Caja de Acapulco, cuentas de Real Hacienda [Treasury of Acapulco, Accounts of the Royal Treasury]”, *Contaduría*:898-901.
- Archivo General de Indias (AGI) [1604-1632] “Caja de Acapulco, cuentas de Real Hacienda [Treasury of Acapulco, Accounts of the Royal Treasury]”, *Contaduría*:902-904.

- Bonialian, M. [2012] “El pacífico hispanoamericano: política y comercio asiático en el imperio español (1680-1784)”, PhD dissertation. El Colegio de Mexico AC.
- Bonialian, M. [2014] “La contratación de la China por América colonial a principios del siglo XVII: la mirada de Francisco Valverde de Mercado, Gobernador de Panamá”, *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani* 40:11-41.
- Bonialian, M. [2021]. *La américa española: entre el pacífico y el atlántico; globalización mercantil y economía política, 1580-1840*. Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico AC.
- Borah, W. [1975] *Comercio y navegación entre México y Perú en el siglo XVI*. Mexico: Instituto Mexicano de Comercio Exterior.
- Borao, J. [2005] “La colonia de japoneses en Manila en el marco de las relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII”, *Cuadernos CANELA: revista anual de literatura, pensamiento e historia, metodología de la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera y lingüística de la Confederación Académica Nipona, Española y Latinoamericana* 17:25-53.
- Boyd-Bowman, P. [1973] “Spanish and European Textiles in sixteenth century Mexico”, *The Americas* 29(3):334-358.
- Castro, S. [2018] *Textiles in the Philippine colonial landscape: a lexicon and historical survey*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- del Valle Pavón, G. [2005] “Los mercaderes de México y la transgresión de los límites al comercio pacífico en Nueva España, 1550–1620”, *Revista de Historia Económica (Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History)* 23(S1):213-240.
- Diaz-Trechuelo, M. [1964] “Philippine economic development plans, 1746-1779”, *Philippine Studies* 12(2):203-231.
- Flynn, D. and A. Giráldez [1995] “Born with a ‘silver spoon’: the origin of world trade in 1571”, *Journal of World History* 6(2):201-221.
- Flynn, D. and A. Giráldez [2008] “Born again: globalization's sixteenth century origins (Asian/global versus European dynamics)”, *Pacific Economic Review* 13(3):359-387.
- Gerritsen, A. and G. Riello [2015] “The global lives of things: material culture in the first global age”, in *The global lives of things: the material culture of connections in the early modern world*. London and New York: Routledge:1-28.
- Goode, C. [2017] “Merchant-bureaucrats, unwritten contracts, and fraud in the Manila Galleon Trade” in *Corruption in the Iberian empires: greed, custom, and colonial networks*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press:171-196.
- Hidalgo, P. [1995] *Encomienda, tributo y trabajo en Filipinas, 1570-1608*. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Iaccarino, U. [2011] “The ‘Galleon System’ and Chinese trade in Manila at the turn of the 16th century”, *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 16(01):95-128.
- Iwasaki, F. [1992] *Extremo oriente y Perú en el siglos XVI*. Madrid: Mapfre.

