

Portland State University PDXScholar

Anthropology Faculty Publications and
Presentations

Anthropology

Summer 2018

The Galleon Cargo: Accounts in the Colonial Archives


Cameron La Follette
Oregon Coast Alliance

Douglas Deur
Portland State University, deur@pdx.edu

Esther González

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Follow this and additional works at: https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/anth_fac

 Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#), and the [Biological and Physical Anthropology Commons](#)

Citation Details

Cameron La Follette, Douglas Deur, & Esther González. (2018). The Galleon Cargo: Accounts in the Colonial Archives. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 119(2), 250-281.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access. It has been accepted for inclusion in Anthropology Faculty Publications and Presentations by an authorized administrator of PDXScholar. For more information, please contact pdxscholar@pdx.edu.

The Galleon Cargo

Accounts in the Colonial Archives

CAMERON LA FOLLETTE AND DOUGLAS
DEUR, WITH ARCHIVAL RESEARCHER
ESTHER GONZÁLEZ

MUCH OF THE FLOTSAM that has often appeared on the beaches of the northern Oregon coast over the past three centuries clearly matches what is documented of average Manila galleon cargos. Native people and, later, Euro-Americans commonly found beeswax chunks large and small; less commonly, they found Chinese blue-and-white porcelain fragments. Both items were mainstays of the Manila trade, signature galleon cargos from the inception of that trade in the mid sixteenth century until its decline roughly two and a half centuries later. Investigations by teams of archaeologists, summarized elsewhere in this special issue, suggest that the debris was most likely left by the wreck of the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*.¹ Additional archival research allows us to compare the cargo carried on that ship with the materials that are known to have been scattered by the Oregon wreck.

A lively beeswax trade existed well before the Spanish entered the Pacific. This trade had relied significantly on Indigenous harvesters in the Philippines, who gathered wax from the nests of the tropical giant honey bee (*Apis dorsata*) and others. Chinese vessels regularly visited the Philippine coastline to trade for beeswax, centuries before explorers Miguel López de Legázpi and Andrés de Urdaneta interjected Spanish commercial interests into the western Pacific trade during the late sixteenth century. Beeswax being the required base for candles in Catholic liturgy, as well as coveted for household candles, Spanish traders from Urdaneta's time forward carried it as a major cargo on their voyages from Asia to the Americas.² Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, the intrepid Italian voyager who took passage to Acapulco on the Manila galleon of 1697, described the government's removal of unauthorized bales just before sailing, to limit smuggling on his voyage. Careri specifically mentioned that the official, Thomas de Andaya, on one day "caus'd abundance of bales, and parcels of wax to be unshipp'd," with more illegal parcels of wax and packages of goods unloaded the following



THIS BEESWAX BLOCK was recovered at Nehalem Bay with its shipper's mark still visible. Galleons carried the goods of many colonial merchants and traders in their holds, so these distinctive marks, placed on beeswax and on tightly wrapped bundles of other merchandise, served to distinguish between their cargoes.

day.³ Archival documents confirm that other Manila galleons in the same time period often carried substantial cargoes of beeswax.⁴ Quantities of beeswax blocks were clearly a common cargo of the Manila trade.

Similarly, the Spanish had a voracious commercial interest in Chinese porcelain, a product coveted throughout Europe and its colonial possessions in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. After some initial experimentation, Manila galleons began carrying large quantities of Chinese porcelain by the end of the sixteenth century.⁵ Mexican entrepreneurs discovered these items were popular and would easily sell in New Spain and beyond, and they communicated this to Philippine merchants, who began to regularly purchase porcelains from Chinese sellers for the Manila trade. From the late sixteenth century through the eighteenth century, exotic Asian porcelains became signifiers of social status throughout New Spain. They were purchased even by communities in remote regions of the Spanish Empire, a range of porcelain types and affordability reflecting a range of income levels. Blue-on-white painted designs became the most popular on tin-glazed, low-fired ceramics (such as mayólica), and they were eventually copied by Mexican artisans as well as imported from

Manila.⁶ No doubt, any Spanish galleon wrecked on its voyage from Asia would leave an impressive quantity of beeswax and porcelain in its wake.

The large quantities of beeswax and porcelain fragments found on the Oregon coast made a fully loaded Manila galleon the most likely candidate for the “Beeswax Wreck” of Oregon. That fact has long been well established. Before the current archaeological and archival research described in this special issue, speculation and partial consensus in Oregon and in scholarly surveys and studies centered on the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1705, captained by Don Santiago de Zabalburu, as the ship lost on the Oregon coast. Recent archaeological investigations have upended that interpretation. If that conclusion is verified, the *San Francisco* has yet to be located, its cargo only described in secondary sources.⁷

Despite of a growing consensus on the identity of the galleon, a complete analysis requires a discussion of the cargoes of both missing ships. Thus, we begin here by surveying the archival documentation of the *San Francisco Xavier*'s cargo. This provides important descriptions of the nature and extent of smuggling — common to the entire Manila galleon trade — and offers a complete 1701 cargo manifest, including shipping marks, which makes it possible to compare with those known from the Nehalem wreck. Studying the *San Francisco Xavier*'s known history also allowed us to review a cargo manifest very similar in time and contents to that of the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, for which we found no complete cargo manifest. Still, the archival record also provides tangible clues to that ship's cargo. A reasonable, although not comprehensive, picture of the *Santo Cristo*'s 1693 cargo can be pieced together from references to the *San Francisco*'s cargo and from fragmented archival information about the merchandise the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* was carrying on its final voyage. Together, the available archival record provides a compelling picture of the cargoes aboard the galleons traveling the Pacific at the time as well as tantalizing facts regarding the one ship that most likely wrecked on the Oregon coast. Cross-checked with the archaeological record, these archival references to specific material items found aboard the two missing galleons are sure to be keystone elements in future shipwreck research.

SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER OF 1705: HISTORY, SMUGGLING, AND CARGO

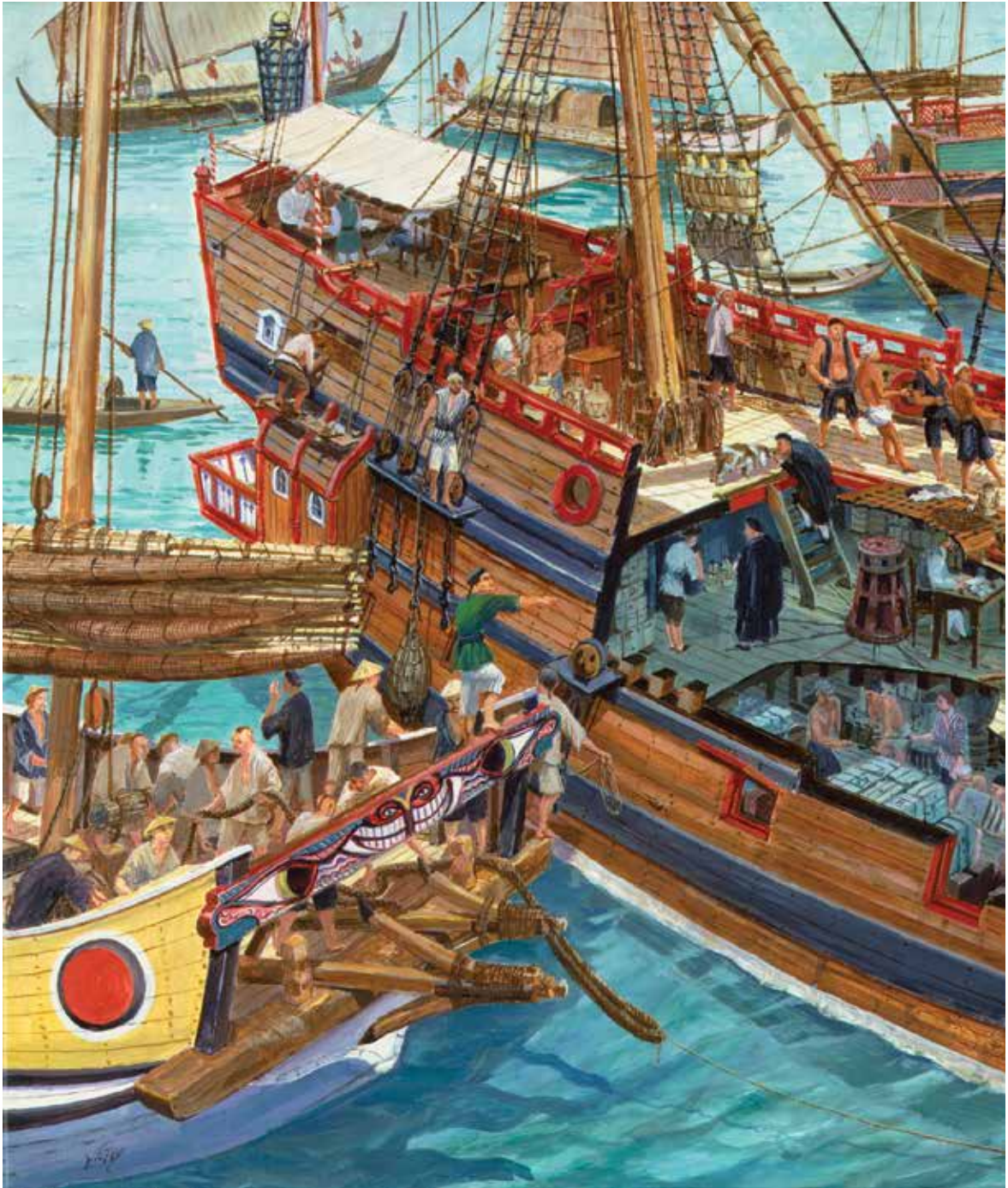
Much of the archival documentation of the *San Francisco Xavier*'s history showcases the unrelenting struggles and ingenious subterfuges used to increase cargo space for smuggling goods — and officialdom's ineffective efforts to control the smuggling problem. The archival record addressing the *San Francisco* also provides a basic overview of the ship's construction: like the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, it was built at the shipyard of Bagatao in Solsogón, south of Manila. It was finished in 1697 and cost nearly 62,000 pesos. The

pitch, oil, and rigging, made of abaca hemp and gamut, cost nearly 12,000 pesos; worked iron materials, including new nails, and meals for the smiths working on them cost 7,500 pesos.⁸ Documents show the *San Francisco*'s personnel and passengers had a tradition of underreporting cargo capacity and smuggling unregistered cargo to New Spain. An audit of the galleon's cargo capacity by Colonei Tomás de Endaya in 1697 apparently stated the *San Francisco* could hold 546 fewer pieces of cargo than it actually had available. Outraged, the resident exporters of Manila requested a new audit, arguing that space for water and supplies had been increased, thus wrongly reducing the space available for cargo. But the boatswain in charge of loading, José de Narváez, stated in 1699, during the continuing judicial inquiry, that cargo was loaded in the space reserved for water containers. The water was then stored between decks, where many of the containers broke.⁹

