

# Local History as Global History? Weakness and Resilience of Early Modern Self-organised Portuguese Commercial Communities

## The Case of Macao in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries

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### FOREWORD

Recently, scholars move their attention to the role performed both by informal trade and commerce companies and individual agents in the construction of European commercial dynamics in the pre-existing circuits of the Asian worlds.

Charles R. Boxer opened the path to this kind of approach by examining the role of the Portuguese communities in Asia and Southeast Asia. In some of his books, such as *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*,<sup>1</sup> or *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770*,<sup>2</sup> Boxer reviewed the presence and strategies of the Portuguese in that

part of the world in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and paved the way to new studies.

This paper addresses the subject of Portuguese self-organised commercial communities by reassessing their role through specific examples of merchants established in Macao and Southeast Asian ports. By examining documentation both from Portuguese and Spanish archives (these ones giving a brand new and more insightful view of the merchant’ schemes), mainly concerning the trade between Macao and Japan, it is my purpose to explain the apparent contradiction in this papers’ title. Frequently acting in the porous political margins of the ‘states’ and empires, away from the direct control of the Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese and Japanese officials, these communities and agents were vulnerable to their interferences, and at the mercy of political, economic, religious and military hazards, that may put in risk their own existence. It is in the response they found to face these menaces that we must recognise their flexibility and capacity to endure and thrive.

Methodologically, I’ll present archive documentation – mainly from the Spanish archives – and the inquiry that frames the research, I’ll identify the communities and agents under scrutiny, the threats they faced and the reports they wrote, the solutions they found and, finally, the results they achieved.

1. SOUTHEAST ASIA, GLOBALISATION AND GLOBAL HISTORY

The subject analysed in this study only recently caught the attention of historians, but they swiftly estimated it as decisive in the history of the Early Modern world: the role of self-organised commercial communities settled in the territorial margins of ‘states’ and territories, moving in and out of their frontiers disregarding political boundaries, and how these communities and their informal, economic, social, political and cultural networks were at the forefront of a globalisation process that took place between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this regard, the article seeks to demonstrate how a theme of ‘local’ history, in the sense that a specific region, yet very extensive, may have global or, at least, transnational impact. It intends above all, to show how maritime and commercial relations were instrumental in the establishment of movements with consequence; departing from a local and regional basis these transactions became global as soon as certain agents assumed a decisive role in carrying goods, people, ideas and civilisational experiences outward from that space, or turning it into a point of attraction and centrality. Characters in this process have been Asians (mainly Chinese, Japanese, Philippine, Malaysian) and European (Portuguese and Castilian, because in this story the Dutch are left out and only appear as challengers).<sup>3</sup> It is my intention to highlight, among the European, two groups that I find more supranational than anything else, and have been influential on this system’s functioning: on the one hand the Jesuits and on the other hand the New Christians. However, and generally speaking, each of these groups performed a major role in the development and affirmation of these cross-cultural dealings; therefore, and although based in European data, this article will recognise Asian and European as equal players of a complex and long game, and by assessing the way they acted, as well as of the impacts resultant from strategies of affirmation (spiritual, political and economic in the case of the Jesuits; economic and conceivably religious in the case of New Christians), I intend to avoid Eurocentric or Eurasiancentric tendencies and prejudices that so far have dominated in historical analysis.

By examining these agents’ action we come across valuable data to evaluate at what levels interactions and transfers were realised. If the seas and oceans, and the

overall structure of the communities worked as means of communication and encounter, though sometimes have lifted up barriers which prevented them, the way these exchanges ‘contaminated’ far between societies for good, changing their lifestyle habits, leads me to reinterpret the concept of *Great Divergence*, in line with the Jan de Vries industrious revolution, albeit moving its chronology to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and by introducing new characters in the process.<sup>4</sup>

Even though the study of the consequences of these contacts and transfers addresses the deep changes that arose in Europe’s consumption habits,<sup>5</sup> is no less important to raise the question of these Southeast Asian convergences and divergences impacts. If Europeans found there a world of long-time connections in which, at times, they found it difficult to enter, or not entered at all, it is also true that Asians were also obliged (by their own will or by imposition) to adapt to the new rhythms and demands of their newcomers partners. Besides, we must keep in mind that numerous operations carried out by the Europeans were directed and had exclusive meaning for the region itself, not only when they acted as middlemen between Asian trading parties, but because many of them chose to settle there forever, becoming locals, and participants in the Asian’s destinies.