- McCarthy, W. [1993]. “Between policy and prerogative: malfeasance in the inspection of the Manila galleons at Acapulco, 1637”, *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 2(2):163-183.
- Obispado, K. [2021] “The Pacific sailors: global workers at and on the edge of the Spanish empire (1580s-1640s)”, PhD dissertation. El Colegio de México.
- Obispado, K. [2023a] “The case of the dead sailors and the things they left: a microhistorical analysis of the Carrera del Pacífico in the sixteenth century”, *Entre Europa y América: el mar y la primera globalización, Historia Medieval y Moderna* 96:199-212.
- Obispado, K. [2023b] “Textiles and other trade goods: the Philippines in the sixteenth-century global trade”, in *Plural Entanglements: Philippine Studies*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press:58-83.
- Oropeza, D. [2007] “Los ‘indios chinos’ en la Nueva España: la inmigración de la nao de China, 1565–1700”, PhD dissertation. El Colegio de México.
- Ortigosa, J. and Y. Lee [2018] “Comercio y cargazón en el Galeón de Manila: el Santo Cristo”, *Boletín americanista* 76:115-133.
- Pinto, P. [2014] “Manila Macao and Chinese networks in south China Sea”, *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 15:79-100.
- Qing, L. [2018] “Trade and its historical trend between China and the Philippines in the late Ming Dynasty: an analysis on the almojarifazgo data”, *Researches in Chinese Economic History* 3:171-181.
- Recopilación de leyes, de los reynos de las Indias [1973]. *De las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Católica del Rey don Carlos II Nuestro Señor*. España: Madrid Cultura Hispánica.
- Schurz, W. [1918] “Mexico, Peru, and the Manila galleon”, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 1(4):389-402.
- Schurz, W. [1939] *The Manila galleon*. EP Dutton.
- Seijas, T. [2014]. *Asian slaves in colonial Mexico: from Chinos to Indians*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tremml, B. [2012] “When political economies meet: Spain, China and Japan in Manila, ca. 1571-1644”, PhD dissertation. University of Vienna.
- Trusted, M. [2013] “Survivors of a shipwreck: ivories from a Manila Galleon of 1601”, *Hispanic Research Journal* 14(5):446-462.
- Villiers, J. [1980] “Silk and silver: Macau, Manila and trade in the China seas in the sixteenth century (a lecture delivered to the Hong Kong branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at the Hong Kong Club)”, *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20:66-80.
- Yuste, C. [1984] *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785*. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas.
- Zapatero, A. [2012] “Un ejemplo de mundialización: el movimiento de biombos desde el Pacífico hasta el Atlántico (s. XVII-XVIII)”, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 69(1): 31-62.

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit									
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS						
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano				
A. Food													
azucar	sugar		4 arroba				5						
canela	cinnamon		16 cates				1						
B. Lead													
albayalde	white lead		1 arroba										
C. Personal Items													
abalorio	glass bead		5 cate	5									
aguja	needle												
abanico	fan		6 pieces										
abanillo comun	fan	common	360 dozens						3				
peine de tortuga	comb	made of tortoiseshell	250 dozens							2			
peine pintado de palo	comb	painted, made of wood	200 dozen							2			
peine de palo	comb	made of wood	300 dozens							2			
rosario	rosary		50 pieces								4		
D. Home Essentials													
campanilla pequeña	bell	small	2 pieces										
lanterna pequeña	lantern	small	2 pieces								4		
cajita dorada	box	gilded	14 pieces									4	
cajita pequeña comun	box	small, common	2 pieces										
cajita pintada	box	little, painted	8 pieces							2			
cajuela de aguja	needle case		24 pieces									2	

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
cajuela dorada chica	trunk	small, golden	5 pieces						4	
escribania dorada	writing desk	gilded	1 piece				2			
escripuertorio	escritoire		1 piece				4			
escripuertorio dorado	escritoire	gold	1 piece							
piezas de Canton	pieces	Cantonese	40 pieces				5			
bacia mediana de metal	basin	medium, made of metal	11 pieces				2			
bacinilla	basin		7.5 dozens				1		6	
tachos y bacinilla de metal	pail and chamber pot	made of metal	85 pieces						4	
bandeja de palo	tray	made of wood	6 pieces						4	
bandeja de palo	tray	made of wood	6 pieces						2	
rodella	buckler		6 pieces						2	
escudilla	bowl									
escudilla basta	bowl	coarse								
escudilla chiquita de bejuco	bowl	small, made of bejuco	2 dozen				1		2	
escudilla ordinaria	bowl	ordinary	83 dozens						6	
cuchara de concha	spoon	similar in shape to seashell	610 dozens						2	
cuchara de nacar	spoon	decorated with mother of pearl	200 dozens						2	
limeta	long neck bottle		4 dozens and 2 pieces				1		7	
limeta chica	long neck bottle	small	110 dozens				1		6	