Replacing necessities with profitable cargo, and the attendant smuggling, were repeated problems. According to the account books for the Royal Treasuries of Acapulco, the Galleon General of the *San Francisco*, Bernardo de Hendaya, and a passenger named Seargeant Major Fernando de Iglesias each paid a fine in 1698 of 100,000 pesos for smuggling on recent galleon journeys. In 1700, General Miguel Martin, apparently a passenger on the 1700 voyage, also paid a 100,000-peso fine for smuggling.¹⁰

In 1701, gunpowder was left off the ship in order to fit more cargo bales into the hold, by packing them into the gunpowder store. The bales were mainly carrying pepper, a highly lucrative spice.¹¹ A 1697 audit of the ship affirmed it could legitimately hold 3,100 bales of cargo and blocks of wax, while leaving room for water, the gunpowder store, and the ballast. A 1703 audit, however, recalculated its capacity, judging there to be additional cargo storage space available. As a result, "the supplies and water were not in their place, but exposed to the contingencies of such a long and tedious voyage, from these islands to the port of Acapulco."¹² On its return from Acapulco in 1701, the *San Francisco* carried 60,000 pesos for the *situado* — the annual subsidy from the Spanish government for the Philippine colony, which was always carried in the galleon on its return voyage to Manila.¹³

We acquired the entire cargo manifest of the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* voyage, with all the shippers' marks of each consignment — four of which fit known shippers' marks in Oregon. This cargo manifest is available as a separate appendix to the electronic version of this article and on the Oregon Historical Society website.¹⁴ The manifest is important for comparative research on Oregon's Manila galleon for several interrelated reasons. First, the same shippers frequently sent merchandise (although not necessarily the same goods) to New Spain on the annual Manila galleon for years at a stretch, especially as the trade became more consolidated due to the capital needed to undertake shipment of goods.¹⁵ Some shippers were merchants



MANILA GALLEONS were built as cargo ships and were customarily heavily loaded for the trans-Pacific journey. Skilled Chinese laborers packed the barrels, especially those containing silks and other expensive goods, carefully and tightly to withstand the rigors of the voyage. This painting by Robert McGinnis illustrates the complex job of loading a galleon.



Robert McGinnis, National Geographic Creative

in the Philippines, others were merchants or brokers, often from New Spain or Peru, but government officials and ecclesiastics also regularly dispatched merchandise on the galleons.¹⁶ Thus, at least some shippers listed on this manifest are likely to have had consignments on the *Santo Cristo* of 1693 as well — only eight years before. Second, every bale when packed had the shipper's individual mark placed on it so it could be easily identified, and each shipper always used the same mark.¹⁷ It is therefore probable that some of the shippers' marks on this 1701 manifest were on the *Santo Cristo*'s 1693 manifest also, although disappointingly, none match those on the Lequeder partial manifest discussed below.

Merchandise shipped on the 1701 trip of the *San Francisco Xavier* consisted of the usual cargo for a Manila galleon of the period, primarily Chinese goods, which gives us a reasonable indication of what was aboard the *Santo Cristo* eight years earlier. The 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* cargo included white cotton clothes, Chinese silks, satins and damasks, petticoats and blankets, bedcovers, embroidered tapestries, Chinese fans, wooden trunks, writing desks, cups for drinking chocolate, *faience* (glazed ceramic ware), incense, liturgical and religious objects such as carved ivory statuettes, little boxes, "boxes with presents," combs, Chinese screens, beeswax blocks, cinnamon, and pepper.¹⁸ These latter two items, both spices, were highly valued and very lucrative.

Similarly, the cargo on the *San Francisco Xavier*'s last trip in 1705 was as rich as ever sailed on a Manila galleon. Cook, quoting Jean de Monségur, a contemporary observer writing shortly after the galleon's departure and naturally assuming it would arrive safely, summarized it: "On his final voyage from Manila, Zabalburu embarked 500 cakes of beeswax from 10 to 14 arrobas (250 to 350 lbs. apiece, somewhere between 62 and 87 tons) valued at 150,000 piasters (pieces of eight, or dollars). Two thousand packages of silks, an equal number of bundles of diverse merchandise, gold ingots to the sum of 2,500 piasters, and a quantity of porcelain, pepper, cloves, nutmeg and aromatic drugs composed the rest of the cargo, for an estimated total value of 4,000,000."¹⁹ But the ship disappeared. In 1706, a year after the *San Francisco* vanished without a trace, the Viceroy of New Spain wrote that the most recent *situado* was overdue. Officials in Mexico had received no letters from the Philippines. Officials writing in 1708 continued to report they had heard nothing of the ship's fate.²⁰

SANTO CRISTO DE BURGOS OF 1693: CARGO KNOWN AND CONJECTURED

We found the Archives of the Indies contains some documents relating to the cargo carried in 1693 by the *Santo Cristo*. Although this is the archive of record for most galleon cargo manifests, we failed to locate a manifest for the *Santo*

Cristo de Burgos, either for its 1693 trip or earlier successful 1690 voyage, or the abortive 1692 trip that ended in a return to the Philippines after a major storm.²¹ In addition, we searched the National Archives of the Philippines in Manila and the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City, Mexico, in hopes that cargo manifests or even partial cargo lists might have been archived there. We had no success.

Through a careful review of Spanish archival records, however, we have developed a more complete understanding of the materials carried aboard that ship and subsequently scattered along northern Oregon beaches in the late seventeenth century. A single passenger's troubles with Spanish colonial officialdom offers that glimpse of the ship's cargo on the fatal 1693 trip. Felicitous information from archival research on silver refining techniques in the seventeenth century Spanish Empire led to more information on the *Santo Cristo's* cargo. And by comparing the shippers' marks on beeswax blocks found in the vicinity of the Nehalem Spit with shippers' marks on the *San Francisco Xavier's* 1701 cargo manifest, we determined the likely identity of four shippers of beeswax on the *Santo Cristo de Burgos's* 1693 trip.

We were unable to locate archival records listing what else, if anything, those four shippers may have sent on the *Santo Cristo* in 1693.

The most direct cargo information resulted from Spanish officials' efforts to control the smuggling of Sergeant Major Pedro Lequeder y Garabalda



Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.164.243a, b

THIS EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ivory statuette of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was made in the Philippines for the Manila trade. Statuettes manufactured for ecclesiastical use throughout the Americas and Europe were among the earliest Asian goods manufactured solely for global export. They were commonly included in galleon cargoes — likely including that of the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*.

of Mexico City, then residing in the Philippines. It is a complicated tale of shifting merchandise-ownership contracts, third party consignments, and government interventions. Lequeder was in persistent trouble with the Spanish administration in the Philippines for his smuggling activities. Spanish royal orders of the time reserved the Manila galleon trade only to Philippine residents. But the trade was so lucrative that enterprising merchants of New Spain would settle in the Philippines with large sums given them by Mexican residents to buy merchandise on their behalf and smuggle it back to New Spain. Lequeder was one of these Mexican brokers. He had a history of smuggling via the Manila galleon trade: by 1687, he was tangled in a lawsuit for smuggling aboard the *Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía*. When that galleon was forced ashore during storms and the cargo unloaded, officials discovered that Lequeder's goods had been boarded illegally to avoid paying Spanish taxes; he was ordered to pay a fine of 30,000 pesos for smuggling non-registered goods. When Lequeder did not pay, the mayor of Camarines province seized his belongings and placed him under house arrest. He, in turn, requested return of his possessions and permission to travel to Manila to defend himself in court. Officials allowed him to travel, although it seems his possessions were not identified, except some clothing.²²

Another broker involved in this legal tangle, Pedro Verastagul, was found guilty and fined for defrauding the Royal Treasury by smuggling. Verastagul was the inheritor of Sargeant Major Juan de Gardaga, who boarded the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* in 1692 for New Spain. The ship was forced back to port at Naga by storms, and Gardaga died at the convent of San Francisco while the *Santo Cristo* was undergoing repairs. In his will, he appointed consignees to administer his estate; Lequeder was to collect his belongings if he should die. Thus, Lequeder inherited Gardaga's goods: a writing desk with Gardaga's personal papers, valuable possessions, clothing, and accounting books as well as Gardaga's trade goods, registered, with identifying marks, for General Antonio Nieto. Under scrutiny for smuggling, these goods — Gardaga's consigned cargo, for which Lequeder was now responsible — were properly registered as galleon cargo aboard the 1693 trip of the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*. They were carefully listed, and the records placed in the official archives.²³

Faced with so many tangled legal disputes, the Attorney General of the Philippines, D. Juan Quijano, asked the King to issue an order that these brokers, Lequeder among them, be sent back to Mexico on the next available galleon, and meantime be prohibited from any business in the Philippines. Their cargo aboard the ship was to be embargoed. Thus, Lequeder found himself on the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* in 1693, along with Gardaga's goods, knowing that he would undoubtedly face charges of smuggling and thereby

defrauding the Royal Treasury on his return to New Spain.²⁴ He never arrived. If the *Santo Cristo* is determined to be the Nehalem wreck, he died on the Oregon coast, or on the voyage, of the ill-fated galleon. Luckily, the AGI contained the partial manifest listing Gardaga's consigned goods, now in the possession of passenger Lequeder. We explore that cargo list in more detail in the pages that follow.