Thus, albeit indirectly for it is not my purpose to go down that route, these considerations reflect on globalization in history, much debated nowadays or, to be cautious about the transnational nature of history; moreover, whether there are significant differences between the ‘global’ history we wish to write and the history that others before us have written, as was the case Charles R. Boxer, evoked in this publication.

2. MACAO, A MERCHANT COMMUNITY LEFT TO ITS FAITH

This study’s starting point is the situation experienced in Macao in 1639, reported in two letters sent to the Crown. Far away from Madrid (and Lisbon), and in desperation, Senate Chamber’s men and the clergy of the city of the *Nome de Deus de Macau* (city of the Name of God of Macao) addressed Philip III of Portugal asking him for help although they probably knew their efforts would come to nothing. In these documents, in which there are data to supplement the Japan route accounts composed by Charles Boxer, the

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Macanese elites complained of the problems caused by Jesuit missionaries in Japan, whom, contrary to the orders of the authorities persisted in their evangelisation work, which had been systematically banned since late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The outcome was what was expected or even worse-than-expected: an expulsion order was given to all the Portuguese and they have been threatened with severe punishment if returned; and they were complied with: more than one time, ambassadors sent by Macao were arrested, and hostages and diplomats carrying the burden of remedying the problem provoked by the missionaries attendance were summary executed.

The preacher's actions were the near motive for the Japanese harassments against the Portuguese. However, the Jesuits mission had a much deeper scope, as we shall see. But the first impression we get from the Macao's laments is that we are faced with an extremely vulnerable community and as titled above, delivered to its faith.

First of all, due to the great distance both from Portugal and the *Estado da Índia* (State of India) under which the city was administrated. Closer to Castilian overseas domains – and this could be, and was, an advantage for their projects and commercial ventures – Macao had to adjust to the complexity of routes and surrounding circuits which the Portuguese crown never managed to cover much less control and protect. This appears to be usual in the first global world: with exceptions, control of overseas trade by the central authorities was constantly precarious, paved the way to individual and particular initiatives and ventures; that was the case of the Macao-Goa relation in which the latest never seemed to be able to solve the problems that have affected this 'forgotten part' of its domains.

Besides geographical distance, since the late years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century attention to these territories notably resented of the State of India's internal strife, lost in uninterrupted wars, undermined by its officials incompetence, elites' ambition and confrontation. The time was of decay and corruption, intrigue and scandal, political agendas, and widespread speculation where everything had a price, disguising personal interests with Crown's taxation. Thus, this plot crippled authority, administrative and economic systems' functioning, and had consequences in the remotest parts of Asia, instigating ports and merchants to devise their own ventures and to use their own means to survive and eventually succeed, as it happened with Macao.

Those were days of governing intermittency, of growing difficulties to oversee navigation in all sea passages despite Viceroy's and Governor's efforts in the organisation of annual armadas to the Straits of Sunda, Malacca, Singapore, in order to patrol all routes that linked this complex and complicated geography. Troubles intensified after the Dutch's arrival, pouncing Portuguese strategic settling points and then developing their own control models; Dutch maritime supremacy affected Portuguese mastery over seafaring deeds, routes and trading posts, and thereby exacerbated the isolation to which were voted various communities scattered through the Asian seas.