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit					
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS		
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano
loza basta	earthenware	coarse	900 dozens						6
loza fina	china	fine	33 dozens and 4 pieces				2		
loza	earthenware		66 dozens				1		6
loza	earthenware		68 bundles						
loza comun	earthenware	common	131.5 dozens						6
loza comun, plato y escudilla	earthenware, plate, and bowl	common	89 dozens and 4 pieces	1	2				6
loza, plato, etc	crookery, plate, etc.		354 dozens						1
loza de Macan	earthenware	Macanese	6 dozens				2		
loza de Macan	earthenware	Macanese							
loza dorada	china	gilded	33 dozens				1		2
almires	mortar		2 pieces						6
pires	saucer		150 dozens						2
plato	plate		16 dozens and 8 pieces						6
plato chico basto	plate	small, coarse	1 dozen and 8 pieces						6
plato chico comun	plate	small, common	100 dozens						6
plato de baccina comun	basin plate	common	34 dozens and 10 pieces				1		6
plato de baccina basta	basin plate	coarse	18 dozens and 4 pieces						1
plato de baccina basta	basin plate	coarse	100 dozens				1		6

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
plato de baccina de losa basta	earthenware basin plate	coarse	125 dozens				1	6		
plato de loza comun	earthenware plate	common	96 dozens					10		
plato y escudilla fino de Macan	plate and bowl	Macanese, fine	25 dozens	2						
plato y escudilla basta	plate and bowl	coarse	83.5 dozens					6		
caracol	conch shells		126 dozens				1			
E. Animal										
pajara	female bird		2 pieces				3	4		
F. Slave										
esclavo	slave	Simon, black	1 person				150			
esclavo	slave	Hernando, age 18	1 person				120			
G. Raw Materials										
hilo	thread		97 cates					4		
hilo	thread		14 cates					4		
hilo al revés	thread	reverse	3 cates							
hilo bilado de oro y plata	thread	twisted, with gold and silver	2 cates	6						
hilo blanco	thread	white	50 cates	1	4			4		
hilo blanco	thread	white	18 cates	1	4					
algodón	cotton thread		10 libras				1			
algodón	cotton		1.75 quintals				15			
algodón	cotton		1 arroba				3			

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
hilo de algodón	cotton thread		1 cate		6					
hilo gordo blanco	thread	thick, white	20 cates					4		
flusco de hilo	yarn	loose	1 libra	1						
flusco de seda blanca	silk	white, skein	105 libras: 3 dozen/1p	1						
seda cruda	silk	raw	12 cates				1	3		
seda floja	silk	floss	9.5 cates				1			
seda floja comun	silk	ordinary, floss	32.5 cates				1			
seda floja de color	silk	colored, floss	47.5 cates	2	4		1			
seda negra torcida	silk	black, twisted	5 cates				1	3		
seda torcida	silk	twisted	24 cates				1	3		
seda torcida blanca	silk	white, twisted	cate: 1/2 pico				1	3		
seda torcida de oro	silk	gold, twisted	16.5 cates	1	3					
seda torcida de color al revers	silk	twisted	cate: 1/2 pico				1	3		
H. Fashion Accessory										
liga comun	garter	ordinary	30 pairs					2		
liga de Japon	garter	Japanese	5 pieces					4		
liga sin punta	garter	tipless	4 pieces					2		
reata	string		14 pieces				1			
pasamano de plata	braid	with silver thread	2 cates	10						
pasamano de seda y oro	braid	with silk and gold thread	5 cates	10						
pasamano negro de hilo	tassle	with black thread	1 cate					4		