KNOWN CARGO ON THE SANTO CRISTO DE BURGOS OF 1693


The partial cargo list for the 1693 *Santo Cristo* voyage reproduced on the following pages tallies Gardaga's goods in Lequeder's possession, including the shippers' marks for each consignment, which are shown next to that consignment. The majority of goods listed are cloths of different kinds, ranging from white cottons to embroidered silk with golden flowers. In addition to being a highly popular trade good in Europe by this time, Chinese silks were much in demand in New Spain (Mexico) and what is now Peru, especially after 1579, when the Manila trade began to deliver huge quantities of affordable Chinese silk to the Spanish colonies of South America. The Manila galleons were, above all, silk ships, carrying a wide array of silks, ranging from fine damask to exquisite gauzes, taffetas, flowered silks of Canton, and heavy brocade worked in glittering designs with gold and silver thread. In addition, the galleons carried other silken apparel and goods, such as skirts, cloaks, robes, and stockings; tablecloths, napkins, and bed coverings in worked silk; and heavily embroidered vestments for the Catholic clergy of New Spain.²⁵

This partial manifest also describes a large proportion of the goods as "cottons." In part, this is a reflection of the galleon economy, which usually — as in our case as well — included fine cottons from India, including Bengal and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Philippine cottons were also a staple of the Manila trade, especially cotton cloth from Ilocos, and cotton gauzes from Cebu. Linen sheets, tablecloths, coverlets, and hammocks, manufactured throughout the Philippines, were also very popular in New Spain.²⁶ It is necessary, however, to keep the more notorious aspects of the Manila trade in mind as well. Scholars such as William Schurz describe a widespread smugglers' tactic of placing cheap goods on the top of a bale so inspectors would not see the fine silks and other wares, such as spices, jewelry, and figurines, underneath.²⁷ Thus, recognizing the practices of the time and Lequeder's reputation as a smuggler, it is reasonable to consider the possibility that the amount of cotton clothing reported here may be deceptive and that other, more valuable, goods could have been hidden under this merchandise, despite Lequeder's tangles with Spanish authority for smuggling activities.

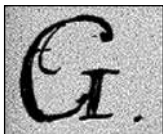
The shippers' marks for Lequeder's cargo, as they appear in the original handwritten cargo list, are pictured on the following pages. Disappointingly,

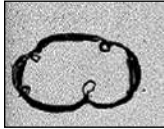
PARTIAL CARGO LIST FOR THE 1693 *SANTO CRISTO DE BURGOS*

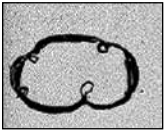
Shippers' marks for each consignment item are pictured to the left of the list item.

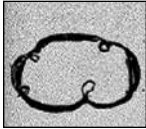

SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Bundle	2	Thick cotton blankets, white color, 19 varas each	116
	Small Bundle	3, 5, 7, 9	Thick cotton blankets, white color, 19 varas each	100
	Small Bundle	10	Thick cotton blankets, white color, 19 varas each	110
	Small Bundle	14	Thick cotton blankets, white color, 19 varas each	100
	Small Bundle	16, 17	Thick cotton blankets, white color, 19 varas each	100
	Small Bundle	19	Thick cotton blankets, white color, 19 varas each	110
	Small Bundle	21, 22	Bedcovers, 2, 5 varas each	200
	Small Bundle	24	Printed cotton fabric, 10 varas each	125
	Small Bundle	24	Rugs of printed cotton fabric	40
	Small Bundle	26, 27	Printed cotton fabric, 11 varas each	125
	Small Bundle	33, 34	Fine fabrics, white color, 17 and 18 varas each	55
	Small Bundle	37, 38, 39, 41, 44	Fine fabrics, 17 and 18 varas each	60
	Small Bundle	45	Fine fabrics	60
	Small Bundle	47	White cotton clothes, 19 varas each	45
	Small Bundle	48	White cotton clothes	50
Small Bundle	49	White cotton clothes	45	



SOURCE: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Escribania, 442D. L.2, F. 119R-129V (Spanish list in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2016, 3–9; English translation in González Research Report Cargo Manifest & Marks to La Follette May 2016, 1–12).




SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/ PIECES
	Small Bundle	52	Fine fabrics, white color, 17 and 18 varas each	60
	Small Bundle	53, 55	White cotton clothes	45
	Small Bundle	61, 64	Cotton clothes from Cambay, blue color, 8 varas each	140
	Small Bundle	65	Cotton clothes from Cambay, blue color, 8 varas each	130
	Small Bundle	66	Cotton clothes from Cambay, blue color, 8 varas each	150
	Small Bundle	67	Cotton clothes from Cambay, blue color, 8 varas each	130
	Small Bundle	68	Cotton clothes from Cambay, blue color, 8 varas each	50
	Small Bundle	68	Cotton fabric from India, varied colors, 7 varas length/ 1 vara wide	80
	Small Bundle	69, 71, 72, 74	"surcatan blancos finos de a 19 varas de largo TRADUCIR"	65
	Small Bundle	76	Cotton clothes, white color, 6-8 varas each	119
	Small Bundle	76	Cotton fabric from India, varied colors, 7 varas each	50
	Small Bundle	78, 80	Cotton fabric from India, varied colors	150
	Small Bundle	81, 82, 84, 85	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	23
	Small Bundle	87	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	24
	Small Bundle	88, 89, y 90, 91, 93, 95, 96	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	23
	Small Bundle	97, 98, 99, 100	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	24

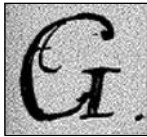
SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Bundle	1, 2	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	23
	Small Bundle	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10	Blankets from Lanquin, 100 varas each	100
	Small Bundle	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	13, 14, 15, 16 y 17	Blankets from Lanquin, white color, 11 -10 varas	110
	Small Bundle	13, 14, 15, 16 y 18	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	18	Blankets from Lanquin, white color (11 of them)	110
	Small Bundle	18	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	19	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	19	Blankets from Lanquin, white color, 12 varas length / 0,66 varas width	100
	Small Bundle	20	Blankets from Lanquin, white color, 12 varas length / 0,66 varas width	50
	Small Bundle	20	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	16
	Small Bundle	21	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	21	Blankets from Lanquin, white color, 12 varas	80
	Small Bundle	22, 23, 25	Blankets from Lanquin, white color, 12 varas	65
	Small Bundle	22, 23, 25	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	26, 27, 28, 29, 30	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	22
	Small Bundle	31	Quiña silk (lbs.)	135
	Small Bundle	31	White cotton clothes, 19 varas each	18


SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Bundle	32	Quiña silk (lbs.)	135
	Small Bundle	32	White cotton clothes	15
	Small Bundle	36	Quiña silk (lbs.)	135
	Small Bundle	36	Fabrics, 17 and 18 varas each	16
	Small Bundle	34	Quiña silk (lbs.)	135
	Small Bundle	34	White cotton warm clothes	16
	Small Bundle	35	Quiña silk (lbs.)	135
	Small Bundle	35	White cotton warm clothes	14
	Small Bundle	37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42	Maso silk (lbs.)	135
	Small Bundle	37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43	Blankets, white color, 10 varas each	30
	Small Bundle	47	Silk fabric, varied colors, 16 varas each	70
	Small Bundle	47	Fabrics from China, red color, 6 y 7 taes each	70
	Small Bundle	47	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	8
	Small Bundle	49	Damasks, white color, 16 varas each	75
	Small Bundle	49	Satin, white color, 16 varas each	19
	Small Bundle	49	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	52	Maso silk (lbs.)	115
	Small Bundle	52	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	40

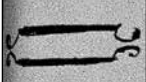
SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Bundle	53	Maso silk (lbs.)	110
	Small Bundle	53	White cotton clothes, 40 varas each	6
	Small Bundle	24	Cotton fabric from India, varied colors, 7 varas length / nearly 1 vara width	125
	Small Bundle	24	Philippine fabric, made from abaca, red color, 8 varas each	13
	Small Bundle	36	Shirts and pants, white color	300
	Small Bundle	36	Cushions, made from Damask, gold embroidered	24
	Small Bundle	36	Silk stockings, varied colors	250
	Small Bundle	36	Cotton fabric from India, varied colors	25
	Small Bundle	30	Chinese silk, black color, 25 varas each	40
	Small Bundle	30	Silk from Cambay, varied colors	40
	Small Bundle	30	Satin, varied colors	17
	Small Bundle	30	White cotton clothes	4
	Small Bundle	30	Blankets from Lankin	2
	Small Bundle	31	Wide pieces of Satin	54
	Small Bundle	31	Satins, varied colors, 16 varas each	32
	Small Bundle	31	White cotton clothes	6
	Small Bundle	32	Satins from Japan	36

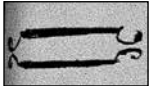


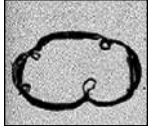
SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Bundle	32	Narrow pieces of Satin	52
	Small Bundle	33	Embroidered silk, with golden flowers	151
	Small Bundle	33	Satins, varied colors	54
	Small Bundle	33	White cotton clothes	6
	Small Bundle	34	Embroidery, varied colors, 16 varas each	54
	Small Bundle	34	Chinese silk, bright color	60
	Small Bundle	34	Chinese silk, bright color	6
	Small Bundle	34	Blankets	2
	Small Bundle	34	Philippine fabric, made from abaca	1
	Small Box	1	Silk from Cambay	6
	Small Box	2	Damasks, 16 varas each	65
	Small Box	3	Chinese silk, varied colors, 16 varas each	84
	Small Box	4	Satins, floral print, golden color, 16 varas each	63
	Small Box	5	Satins, floral print, golden color, 16 varas each	75
	Small Box	6	Damasks, yellow color, 16 varas each	72
	Small Box	7	Satins, 16 varas each	59
	Small Box	8	Chequered satin, 16 varas each	63

SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Box	9	Satins, floral print, golden color, 16 varas each	70
	Small Box	10	Satins, floral print, golden color, 16 varas each	77
	Small Box	11	Satins and yellow damasks	77
	Small Box	12	Satins, varied colors, 16 varas each	80
	Small Box	13	Satins from Japan, 16 varas each	50
	Small Box	1	Embroidered silk, with golden flowers, 16 varas each	77
	Small Box	2	Embroidered silk, with golden flowers, 16 varas each	56
	Small Box	2	Satins, varied colors, not embroidered	14
	Small Box	3	Satins, varied colors	77
	Small Box	4	Satin Tunicas, silver embroidered	10
	Small Box	4	Satins, no embroidery, 16 varas each	64
	Small Box	5	Embroidered satins	72
	Small Box	6	Embroidered satins	73
	Small Box	7	Embroidered satins, varied colors, from Japan	55
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculptures depicting a Dead Christ, 0,75 varas & 0,5 varas high	2
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting the Inspiration Christ, more than 1 vara	1
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting the Christ Child sleeping, 0,25 varas	1
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting St. John, sleeping in a crag	1

SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting the of Virgin Nuestra Señora del Rosario, on a base, 0,5 varas	1
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting the Virgin of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, 0,25 varas	1
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting the Virgin of Nuestra Señora Guadalupe, more than 0,5 varas	1
	Small Box	1	Sculpture representing Santa Rosa, 075 varas	1
	Small Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting the Virgin Nuestra Señora del Rosario, 0,33 varas	1
	Small Box	1	Stockings, white and varied colors	180
	Small Box	1	Stockings, white color	50
	Small Box	2	White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	720
	Small Box	2	White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	120
	Small Box	2	White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	405
	Small Box	2	White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	130
	Small Box	2	White paper fans, with snake shaped ribs	35
	Small Box	2	White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	40
	Small Box	3	White paper fans, with golden and enamel ribs	1050
	Small Box	3	White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	265
	Small Box	4	White paper fans, with green and purple enamel ribs	1290

SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Box	5	White paper fans, with golden and enamel ribs	918
	Small Box	5	White paper fans, with green and purple enamel ribs	220
	Small Box	5	White paper fans, with golden ribs	45
	Big Box	1	Blankets, white color, 12 varas each	2
	Big Box	1	Silk bed sheets, with golden flowers	20
	Big Box	1	Fabrics from Cantón, silver and green color	5
	Big Box	1	Tableclothes	2
	Big Box	1	Napkins	18
	Big Box	1	Ivory sculpture depicting a Saint, with an ebony cross, 0,66 varas	1
	Big Box	1	Fabrics, white color	4
	Big Box	1	Cotton clothes, on the account of my goodfather, who is in Leyte, 16 varas each	1
	Big Box	1	Blue blanket	1.5
	Big Box	1	Silk cinctures, on the account of Cristóbal de León, chaplain of the Santa Misericordia	150
	Big Box	1	Silk cinctures (varas)	45
	Big Box	1	Silk ribbons, varied colors, on the account of Cristóbal de León, chaplain of the Santa Misericordia (varas)	263

SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/ PIECES
	Small Box	1, 6	Sacks of musk, on the account of Alonso de los Ángeles	6
	Small Box		White paper fans, with black ribs	360
	Small Box		Writing paper from China	7
	Small Box		White paper fans, with black ribs	25
	Small Box		White paper fans, with red ribs	10
	Small Box		White paper fans, with black and shaped ribs	10
	Small Box		White paper fans, with black ribs	10
	Small Box		Small fans, painted, with black ribs	10
	Small Box		Small white fans, with black ribs	10
	Small Box		White paper fans, with black and golden ribs	5
	Small Box		White paper fans, with golden and enamel ribs	30
	Small Box		White paper fans, with green and purple enamel ribs	40
	Small Box		Crockery bowls for drinking chocolate	12
	Small Box		Crockery bowls for consommé	12
	Small Box		Small crockery with its cover and plate, with golden decorations	1
	Small Box		Fabrics, red color	3
Small Box		Satin embroidered bedcover, lined with red fabric, with silk fringes	1	

SHIPPER'S MARK	PACKAGE	NUMBER	MERCHANDISE	AMOUNT/PIECES
	Small Box		Satin embroidered bedcover, lined with green fabric, with silk fringes	1
	Small Box		Shirts from Bretaña with laces	8
	Small Box		Pants from Bretaña and Cambrai with laces	4
	Small Box		Jacket from Cambrai with laces	4
	Small Box		Bed sheets made of coir fibre and linen	4
	Small Box	1, 2, 3, 4	musk (ozs)	733
	Small Box	4	Cotton fabric from India	1
	Half block	15, 16	wax (10 arrobas each) registered in the name of Phelipe de la Vega	2
	Small Bundle		Silk fabric, black color, 25 varas each, under the name of Alonso de los Angeles	10
 	Block	1	wax weighing 3 "quintales" and 14 lbs. on the account of Capitan D. Nicolás Mallari	

these specific shippers' marks — undoubtedly representing only a small subset of the identification marks found on cargo packages aboard the *Santo Cristo* — do not match any marks on beeswax blocks so far reported in Oregon.

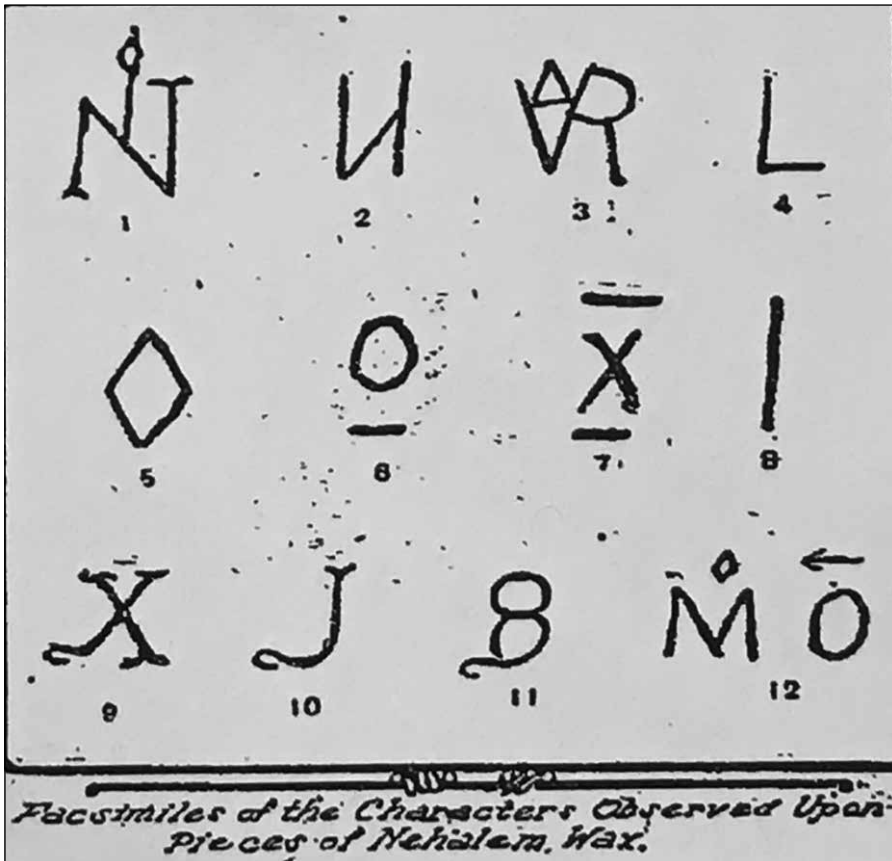
KNOWN SHIPPERS' MARKS ON NEHALEM BEESWAX BLOCKS

Individual merchants who were shipping beeswax carved their signature marks onto the blocks to differentiate them from other merchants' goods that would be in the galleons' holds. Shippers' marks have been recognized on beeswax that washed ashore on the Oregon coast, with many reproduced in publications. Don Marshall's popular book, *Oregon Shipwrecks*, provides the most comprehensive set.²⁸ Marshall's images are based on recollections of those who found chunks of beeswax or on drawings they did at the time. Sometimes missing fine-grained details, these images nonetheless show the basic features of several key marks, identifying the merchants who originally shipped those blocks. Few of the chunks (and thus the shippers' marks) are known to be extant today, but there is a well-preserved fragment in the Tillamook Pioneer Museum in Tillamook, bearing shipper's mark numbered twenty-two on Marshall's list.

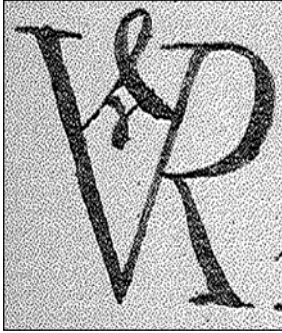
Several of the merchants who shipped goods aboard the doomed *Santo Cristo de Burgos* voyage of 1693 also appear to have had goods aboard the successful 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* trip, which followed the same North Pacific route. There are four shippers from the 1701 journey whose shipping marks appear to match, or nearly match, four from the known Nehalem marks. On the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* trip, these four shippers were sending not beeswax to New Spain, but primarily fabrics. This was a common phenomenon, as shippers frequently varied merchandise on different trips due to availability of goods, prices, and customer needs. Four shippers' marks as found on the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* manifest are pictured on the following pages with a summary of the goods shipped by that merchant in 1701. On the facing page for comparison is a set of Nehalem marks published in the *Oregonian* in 1915.²⁹ The *Santo Cristo* in 1693 appears to have carried a cargo similar to the items enumerated for these four shippers, as suggested by the Lequeder partial manifest.