Still in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Japan appeared as a godsend to the Portuguese who, from the outset of their overseas expansion, sought to get coinable metals to finance their trades. Silver and gold shortage was more acute in East Asia, 'a meeting point of a world of cheap silver and a world of expensive silver'.<sup>6</sup> Simultaneously jealous in guarding its most lucrative trades, but open to exchange and cross-cultural experiences, this cosmopolitan world was met by the Portuguese thanks to the guidance of Chinese and Japanese pilots; very soon they recognised the basic mechanisms of social and commercial interaction, in a process celebrated by the Discoveries' chronicles and confirmed by the archival documentation.

The (simplified) explanation for the Portuguese success as middlemen in the dealings between China and Japan is well known: relations amid the two states were officially cut off in consequence of both Japanese piracy and China's protectionist policies; the Portuguese exploited this state of affairs to take over as mediators with benefits; on the other hand, they earned with the reasonable value ratio between the Chinese gold and the Japanese silver, which facilitated cross-border trade and investment; finally, the preference of Japanese consumers for the Chinese silk also carried out in Portuguese ships was cause for additional profit.

The Macao-Japan trade composition was far more complex: obviously silver circulated, but also the gold, although this was more an import product than export as was the first. In Japan the Portuguese also traded weapons (swords and spears, until Japanese authorities banned its exportation in 1621), in a broader process of military knowledge circulation referred by Bêbio Amaro;<sup>7</sup> the Japanese copper also played an significant role in the Portuguese transactions, mainly at the peak



Macao, a port and a tradesmen city in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Note the galleons anchored in this Theodore de Bry's picture (1598).

of labour of the cannon foundries, especially the one ran by the famous Manuel Tavares Bocarro (1627-1650). Finally, lacquers and gilded veneer screens were also part of a luxurious trade demanded by the European elites.

A document of 1633 unveils a few more goods of this China-Japan dealings, not hiding they were essential commodities for this Asian-Iberian merchant economy: '*Este gobierno y la conservacion de sus Provincias consiste en que el comercio de la Gran China y Japon com ellas corriente, y principalmente el del Japon que en rigor es mas considerable assi por vezino poderoso como por que de aquel Reyno solian traer muchos géneros de que se carece, como son hierro, cobre, plomo, salitre, arina, tozino, legumbres, drogas y plata que a Vuestra Magestad cuesta mucho hazienda averlos de proveer de Nueva España*'.<sup>8</sup> Sporadically former Korean prisoners

turned into slaves were also traded to fill the strong slave demand by the Portuguese in the East; but pretty soon that practice was countered both by the Jesuits as by Goa officials, and then abolished.<sup>9</sup>

About African slaves, mentioned in the Appendix's document 1, and to which I shall come back, there is data to consider. Slaves were documented in Macao and China, and many circulated through multiple slavery routes managed by the Portuguese. I remember the words of the late José Capela stating that even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a lot yet to know and study about the slave deals between Goa and India and as we know the 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese extended *India* between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan. If the State of India letters provide evidence of a Mozambique slave supply, with some specificity



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– women, for example, did not seem to please the buyers who thought them *lazy at work* – documents from China offer even more to think about it by noticing the involvement of Macanese agents in the Angola slave trade. Not surprisingly, however. Similar to entrepreneurship behaviour in the margins of the political states boundaries (and also beyond the legal limitations they imposed) and, most of all to how they adapted to circumstances, Macao's merchants expanded their business with slave trade, and when they found themselves struggling with the Japan trade crisis they became 'front-men' of Chinese, Indian and even Japanese merchant firms, as Boxer wrote.