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit										
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS							
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano					
I. Woven fabric														
medriñaque	abaca cloth		50 pieces											
medriñaque	abaca cloth		100 pieces											
sinabafa	cotton fabric	Philippine	7 pieces			9								
sinabafa de chincheo	cotton fabric	from Chincheo	333 pieces											
sinabafa negra	cotton fabric	black	1 piece											
caniquí angosto	muslin	fine	16 pieces										2	
damasco	damask		67 pieces								5			
damasco	damask	11 varas	47 pieces								5			
damasco	damask		2.5 dozens								6			
damasco de color de arretes	damask	color of arretes	2 pieces	22										
damasco de color labor de China	damask	Chinese, colored	22 pieces	9										
damasco manchado comun	damask	common, spotted	3 pieces											
damasquillo comun	damask-like cloth	ordinary, damask-like	19 pieces	3							1		4	
manta	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	8 varas												
manta ancha de ojo de perdiz	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	bird's eye patterned	97 pieces	1	4								6	
manta angosta de sangley	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Sangley, thin	114 pieces			2							2	
manta angosta de sangley	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Sangley, thin	50 pieces										1	

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
manta azul	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	blue	25 pieces						2	
manta blanca y negra de Canton	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Cantonese, white and black	7 pieces						5	
manta blanca	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	white	10 pieces						5	
manta blanca	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	white	39 boxes						3	
manta cruda	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	crude	15 pieces	1	4				5	
manta cruda	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	crude	37 pieces						6	
manta cruda angosta de chincheo	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo, crude, lightweight	21 pieces						6	
manta cruda de Canton	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	crude	613 pieces						5	
manta cruda de chincheo	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo, crude	10 pieces							
manta de algodón	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket		35 pieces							
manta de Canton	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Cantonese	3087 pieces				9		5	
manta de Canton	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Cantonese, 8 libras	92 pieces						5	
manta de Canton	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Cantonese, 8 varas	400 pieces						5	
manta de chincheo	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo	3578 pieces				9		6	

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
manta de chincheo	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo, 11 to 12 varas	1500 pieces		9					
manta de chincheo comun	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo, common	100 pieces							
manta de chincheo que son angostas de Sanglei	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo, thin	170 pieces						2	
manta de Chincheo y Canton de las ordinarias	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Chincheo and Canton, ordinary	140 pieces						5	
manta listada	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	striped	100 pieces						2	
manta listada de color	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	color striped	2 pieces						2	
manta de cordoncillo	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	laced	240 pieces		9				6	
manta de hierbesilla	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket		60 pieces							
manta de Moro	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Moro	88 pieces		4				2	
manta de Sangley	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Sangley	30 pieces		9					
manta de Sangley	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	Sangley	3 pieces	1						
manta de seda	silk cloth		4 pieces and more						2	
manta fina de Lanquin	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	from Lanquin, fine	6 pieces						1	
manta morada	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	maroon	2 pieces						2	

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
manta negro de cordoncillo	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	black, corded	17 pieces							
mantas listada de azul y blanco	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	blue and white striped	17 pieces							
manta pintada	cotton cloth, fabric, or blanket	painted	10 pieces		4					
raso amarillo	satín	yellow	1 piece							
raso blanco	satín	white	4 pieces	9						
raso de Canton	satín	Cantonese	20 pieces				5			
raso de color	satín	colored	50 pieces	9						
raso de color arrollado	satín		3 pieces				5			
raso de color fino de Lanquin	satín	Lanquin, fine-colored	68 pieces				6			
raso negro de Canton	satín	Cantonese, black	9 pieces	11			5			
raso negro de Lanquin	satín	from Lanquin, black	6 pieces	13						
raso negro y de color de Canton	satín	Cantonese, black, colored	30 pieces	11			5			
seda blanca	silk	white	10 cates	3						
seda de color	silk	colored	60 cates				1			
seda de Japon	silk	Japanese	7 pieces				2			
seda de Japon sencillo	silk	ordinary	6 pieces					2		
brocadillo falso comun encarnada	brocade	common imitation, flesh colored	2 pieces	5						
burato	wool or silk fabric		1 piece				3			