MERCURY ON THE SANTO CRISTO DE BURGOS OF 1693

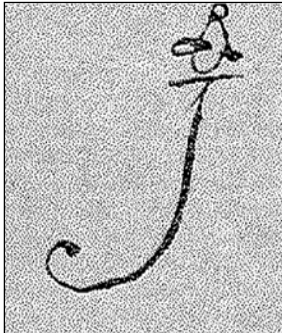
In addition to the trade goods, the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* carried a cargo of liquid mercury, also known as quicksilver. Mercury was an essential ingredient for the refining process used by the Spanish at its lucrative mines in South America. Silver was the wealth that fueled the Spanish Empire, especially the rich silver mines of Mexico and South America — most especially the



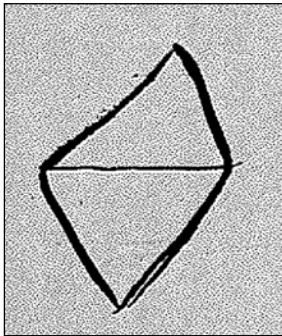
THIS TABLE OF SYMBOLS — “Facsimiles of the Characters Observed Upon Pieces of Nehalem Wax” — was published by the *Oregonian* in 1915. The “characters” are now known to be Spanish colonial shippers’ marks found on blocks of beeswax discovered in and around Nehalem Bay. More comprehensive tables of symbols recovered from beeswax are found in such sources as Don Marshall’s *Oregon Shipwrecks*, although in many cases, the original blocks of beeswax can no longer be located.



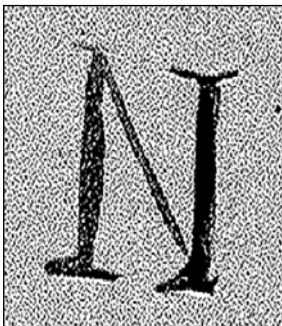
CAPTAIN FRANCISCO MANUEL DE YRRASAGORIA'S shipper's mark, pictured to the left, as recorded in the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* manifest for the trip from Manila to Acapulco. The ship manifest identified Yrrasagoria's goods as white cotton clothes and fabrics. This mark closely matches the third mark on the chart on the facing page, which was found on pieces of beeswax found on the beaches of Nehalem. It also closely matches figure five in Don Marshall's *Shipwrecks of Oregon*. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 214, N.1, F.58r.)



CAPTAIN JOSEPH DE OZCORTA'S shipper's mark is pictured here, as recorded in the 1701 *San Francisco Javier* manifest for the trip from Manila to Acapulco. The ship manifest documented that Ozocorta's bundle of goods contained white cotton clothes and blankets from China. This mark is similar to the tenth mark on the chart on the facing page. It also closely matches figure twelve in Don Marshall's *Shipwrecks of Oregon*. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 214, N.1, F.110v.)



SERGEANT MAJOR FRANCISCO DE MAYA Y TORRES'S shipper's mark on the on the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* manifest, pictured to the left, contained white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, blankets, fabrics, writing desks, and one screen. This mark is simliar to the fifth mark on the chart on the facing page and closely matches figure seven in Don Marsall's *Shipwrecks of Oregon*. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 214, N.1, F.103r.)



GENERAL JUAN DE ECHEVARRÍA'S shipper's mark, as recorded on the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier* manifest, listed Echevarria's goods as towels and blankets from China. His mark, pictured here, is not shown on the table on the facing page, but it very closely matches figure twenty in Don Marshall's *Shipwrecks of Oregon*. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 214, N.1, F.133r.)

Cerro Rico mine in Potosí, Bolivia. But silver in bulk could only be obtained by refining ground silver ore with highly poisonous mercury, as the Spanish were well aware. In an early Spanish treatise on metallurgy, Alonso Alvaro Barba (b. 1569), described mercury and its importance to the Spanish empire:

Quicksilver is a Mineral very well known, of a liquid substance, and fluid like water; it is naturally viscous, very subtil, and abounds in humidity, whence it obtains the qualities of being very heavy, and shining bright, and of being very cold. . . . [Mercury] is notoriously known to be poyson. . . . There was very little use or consumption of Quicksilver before the beginning of this new Silver age in the world. . . . it is incredible, how great a quantity is consumed by the Founders of Mettals of this Kingdom: for if the abundance of Silver that hath gone out of this Kingdom, hath filled the world with riches and admiration; by it may be estimated the consumption and loss of Quicksilver, which after a most extravagant expence thereof at first, being now by good experience regulated within terms of moderation, is found to be equal in weight to the Silver extracted. . . . They began to register the Quicksilver that came to Potosi upon the Kings accompt, in the year 1574; and from that time till 1640, there had been received of it upwards of 204600 Quintals, besides a vast quantity irregularly brought in upon other accompts.³⁰

As this excerpt makes clear, the Spanish searched intensively for sources of mercury, both in the Americas and in Europe. This need for mercury directly impacted the galleon trade, including the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*.

The amalgamation method of silver refining required adding mercury and other regents to the ore. The two elements reacted by forming an amalgam, from which the refined silver was extracted by heating. This method was developed by Seville native Bartolomé de Medina in the mid sixteenth century and was widely used in Spanish silver mining from about 1560 onwards.³¹ The only limitation on its use was the mercury scarcity in New Spain, which led to price fluctuations and variations in quality of the available mercury. European mines (such as that at Almadén) did not produce sufficient mercury to meet the demand. This problem was exacerbated by the Spanish Crown's inconsistent payments to the German licensees of the Almadén mine in the early to mid seventeenth century; when the German investment at Almadén subsequently collapsed and the Spanish Crown took over the mine, poor management reduced the flow of mercury even further.³²

The Crown responded to the acute need for mercury by importing it from other European countries, such as Slovenia, and increasing production at the Peruvian mercury mine of Santa Barbara at Huancavelica. The Crown had appropriated Huancavelica as a Crown possession in 1570 and operated it for centuries to provide mercury for the silver refining process.



THIS SPANISH “PIECE OF EIGHT” from the wreck of the *Consolacion* was minted in Potosí, Bolivia in 1673. Spanish silver, especially from the Cerro Rico mine in Potosí, fueled the Manila trade. Silver refining required mercury, which Spain frequently imported from China and other regions. Chinese mercury was shipped to New Spain on Manila galleons, including the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*.

It was probably the most prolific source of mercury for the Crown during the colonial era.³³ Nevertheless, supply problems continued, and the Spanish Empire frequently, though inconsistently, turned to China to supply the lack, transporting the mercury to New Spain via Manila galleon. The Council of the Indies in 1584 first considered the proposal to import Chinese mercury, since it could be purchased at reasonable prices.³⁴

The proposals for a stable mercury import program did not come to fruition for various political, economic, and bureaucratic reasons, even during the Almadén mercury mine crisis in the years 1630 to 1645, and despite desperate need on the part of the silver mining operations in New Spain. The Crown never did establish a permanent trade arrangement to supply New Spain with mercury from China. Only occasionally did Spanish officials manage to purchase Chinese mercury. In 1691, the annual Manila galleon successfully delivered 1.5 *quintales* (hundredweight) of mercury to New Spain.³⁵

This small success encouraged colonial administrators to look further into opportunities to acquire and ship Chinese mercury. In 1692, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Gaspar de la Cerda Silva Sandoval y Mendoza, 8th Conde de Galve, explained to the Council of the Indies that the lack of mercury was affecting the production of silver in New Spain’s mines. He again sought to purchase mercury from China, a major mercury producer, and secured the support of

the Philippines Governor, Fausto Cruzat y Góngora Rada, for the effort. The Treasury of Mexico sent 12,000 pesos to Manila to buy 100 *quintales* of mercury for shipment to New Spain. Ultimately, the governor could only purchase 53 *quintales*. Archival records indicate that this load of mercury was shipped on the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* of 1693.³⁶ The mercury was shipped as a liquid (as quicksilver), poured into leather bags, with sometimes one, but often two or three full bags placed into a small wooden barrel.³⁷ A *quintal* was a Spanish measure weighing approximately 46 kilograms, or 101 U.S. pounds.³⁸ Thus, 53 *quintales* of mercury equals about 5,374 pounds, approximately 2.5 tons. This liquid mercury was lost with all the other cargo on the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*.

In 1695, Cruzat acknowledged the 1693 royal decree about the desperate need for mercury and receipt of 60,000 pesos, of which 12,000 was earmarked for purchase of the mercury from China. As he had only been able to buy 53 *quintales* of mercury, spending 3,222 pesos, he returned the remaining funds to the Treasury. The governor explained he could purchase no more mercury, because he had no ship available to travel to Canton. The ship that had carried the 53 *quintales* of mercury from China to Manila in 1693, prior to its transfer to the *Santo Cristo*, was still in Manila, waiting for the *Santo Cristo* to return with the money brought by sale of the mercury in New Spain. The ship had been waiting for two years, and, the governor added, “We hope that God will bring the ship [*Santo Cristo de Burgos*] safety [*sic*] to this port.”³⁹

The Spanish shipped quicksilver via galleons occasionally at other times as well. Although the *Santo Cristo*'s loss of 2.5 tons of mercury was a significant disaster, it pales compared to the wreck of the two so-called “quicksilver galleons” in Samaná Bay, Dominican Republic. The *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* and the *Conde de Tolosa* set sail from Cadiz, Spain, for Veracruz, Mexico, in 1724. Both were large ships of more than 1,000 tons each, which was necessary to carry the cargo: *Guadalupe* carried 250 tons of quicksilver, and *Tolosa* 150 tons. But on August 24, a hurricane struck. The *Tolosa* rode out most of the storm at the mouth of Samaná Bay but was ultimately pushed into the bay, beaten against shoals, and finally wrecked on a coral reef. Of more than 600 passengers and crew, fewer than 40 survived, and the cargo of mercury, spilled from its shipping casks, mostly seeped through the wreck and ultimately dripped onto the seabed. By contrast, the *Guadalupe* grounded on a sandbank. The 250 tons of mercury it was carrying held the ship upright, so it rode out the storm, and about 550 of the 650 people aboard reached land. The mercury remained, and still remains, in the hold of the wrecked ship. When Caribe Salvage, with permission of the Dominican Republic, came to salvage the wrecks in 1979, they located the *Tolosa* by the globules of mercury laying in the remnants of small wooden casks stored in rows near the bottom of

the ship's hull, among the shipwreck's timbers.⁴⁰ This may be true for the recovery of the *Santo Cristo* as well.