In addition to this movement in the margins, associative forms, and co-operative strategies, one of enormous consequence had to be added: Manila. Destiny of the galleon from Acapulco, since the foundation (1571) Manila became the third vertex of a recognisably active triangle linking Macao and Malacca, until then the dynamic axis of the Portuguese trade with China; valuable prolongations to Goa, through the Straits routes, Japan and of course the Spanish Indies mostly enhanced trade. Ultimately, Manila came to organise this area, this world of silver, and worked as a decoy for Southeast Asian ships and merchants. Not coincidentally, the galleon dispatched from Acapulco every year was often called the *ship of China*.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, the Portuguese deployment in this large and busy area took advantage of the existing transnational market and profited from the intermediation model they'd follow. Macanese businessmen, in association with Chinese commercial entities, quickly became key-players in Japan, Siam, Cambodia, and Hainan<sup>11</sup> trade where small Christian communities existed. Historical data seem to confirm that business with those regions rapidly came to dominate the traders' activity and vital to its prosperity; although placing the emphasis on the survival of Catholic religious in Southeast Asia, documents published in the Appendix give proof of that.

There is still much to find out about these regions involvement in long-distance trade and global connections, but they seem to emerge while the Iberians structured their field of activity. This looks as a logical consequence of the fact that Portuguese and Spaniards, through the *Great Ship of Amacao*, the Manila Galleon, and several other private ships owned in partnerships, have worked essentially as a huge and

active commercial enterprise that could not fail to touch, and influence the rhythms of these markedly commercial territories.

## 3. MACAO'S WEAKNESSES

The examination of Macao's weaknesses, which were similar to the ones of other Portuguese groups scattered throughout the Empire, has been initiated in the previous section. Through the analysis of the *great ship* voyages organisation we come to find out more about the Macao-Japan trading relationship hazards, as the commercial expeditions supported the traders' prosperity.

The travel arrangements scheme was generally corrupt, mostly external to the mercantile community and often placed out of its reach the Macanese consortia disturbing its commercial ventures; let us specify a little further. Any nobleman who claimed he had performed meritorious service to the Crown or fought for her in any fortress or military post in the East wanted to be rewarded with a ship's concession – a *viagem*. There were various *voyages* to several Asian maritime destinies and they meant great profit to the awarded and the contractors. Of all the voyages the Portuguese fared in Asia, the ones to China and Japan were the most desired; the latter was the most wanted in Macao. However, the Japan voyage was in the hands of Major-Captain (*capitão-mor*), appointed by the Crown or by the Goa Viceroy. Being the most influential concessionary, and driven by dark interests (or too clear ones), the Major-Captain ceased the honourable concessions and instead decided to auction the voyages to collect the profits; he quickly became the most important figure in the city, but also attracted the greatest enmity of the city's traders, to the extent of requesting the Viceroy his replacement. 'In 1623 a General-Captain (*capitão-geral*) was appointed as Macao governor, and from this date the Captain-Major of the Japan voyage never exercised jurisdiction on land; however, the citizens of the City of the Name of God in China soon realised that they had not earned anything with the exchange. So, they went back to its previous position, but it was too late, and the authority of the Major-Captain was henceforth limited to vessels

The Nanban black and great ship of Amacao.  
Detail of a Japanese nanban screen, late 16<sup>th</sup>-century/early 17<sup>th</sup>-century.





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and control of the Portuguese merchant community in Nagasaki’.<sup>12</sup> Invested in these new functions he acted as a high-rank Portuguese administration servant, a kind of overseer/ambassador, like the one the Crown had in Antwerp; he was highly regarded in Japan and recognised as *daimyo*, he supervised their fellow countrymen behaviour, exercised justice (offenders, debtors and defaulters, Portuguese and European, were delivered to him by the Japanese authorities to be trialled) and, from 1614 onwards, he was supposed to prevent the Jesuits missionaries and Christian religious entry in Japan.<sup>13</sup> These data raised a pertinent reflection: from an early stage, the Portuguese Crown took charge of the commercial agency, even assuming commercial management as one of its key-functions. Maybe without the necessary skills to effectively intervene in the economy, yet undeniably competing with traders and placing them before challenges that only with much effort and difficulty they would overcome, and in many occasions they did not.