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
telilla comun	woolen cloth	light, ordinary	6 pieces	5			1	4		
gorgorán	gogram		93 pieces	5			1	6		
gorgorán ajedresado comun	gogram	common, checkered	1 piece	5						
gorgorán de color	gogram	colored	40 pieces				1	6		
gorgorán negro	gogram	black	6 pieces				2	4		
gorgorán negro comun	gogram	ordinary, black	2 pieces							
gorgorán tomasol	gogram	ordinary, iridescent	1 piece							
tafetán comun	taffeta	ordinary	229 pieces	3			1	6		
tafetán blanco comun	taffeta	white, ordinary	2 chasubles	8						
tafetán blanco comun	taffeta	8 varas, white, ordinary	4 pieces	3						
tafetán de color	taffeta	colored	30 pieces					6		
tafetán de color	taffeta	colored	60 pieces				1	6		
tafetán de color común	taffeta	7 and 1/2 varas, colored, ordinary	6 pieces							
J. Head Covering										
mantilla listada de color	veil or shawl	color-striped								
mantilla listada	veil or shawl	striped	6 pieces					2		
mantilla pintada	veil or shawl	painted	69 pieces					2		
toca	headcloth	7 varas y media	40 pieces		5					
toca	headcloth	7 varas	10 pieces		5					
toca	headcloth	6 varas	5 pieces							
toca ordinaria	headcloth	ordinary	1032 pieces					2		6

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
toca	headcloth		700 pieces					2		
toca cruda	headcloth	unrefined	116 pieces					2	6	
toca cruda	headcloth	unrefined	20 pieces					2		
toca cruda ordinaria	headcloth	unrefined, ordinary	119 pieces					2	6	
toca de espumilla	headcloth	loosely woven	2 pieces					2	6	
toca negra ordinaria	headcloth	black, ordinary	3 pieces					2	6	
toca de red	hairnet		126 pieces		4			3		
toca de red	hairnet		20 pieces					6		
toquilla blanca	headscarf	small, white	2 pieces					2	6	
K. Personal Cloth										
pañito de nariz de manta	cotton handkerchief		17 pieces					2		
pañito de mano	hand cloth		79 pieces					2		
pañito de mano de manta	cotton hand cloth		10 pieces	1				2		
pañuelo de rostro	sweat cloth									
pañito/pañuelo de nariz	handkerchief		24 pieces					1		
L. Garments										
cuello llano	collar	plain	7 pieces					2		
manga de raso	sleeves	made of satin	9 pieces				1	2		
camisa de manta	blouse		23 pieces					7		
camisa llana	shirt	plain	21 pieces					7		
camisilla	undershirt		5 pieces		2					

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit						
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS			
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano	
ropilla de raso negro	double-sleeved short jacket	made of black satin	3 pieces				1			
ropilla de lienzo sin mangas	sleeveless vestment	made of linen	5 pieces							
cangan	jacket or short-sleeved coat		40 pieces						4	
cangan azul	jacket or short-sleeved coat	blue	9 pieces						4	
jubon de manta	waistcoat	made of cotton cloth	1 piece				1			
jubon de tela	jerkin	made of linen	3 pieces				1		2	
jubon de lienzo sin manga	sleeveless jerkin	made of linen					1			
frontal con su frontalerá	frontal	with ornaments								
saya colchada	skirt	quilted	5 pieces				4			
saya colchada de sinabafa	skirt	quilted, made of sinabafa	16 pieces							
calzon	breeches		20 pieces						3	
calzon blanco	breeches	white	4 pieces						3	
calzon de raso negro	breeches	black	2 pieces				3			
M. Footwear										
medias de algodón	stockings	cotton	98 pairs						2	
medias de lienzo	stockings	linen	5 pieces						1	
medias de seda	stockings	silk	6 pairs				2			
medias de seda negra	stockings	black, silk	3 pairs							
zapatos y pantufos	shoes and slippers		1 dozen							

APPENDIX. Manila-Acapulco Trade Goods in 1592 based on the ten percent almojarifazgo charged to the crew (continued)