AFTERLIFE OF THE SANTO CRISTO'S CARGO

At this time, there are no known full cargo manifests for either the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1705 or the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* of 1693. Now that the *Santo Cristo* is the favored candidate for the Oregon Beeswax Wreck, the failure to find a complete cargo list for the 1693 voyage is particularly frustrating. Nevertheless, there is considerable information regarding the goods carried by that ship. The cargo consigned to Pedro Lequeder is representative and gives a glimpse into the types of goods the *Santo Cristo* was bringing to Acapulco. The fuller cargo list from the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1701 provides additional clues. Shippers' marks on the beeswax recovered in Oregon seem plausible matches with four marks available in the existing archival record, from the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1701, and more matches may be identified in time. Resulting from extensive archival searches in several locations, these are the principal known written clues available to researchers of the remarkably rich and diverse cargoes that both ships carried on their final, but unsuccessful, efforts to reach the waiting merchants and colonists of New Spain and other markets farther afield.

Successful archaeological investigation of the wreck, should the underwater portions be located, might provide additional details about the cargo and perhaps the weaponry and storage supplies on board as well. If quicksilver is located in the vicinity of the wreckage, it would provide a strong diagnostic clue that the wreck is most likely the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* of 1693. In our searches, we found no original or secondary sources in any archive or other document mentioning that the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1705 carried mercury as part of its cargo. More exhaustive research would be valuable to finalize this preliminary conclusion.

Mercury is a very poisonous metal, as was known to the colonial Spanish. But its toxicity is much better understood now, especially its effects on marine ecosystems, which is of immediate importance to Oregon if the *Santo Cristo* is identified as the Nehalem wreck. A sketch of the effects of mercury worldwide will help outline the nature of the problem Oregon now faces as a result of the galleon wreck.

The current extent of mercury in the oceans due to human release of the metal into the atmosphere, especially through the burning of fossil fuels, is of great concern worldwide. Coal and oil-burning power plants release mercury into the air, where it falls to earth and the sea in rain and snow. Mercury in the oceans has risen by at least a factor of three from pre-human levels. Marine soil microorganisms convert the recently airborne

mercury into its most toxic form for humans and wildlife: methylmercury. This form of mercury accumulates in the tissues of humans and other creatures, becoming more concentrated as it moves up the food chain. At high enough levels, it causes neurological damage.⁴¹

Of the several chemical forms mercury can take, the least harmful is elemental mercury, also known as quicksilver. When atmospheric mercury falls into the sea, more than half is “reduced” to that less harmful elemental form, most likely by mercury-reducing bacteria, especially in coastal and nearshore zones. But much atmospheric mercury is methylated — and rendered much more harmful to the food chain and living creatures, including humans — by anaerobic bacteria and other microorganisms.⁴²

Although elemental mercury (quicksilver) does not regularly enter the ocean in large quantities, it does happen occasionally, the wrecks of the *Tolosa* and the *Guadalupe* in Samaná Bay being perhaps the most spectacular example. When salvors came to the wrecks nearly 250 years later, some of the quicksilver was still there, laying in globules among the remains. The methylation rates for elemental mercury in seawater are often slow, for reasons not well understood. It occurs at varying speeds depending on ocean depth, dissolved oxygen levels, and the presence of the marine bacteria that apparently cause it.⁴³ As part of its cycling process, elemental mercury is also re-oxidized to the air, where it can again be re-emitted to the ocean, and it can also be buried in deep-sea marine sediments when it binds to particulates in the water. Burial effectively removes it from the biologically active ocean cycle.⁴⁴

Thus, if the *Santo Cristo* is ultimately determined to be the Nehalem wreck, the approximately 2.5 tons of mercury lying in its holds off the Oregon coast, or scattered around on the seabed nearby, constitute an organic biohazard, as the quicksilver is likely to eventually methylate and become highly toxic. Rates and pathways to methylation depend on the specific nearshore environment.⁴⁵ Elemental mercury in seawater is often fairly stable, however, so removal can be somewhat easily accomplished, if the mercury has not been covered in marine sediments by now or strewn across the seafloor. Testing of nearshore sediments and shellfish in the wreck area might give clues to its location as well as indicators of the extent of methylation.

Overall, the available Spanish colonial record provides a partial inventory of the cargo of the 1693 *Santo Cristo* and a complete picture of the cargo from the 1701 *San Francisco Xavier*. These manifests invite comparison with known and as-yet-undiscovered components of the archaeological record relating to Oregon’s galleon wreck. It is our hope that these new records on the cargoes of both ships might bring clarity to research on the wreck for many years to come.

At minimum, these archival facts regarding the galleon cargoes provide us all with a broader appreciation of the riches carried by the “treasure ships of the Pacific” via the Manila trade. When one unfortunate ship drifted from its route to Acapulco and came crashing ashore in the vicinity of Nehalem Spit, it forever affected the history and the peoples of the Oregon coast. Its most visible cargoes — beeswax blocks and Chinese porcelains — have long defined the wreck for Oregonians and continue to do so to this day. They have also been instrumental in providing archaeologists and other researchers the means to successfully begin unraveling the galleon’s history and fate.

NOTES

This research was only possible with help from staff at the Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain; the National Archives of the Philippines in Manila, the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico in Mexico City, and the Archivo General del Estado de San Luis Potosí. The authors are grateful to Esther González Pérez, researcher at the Archives of the Indies of Seville, whose work documented the cargos of both the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* and the *San Francisco Xavier*, and provided identification of some shippers whose marks match those on beeswax blocks recovered at Nehalem. We also thank the translators Victoria Stapells and Trágora Traducciones of Granada, Spain. Rafael Castañeda Garcia of Mexico City and Rose Marie Mendoza, researcher at the National Archives of the Philippines in Manila provided additional critical research on documents relating to the *Santo Cristo De Burgos*.

1. See Cameron LaFollette and Douglas Deur, “Views Across the Pacific: The Galleon Trade and Its Traces in Oregon,” in this issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 119:2 (Summer 2018): 160–91; and Scott Williams, Curt D. Peterson, Mitch Marken and Richard Rogers, “The Beeswax Wreck of Nehalem: A Lost Manila Galleon,” in this issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 119:2 (Summer 2018): 192–209.

2. William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1939, 1959), 69; Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco*

Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific (Central Milton Keynes, U.K.: AuthorHouseUK, 2011), 279; Warren Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 33; A.J. Schulte, “Altar Candles,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), New Advent, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01347a.htm> (accessed March 1, 2018); John Bolen, “The Wax Candle in the Liturgy,” Trinity Communications, <https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=6206> (accessed March 1, 2018).

3. Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage to the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963), 126–27.

4. See, for example Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas 203, F.76v, F.437v, F. 727r (in González Research Report to La Follette, June 2015, 6–7); Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas 211, IM 157 (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2017, 29); and Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 127, N.19, IM 61-62 (in González Research Report to La Follette, October 2016, 13).

5. Russell Skowronek, “Cinnamon, Ceramics and Silks: Tracking the Manila Galleon Trade in the Creation of the World Economy,” in Chunming Wu, ed., *Early Navigation in the*

Asia-Pacific Region: A Maritime Archaeological Perspective (Singapore: Springer Science + Business Media, 2016), 62.

6. *Ibid.*, 62–66. For a thorough analysis of Chinese porcelains found at Netarts, see Herbert K. Beals and Harvey Steele, *Chinese Porcelains from the Site 35-T1-1, Netarts Sand Spit, Tillamook County, Oregon* (Eugene: University of Oregon Anthropological Papers no. 23, 1981).

7. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819*, 34–40; Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific*, 506–507.

8. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 204, N.1, F.556R-557V (in González Research Report to La Follette, October 2016, 11–12).

9. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 127, N.19, IM. 60-70 (In González Research Report to La Follette, March 2017, 17–18).

10. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 187, N.17, IM. 32-33, 37 (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2017, 27).

11. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 129, N.39BIS (in González Research Report to La Follette, October 2016, 14).

12. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 127, N.19, IM. 61-62, 68, 72-73 (in González Research Report to La Follette, October 2016, 12–13).

13. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 129, N.1 (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2017, 24).

14. The digital appendix of the *San Francisco Xavier's* cargo list is available for download on the Oregon Historical Society website, <http://ohs.org/neeswaxwreck> or via JSTOR with the digital version of the Summer 2018 issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.

15. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 159–64; Arturo Giraldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy*. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 154–57.

16. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 163–64.

17. Esther González, email to La Follette, November 27–28, 2016; Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 179–80.

18. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 214, N.1, F.54R-154V (in González Research Report to La Follette, November 2015, 7–59).

19. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*, 34–35. Quoting “Compte du produit de la cargison du Galion appellee le St. francois Xavier du port doe 1000. Thonneaux venue de Manille a Acapulco au Commencement de mois de Janvier 1707,” in Jean de Monségur, “Nouveau Mémoires touchant le Mexique ou la Nouvelle Espagne,” 1707-08, FrBN (Ms. Fr. 24228), 339–41. See also E.W. Geisecke, *Beeswax, Teak and Castaways: Searching for Oregon's Lost Protohistoric Asian Ship*. (Nehalem, OR: Nehalem Valley Historical Society, 2007) for correspondence with Cook over cargo and other details of the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1705.

20. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 119, N.33, Filipinas, 119, N.34, IM. 2; and Filipinas 129, N.5, IM. 5 (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2017, 23–25).

21. Especially frustrating was the fact that the archives do contain the official directive for removal and listing of cargo (due to damage and need to replace items) after the *Santo Cristo's* return to the Philippines in 1692, but the actual itemized cargo list has been lost.

22. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Escribania, 442D. Book 1 and Book 2, F. 88R-89R, F.89V (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2016, 1).

23. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias Escribania, 442D, Book 2, F.93R, F.95R, F.100V-103V, F.105R-114R, F.118V (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2016, 3).

24. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 28, N.147, F.1261-1267 (in González Research Report to La Follette, March 2016, 19).

25. Giraldez, *The Age of Trade*, 152–53; Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 32. In addition to smuggling on board the galleons, there was

a lively smuggling trade of Chinese silks between Mexico and Peru, since the profits to be made in Lima ran to 200 percent or higher in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

26. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 32; Giraldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy*, 148.

27. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 182–83.

28. Don Marshall, *Oregon Shipwrecks*. (Portland, Ore.: Binford & Mort Publishing, 1984), 182.

29. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 214, N.1, F.58R, F.103R, F.110V, F.133R (in González Research Report to La Follette, November 2015, 2–6).

30. Albaro Alonso Barba, *The Art of Metals in which is declared the manner Of Their Generation And The Concomitants of them: In Two Books*, written in Spanish by Albaro Alonso Barba, Master of Art, Curate of St. Bernards Parish in the Imperial City of Potosi, in the Kingdom of Peru in the West-Indies, in the Year, 1640, translated in the year 1669, by the R.H. Edward Earl of Sandwich (London: Printed for S. Mearne, Stationer to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 1674), 138–41.

31. Kris Lane, “Potosí Mines,” part of *Latin American History*, Oxford Research Encyclopedias, Online Publication, May 2015, <http://latinamericanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-2> (accessed March 6, 2018).

32. Esther González Pérez, “The Trade in Chinese Mercury via the Philippines in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” May 2016, translated Tragora Traducciones August 2016 (unpublished paper in La Follette’s possession), 1–4.

33. *Ibid.*, 4. For a comprehensive study of Spanish Andean silver mining, see Nicholas A. Robins, *Mercury Mining and Empire: The Human and Ecological Cost of Colonial Silver Mining in the Andes* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

34. González, “The Trade in Chinese Mercury via the Philippines in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” 3–5.

35. *Ibid.*, 13–15.

36. Guillermina del Valle Pavón, “Bases del

poder de los mercaderes de plata de la ciudad de México. Redes, control del Consulado y de la Casa de Moneda a fines del siglo XVII,” *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 68:2 (2011): 583 (in González Mercury References List to La Follette, July 2016, 1); González, “The Trade in Chinese Mercury via the Philippines in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” 14.

37. Esther González email to La Follette, July 22, 2016 (in González-La Follette emails regarding Mercury Shipment in Manila Trade, July–October 2016, 1–3); “The Quicksilver Galleons,” DiscoverSea Shipwreck Museum, <http://www.discoversea.com/The-Quicksilver-Galleons.html> (accessed June 22, 2017); Mendel Peterson, “Graveyard of the Quicksilver Galleons,” *National Geographic*, December 1979, 867.

38. Esther González email to La Follette, October 4, 2016 (in González-La Follette Emails regarding Mercury Shipment in Manila Trade, July–October 2016, 2).

39. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas, 15, R.1, N.43, IM. 3 (in González Mercury References on SCB, July 2016, 1).

40. Mendel Peterson, “Graveyard of the Quicksilver Galleons,” *National Geographic*, December 1979, 851–69.

41. Chad R. Hammerschmidt, “Mercury and Carbon Dioxide Emissions: Uncoupling a Toxic Relationship,” *Environmental Toxicology and Chemistry*, 30:12 (December 2011): 2640.

42. Carl Lamborg, et. al., “Mercury in the Anthropocene Ocean,” *Oceanography* 27:1 (March 2014): 76–87.


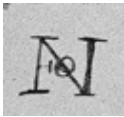
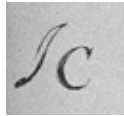


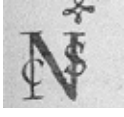
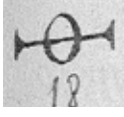
43. Genevieve Wanucha, “Inside Quicksilver’s Toxic Transformation,” March 7, 2013, available online at <http://oceans.mit.edu/news/featured-stories/quicksilver-consequences> (accessed January 2017), 1–2.

44. Lamborg et.al., “Mercury in the Anthropocene Ocean,” 78–81; and United National Environment Programme, *Global Mercury Assessment 2013: Sources, Emissions, Releases and Environmental Transport*. (Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Environment Programme, 2013), 3–7, 26–29.




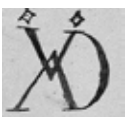
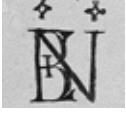



45. Wanucha, “Inside Quicksilver’s Toxic Transformation,” 1–2.

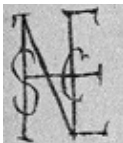
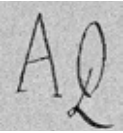


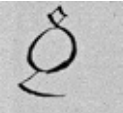



COMPLETE CARGO LIST FOR THE 1701 SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER



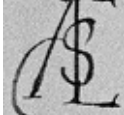

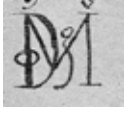
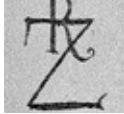

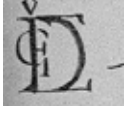
Shippers' marks for each consignment item are pictured to the left of the list item.





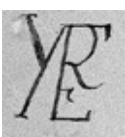
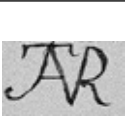
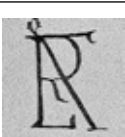
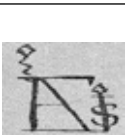
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Diego Vivien	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, satins , silks, towels, petticoats, fabrics , chocolate bowls	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.54r
	General Bernardo de Endaya	fabrics , blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.56r
	Captain Agustín Crespo	satins, silks, blankets from China, white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.56v
	Sergeant Major Fernando Iglesias	towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.57v
	Captain Francisco Manuel de Yrrasagoria	white cotton clothes , fabrics	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.58r
	Captain Francisco Manuel de Yrrasagoria	white cotton clothes , fabrics	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.58r
	Captain Francisco Manuel de Yrrasagoria	18 "medias marquetas " of bee wax, third mark, number 1 to 18, each of them weighing 3 arrobas (621 kg)	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.58r









THIS DETAILED CARGO MANIFEST shows all properly registered cargo, including the names of the shippers and their identification marks, carried on the *San Francisco Xavier* galleon voyage from Manila to Acapulco in 1701. The manifest was deposited in the Archivo General de Indias (General Archive of the Indies) in Seville, Spain. This is the official archive for documents of Spain's empire in the Philippines and the Americas. Any smuggled cargo, which was commonplace in the Manila trade, is not listed on the manifest.


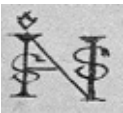






SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Capitan Matías de Urizar	white cotton clothes, satins, writing desks	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.59v
	Sergeant Major Juan de Escudero y Arnedo	white cotton clothes, bedcovers, blankets from Ilocos, silks, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.60v
	Captain Diego Vivien	fabrics , blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.61v
	Captain Diego Vivien	cotton clothes from Cambay , blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.62r
	Captain Diego Vivien	fabrics, blankets from China, incense	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.62r
	Sergeant Major Antonio Bazarte	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, towels from Ilocos	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.63r
	Sergeant Major Antonio Bazarte	silks, tapestries, screens	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.63v
	Captain Agustín Crespo	towels, blankets from China, silks, tapestries	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.64v









SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Agustín Crespo	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.65v
	Captain Agustín Crespo	silks, fans, blankets from China, white cotton clothes	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.66r
	General José de Robles Cortés	silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.67r
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.67v
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	petticoats, blankets from China, cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.68r
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.68r
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.68v
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.68v






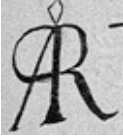


SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.68v
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69r
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69r
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69r
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69v
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69v
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69v
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.69v




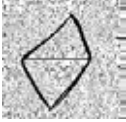

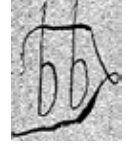

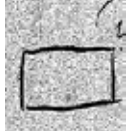
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	General Marcos Quintero Ramos	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.70r
	Juan de Echevarria	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels, faience, chocolate cups, trunks, writing desks, screens	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.70rv
	Ana Rayo	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.72r
	General Francisco Archoca	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.72v
	Captain Martín de Yriarte	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, a block of wax, weighing 3 arrobas (34.5 kg), silks, damasks	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.73r
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, satins, silks, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.74r
	Captain Francisco Afán de Ribera	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.75v
	Captain Juan Esteban de Encinas	silks, fans, blankets, satins, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.76v








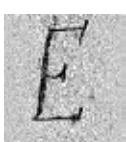
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Joseph Romeo	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, towels, petticoats from Ilocos	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.77r
	General Joseph Madrazo	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.78v
	Pedro de Olarte	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.79v
	Captain Francisco de Arriola	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.80v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, 3 "medias marquetas" of bee wax, first mark, number 1 to 3, each of them weighing 3 arrobas (103,5 kg), cinnamon, faience, linen, incense	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.81v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	towels, blankets from China, screens, screens, writing desks-	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.81v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	petticoats, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.82r
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	fabrics, blankets from China, cotton clothes from Cambay	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.82r









SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.82v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.82v
	Captain Fernando de Limos	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, writing desks, chocolate bowls	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.84v
	Captain Fernando de Limos	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.85r
	Captain Fernando de Limos	silks, fans, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.85v
	Captain Fernando de Limos	fabrics, blankets from China, faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.85v
	Captain Diego Zúñiga	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.86r
	Captain Juan Ignacio Castellanos	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.87r