I mentioned the administrative disturbances from Goa, as well as the clear difficulties of the central power intervention in Southeast Asia, from Madrid and Lisbon; but there were those who withdrew advantages of this ‘disorder’. Who? An also mentioned organised group with a political agenda; not the religious hierarchy that united much of its faith to the faith of the Crown and its officials, and too entangle in the same processes of intrigue and power struggle,<sup>14</sup> but a religious congregation that, since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, activated a political, spiritual and cultural programme, and, moreover, was well aware of how to affirm itself thanks to the superior culture of its members, resources, influence, organisational capacity and internal cohesion: the Jesuits. In the very first letters sent by the priests who first touched Japan unveil a great eagerness in information collection about geography, habits, social and political organisation, economic practices, and the ways in which they could, and should, intervene, always in an edifying tone, but perfectly oriented.<sup>15</sup>

Yet this represents an additional fragility of the Macao’s community regarding its contacts with Japan, and the core discussion in the present work; ironically, this started out as an advantage for the Macanese agents (whom were in charge of the missionaries transportation to Japan) because they saw in the Jesuits’ ability to penetrate in the Japanese commercial communities, in the speed with which they communicate and recognise

trading social processes, values to be explored in their benefit; but where at the beginning they perceived advantages, in a short while they were transformed into problems, aggravated with the deep animosity developed by the Japanese authorities towards the Jesuit missionary.

Historiography explains the Japanese brawl against the Portuguese with their struggle against Jesuit missions. But we must go a little further and perceive, behind the religious issues, matters of a different nature: economic, for instance, and very sensitive ones. The subject is rather complex and can hardly be fully clarified. It has to do with the Jesuits interference in business and trade. This is not exactly a novelty, but for example when Charles Boxer addresses this question he ‘only’ considers the Jesuits’ role as middlemen/traders and silk traders. We now know a bit more: for instance, that they played a major role in finance, involved in highly lucrative and speculative credit operations in silver trade, through ‘*respondência*’ with Japanese bankers and Portuguese businessmen.<sup>16</sup> Two facts can therefore be invoked to elucidate a bit more the irreversible setbacks imposed by the Japanese. First, the borrowers’ constant crashes, unable to bear the highly speculative interest rates; those bankruptcies raised to unsustainable levels the Portuguese debt that became unpayable. Second, the Japanese wished to eliminate a powerful and dangerous economic adversary; in fact, Jesuits were penetrating in influent layers of the Japanese society and potentially challenging the feudal system and even the unification of the state, in progress since the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup>

4. MACAO AND THE STRENGTH OF A MERCANTILE COMMUNITY

Macao’s regional influence, the private initiative of its residents, and their organisation, gave the city the strengths to resist when challenged by adversaries whom, at that time, systematically expelled the Portuguese (and the Castilian) out of some key positions of their domains. As specific examples, we have the unsuccessfully English siege and port blockage in June 1622, and the great and celebrated event of the victory over the Dutch, even if it happened by work of pure chance, or Saint John’s miracle.

Delivered to their fate, as in those military events, the strength of Macao community is described by Luís



Busy Manila, a cross-cultural seaport in the Early Modern Age (Museo de Arte Jose Luis Bello, Puebla, Mexico).

Filipe Barreto in these terms: ‘official State of India apparatus’ wishes and projects, opposite to the wealth of Macao’s. Political and centralist Goa threatens the founding axis Macao-Canton. Residents and Macao Senate struggles and conflicts against Portuguese Crown official powers on behalf of a local autonomy based on the uniqueness of the Portuguese and Chinese consortium’,<sup>18</sup> remain as the clearest response to the central government interventionist desires.