Spanish Terms	Item	Description	Unit and Quantity	Price per unit									
				IN ORO COMUN			IN ORO DE MINAS						
				Peso	Tomín	Grano	Peso	Tomín	Grano				
N. Bedding and Curtain													
colcha blanca	bedcover	white	1 piece				4						
cobija	blanket												
cobija blanca bordada	blanket	white, embroidered	2 pieces				7						
sabana	bedsheet		4 pieces						2				
sabana de manta	bedsheet	made of cotton cloth	2 pieces						4				
sobrecama	bedspread		3 pieces				6						
sobrecama	bedspread		6 pieces				15						
sobrecama colchada	bedspread	quilted	2 pieces										
sobrecama de Damasco	bedspread	damask											
sobrecama de Damasquillo	bedspread	made of damask-like cloth	3 pieces				4						
sobrecama de manta	bedspread	made of manta	1 piece				2						
almohada de manta	pillow cover	made of manta	4 pieces						2				
pabellon blanco	bed canopy	white	1 piece				3						
pabellon de hierbesilla	bed canopy		2 pieces										
pabellon de manta	bed canopy	made of manta	1 piece				3						
pabellon de tafetan	bed canopy	made of taffeta	2 pieces				15						
O. Others													
varias mercaderias	various merchandise												
otros sin registros	unregistered												

Source: Archivo General de Indias (AGI) [1592] Caja de Acapulco, Cuentas de Real Hacienda [Treasury of Acapulco, Accounts of the Royal Treasury]. Contaduría 898.

Note:

1 oro comun = 9 reales or 306 maravedis

1 oro de mina = 13 and 1/4 reales or 450 maravedis

1 real = 34 maravedis



The Philippine Economic Society

Founded 1961

BOARD OF TRUSTEES 2023

PRESIDENT

Philip Arnold P. Tuaño
ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY

VICE PRESIDENT

Agham C. Cuevas
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES-LOS BAÑOS

SECRETARY

Alice Joan G. Ferrer
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES-VISAYAS

TREASURER

Marites M. Tiongco
DE LA SALLE UNIVERSITY

BOARD MEMBERS

Faith Christian Q. Cacunio
BANGKO SENTRAL NG PILIPINAS

Jovi C. Dacanay
UNIVERSITY OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Sarah Lynne S. Daway-Ducanes
NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT
AUTHORITY

Ricardo L. Dizon
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Adoracion M. Navarro
PHILIPPINE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES

Emilio S. Neri, Jr.
BANK OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Ser Percival K. Peña-Reyes
ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY

EX-OFFICIO BOARD MEMBERS

Charlotte Justine Diokno-Sicat
ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK
IMMEDIATE PAST PRESIDENT

Emmanuel F. Esguerra
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, *THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW OF
ECONOMICS*

The Philippine Economic Society (PES) was established in August 1962 as a nonstock, nonprofit professional organization of economists.

Over the years, the PES has served as one of the strongest networks of economists in the academe, government, and business sector.

Recognized in the international community of professional economic associations and a founding member of the Federation of ASEAN Economic Associations (FAEA), the PES continuously provides a venue for open and free discussions of a wide range of policy issues through its conferences and symposia.

Through its journal, the *Philippine Review of Economics* (PRE), which is jointly published with the UP School of Economics, the Society performs a major role in improving the standard of economic research in the country and in disseminating new research findings.

At present the society enjoys the membership of some 800 economists and professionals from the academe, government, and private sector.

- Lifetime Membership - Any regular member who pays the lifetime membership dues shall be granted lifetime membership and shall have the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of a regular member, except for the payment of the annual dues.
- Regular Membership - Limited to individuals 21 years of age or older who have obtained at least a bachelor's degree in economics, or who, in the opinion of the Board of Directors, have shown sufficient familiarity and understanding of the science of economics to warrant admission to the Society. Candidates who have been accepted shall become members of the Society only upon payment of annual dues for the current year.
- Junior Membership - This is reserved for full-time college or graduate students majoring in economics. Affiliation for junior membership is coursed through the Junior Philippine Economic Society (JPES).

For more information, visit: www.phileconsociety.org.