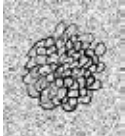





SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Juan Ignacio Castellanos	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, cotton clothes, damasks, cotton clothes from Cambay, satins, faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.87r
	Second Liutenant Blas de Espinosa	petticoats, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.88v
	Second Liutenant Joseph Hernández	bowls	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.89r
	Second Liutenant Joseph Hernández	bowls	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.89v
	Captain Diego de Zelada	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.90r
	Sergeant Major Juan Antonio de Ybarra	fabrics, blankets from China, 10 "medias marquetas" of bee wax, first mark, number 1 to 10, each of them weighing 3 arrobas (345 kg)"	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.91r
	Sergeant Major Juan Antonio de Ybarra	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.91r
	Sergeant Major Juan Antonio de Ybarra	silks, tapestries, towels, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.91v









SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	General Joseph de Robles	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.92v
	Captain Joseph de Sarralde	towels, blankets from China, silks, fans, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.93r
	María de Castro	cotton clothes, damasks, cotton clothes from Cambay, satins	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.94v
	Sergeant Major Juan de Escaño y Córdoba	petticoats, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.95v
	Captain Agustin de Torralva	cotton clothes, damasks, cotton clothes from Cambay, satins, silks, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.96v
	Clara de Ampuero	cotton clothes, damasks, cotton clothes from Cambay, satins	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.97v
	Assistant Simón Silvestre	cotton clothes, damasks, cotton clothes from Cambay, satins	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.98r
	Sergeant Major Sebastián de Oya y Troncoso	A box with presents	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.99r







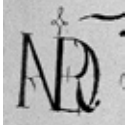
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Fray Domingo de Escalera (Dominico)	liturgical and religious objects, working clothing	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.99v
	General Tomás Antonio Martínez	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, faience bowls, faience horses, faience lions	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.100v
	Captain Juan García Infanzón	fabrics , blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.101v
	Sergeant Major Francisco de Maya y Torres	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, blankets, fabrics, writing desks, one screen	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.103r
	Sergeant Major Francisco de Maya y Torres	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, fans, blankets, one screen, writing desks	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.104v
	Sergeant Major Francisco de Maya y Torres	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.105r
	Sergeant Major Francisco de Maya y Torres	petticoats, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.105v
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	fabrics , blankets from China, cinnamon from Burney, incense, pepper	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.106v

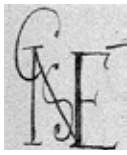

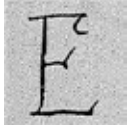



SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	silks, tapestries, towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.107r
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.107r
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	towels, blankets from China, silks, fans, blankets, writing desks, faience, cinnamon from Burney	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.107r
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	fabrics , blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.107v
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.108r
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	14 "medias marquetas" of bee wax, seventh mark, number 1 to 14, each of them weighing 3 arrobas (483 kg)	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.108v
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	writing desk, faience, screens, one cot	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.109r
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	writing desks, writing desks, trunks, screens	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.109r




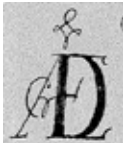


SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	silks, tapestries , towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.109v
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	petticoats, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.110v
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, tapestries , towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.110v
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.110v
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	fabrics, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.110v
	Captain Andrés de Pividal	silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.111r
	Joseph Marzán	faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.111v
	María Pérez Espinosa de los Monteros	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.112r





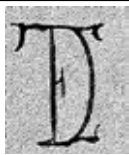


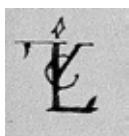
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, faiences	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.112v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	screens, trunks, trunks, little boxes	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.112v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.113r
	General Miguel Martínez	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries , towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.113v
	General Miguel Martínez	petticoats, blankets from China, silks, damasks, writing desks, silks, fans , writing desks, faience, trunks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.113v
	General Miguel Martínez	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, fans, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.114v
	General Miguel Martínez	writing desks, fans, screens	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.114v
	Capitan Joseph Velero	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.115v


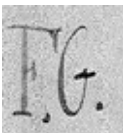


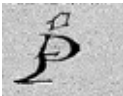
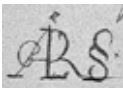
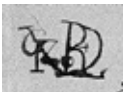
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Sergeant Major Antonio Bazarte	silks, tapestries , blankets from China, writing desk, blue silks, satins, cotton clothes, cotton clothes from Cambay	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.116r
	Sergeant Major Antonio Bazarte	silks, tapestries , towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.115v-117r
	Captain Juan de Arrese	petticoats, blankets from China, silks, fans, blankets, faience cups	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.116v
	Francisco de Olavide	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.118r
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.118v
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.118v
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	Boxes with presents	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.119r
	Captain Joseph de Ozcorta	Boxes with presents	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.119v

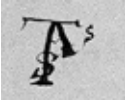




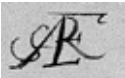
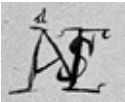
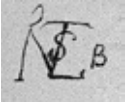
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Assistant Pedro Morales	silks, tapestries , towels, blankets from China, writing desks, fans, cotton clothes, blue silks	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.120r
	Captain Pedro Luzena	fabrics, silks, tapestries , towels, blankets from China, satins, blankets, 12 "medias marquetas" of bee wax number 1 to 12, next mark, each of them weighing 3 arrobas (414 kg)	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.121r
	Captain Fernando de Angulo	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.122r
	Captain Fernando de Angulo	petticoats, blankets from China , silks, damasks, towels, white cotton clothes, fans, blankets, fabrics , tapestries	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.122r
	Graduate Joseph de Arriola	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, tapestries	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.123v
	Francisco Munilla	towels, blankets from China, silks, damasks, faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.124r
No mark	General Miguel Martínez	bowls	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.124v
	Captain Blas Bruno	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.125r

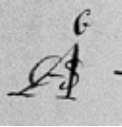

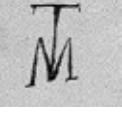

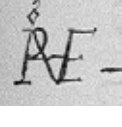


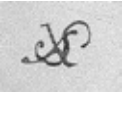
SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Atanasio Fernández de Guevara	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.126v
	Captain Atanasio Fernández de Guevara	silks, tapestries, towels, blankets from China, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.126v
	Captain Atanasio Fernández de Guevara	petticoats, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels, faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.127r
No mark	Captain Domingo López	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.128v-129r
No mark	Captain Pedro Juan Mirado	fabrics, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.129r-v
	Captain Juan de Arrese	petticoats, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.130r
	General Juan de Echeverría	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, fans	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.131r
	General Juan de Echeverría	petticoats, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.131r

SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	General Juan de Echeverría	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.131v
	General Juan de Echeverría	fabrics, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.131v
	General Juan de Echeverría	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.131v
	General Juan de Echeverría	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, tapestries , towels, screens, incense	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.132r
	General Juan de Echeverría	towels, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.133r
	General Juan de Echeverría	fabrics, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels, fans, cups	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.133r
No mark	General Juan de Echeverría	boxes with presents	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.133v
No mark	General Juan de Echeverría	boxes with presents	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.133v

SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Cristóbal de Miranda	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.133v
	Captain Cristóbal de Miranda	towels, blankets from China, cotton clothes, tapestries	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.134r
	Captain Joseph de Ziriano	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, fans, cinnamon, incense, faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.135r
	Captain Pedro Juan Mirado	cotton clothes from Cambay, silks, tapestries, towels, blankets from China, incense	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.136r
	Sergeant Major Agustín Hernández	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels, faience, writing desks, incense, cinnamon	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.137r
	Sergeant Major Agustín Hernández	silks, damasks, towels, trunks, petticoat, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.138r
	Sergeant Major Agustín Hernández	writing desks, trunks, combs, 6 crates, third mark, containing 1 arroba of candles (bee wax) (11.5 kg), white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.138r
	Sergeant Major Agustín Hernández	40 crates, fourth mark, containing 6 arrobas of candles (bee wax) (69 kg)	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.139r

SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	General Juan de Echeverría	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.139v
	Captain Fernando de Angulo	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, tapestries, towels, incense, cinnamon	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.141r
	Captain Fernando de Angulo	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels, incense, clove	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.142r
No mark	Captain Fernando de Angulo	silks, fans, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.142v
	Captain Antonio Fernández de Guevara	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, damasks, towels, screens, writing desks	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.143r
	Captain Atanasio Fernández de Guevara	petticoats, blankets from China, white cotton clothes	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.144r
	Sergeant Major don Joseph de Aguirre	cups, faience horses, blankets from Ilocos	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.144v
	Sergeant Major don Joseph de Aguirre	cups	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.145r

SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Bernardo de Estrada	white cotton clothes, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.145r
	Second Lieutenant Pedro Zapata	incense, cinnamon, pepper, faience	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.145v
	Captain Francisco de Ezpeleta	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.146v
	Captain Francisco de Ezpeleta	cotton clothes from Cambay, blankets from China, cotton clothes, damasks, screens, little boxes	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.146v
	Captain Antonio Ruiz Moreno	fabrics, blankets from China, white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.147v
	Captain Juan de Arrese	silks, satins, towels, blankets from China, trunks, writing desks	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.149r
	Captain Luis Antonio de Tagle	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, silks, fans	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.150r
	Captain Luis Antonio de Tagle	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.150v

SHIPPER'S MARK	SHIPPER	MERCHANDISE	SOURCE
	Captain Luis Antonio de Tagle	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.151r
	Captain Fernando de Lemos	screens, satins, blankets, bowls	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.151r
	Captain Tomás de Cruzelegui	white cotton clothes, blankets from China, fabrics, combs	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.152v
	General Juan de Echeverría	combs, bowls, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.153r
	General Juan de Echeverría	towels, writing desk, fans	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.153v
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.154r
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	silks, fans, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.154v
	Sergeant Major Joseph de Aguirre	white cotton clothes, blankets	Filipinas,214,N.1,F.154v