Strength of the Macao community proved in the systematically adoption of an existing practice: the Portuguese ships from this port converted into pirates, or patrollers in the region, with the aim of counteracting competition of any kind. As soon as in 1588 (March 1) Friar Francisco Manrique, a well-informed Spaniard prior of the Saint Augustine convent of Macao, denounced the Portuguese attempts to prevent the direct Japanese navigation towards Manila.<sup>19</sup>

Still in the maritime domain, from the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and especially in the 1630s (expecting troubles in Japanese trade) the Portuguese ship’s dominant mission was to compensate the traffic disruption in Nagasaki and other Japanese ports with deeper control of the Manila trade, for which they had to challenge Chinese seafarers. In 1588 Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro, a Macao neighbour ‘*quien viaja mucho entre esos reinos* [of China and Japan]’, typified the

Portuguese shipowners regularly seen in Chinese ports and specifically in Canton, servicing and chartering their ships; very competitive, they prevented both the Castilian attendance in the Canton ‘fair’ as the Chinese shipping to Manila.<sup>20</sup> After 1613, when they noticed the Japanese ruler eased restrictions on Chinese direct trade with Japan attracting to his ports 60 to 80 Chinese junks every year,<sup>21</sup> and when they found themselves chased away for good from the same Japanese ports, they managed to reduce the junks’ traffic to Manila. Acting like that Portuguese sought to balance losses on one side (Japan), with gains on the other (Philippines). On 10 November 1634, the President and the Ombudsman of the Audience of Manila were commanded by a Royal chart to conclusively prove that information sent by Juan Grau y Monfalcón, General Attorney of Manila saying the Portuguese ‘*embarazan a los sangleyes en el comercio com Filipinas para así asentarse ellos com este trato*’.<sup>22</sup> Even worse, said the same official, the Portuguese in Macao were causing much damage to the Manila neighbours because they went to Canton to purchase merchandise ‘*y que luego vendían en Manila impidiendo que los españoles pudieran sacar beneficios de ellas, como sucedía cuando eran los chinos los que iban allí a venderlas y los españoles las negociaban para llevarlas a Nueva España. Los portugueses no las fían, las venden a precios excesivos y las envían por su cuenta a México*’.<sup>23</sup>



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When the Macao rulers whine their fate in the letters sent to the King, briefly characterised the town as a mercantile society. Isolated, as already said – no mail exchange with Goa and the Kingdom for more than three years – and desolated by the loss of Japan trade; populous with ‘*melhoria de sincoenta mil almas*’ between local, married (*casados*),<sup>24</sup> and merchants who temporarily frequented it according to the trade rhythms. Being that the situation was undeniably severe, those letters emphasised misfortunes, particularly when referring the ruin of the city’s wealth support: ‘*como os cabedais destes moradores são muito limitados, e esses empregados em fazendas que sô pera o mesmo Jappão servem ahy se apodrecerão, e assy ja oje morre muita gente a fome*’.<sup>25</sup>

Despite these lamentations they were experienced merchants aware of business setbacks. And they knew they had to look for valuable alternatives; in the meantime, they did not hesitate to resort to the assistance of a power – the Crown – they were used to often conflict and deceive in many ways.<sup>26</sup>

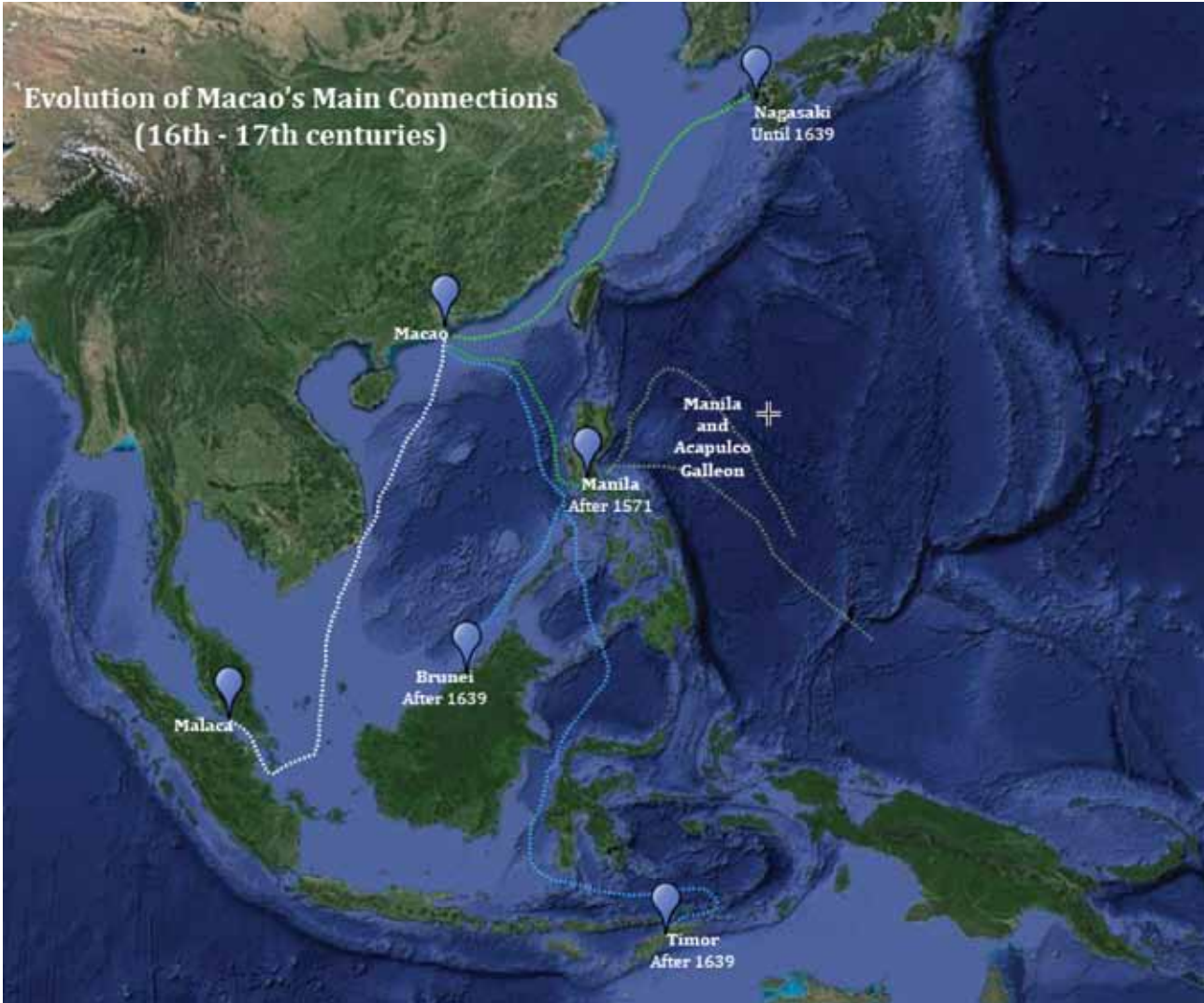
In the first place, Macao traders asked the King’s permission to organise slave trade expeditions to the West African coast (Angola), which is mostly unknown in the current historiography: ‘*a Ell Rey nosso senhor temos avizado e lhe pedimos seja servido mandarnos conceder hua embarcação desta cidade pera o Reino e outra pera Angola pera com isso se não vir a largar esta praça*’.<sup>27</sup>

In the second place, although not mentioned in the letters but insistently referred elsewhere, was a well succeeded attempt of penetration in Castilian Asian domains, more specifically in Borneo. Recent study says that ‘well aware of Borneo Sultanate detached role in regional trade routes, the Spaniards from Philippines immediately eye-pointed its expansionist actions and zone control in its direction’, achieving to dominated it in the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>28</sup> however the Portuguese – again comfortable with associative and co-operative strategies with Spanish agents, which guaranteed them the required licenses to operate in the area without any major problem – managed to heavily participate in the trade with the Sultanate, as can be proved by the 1636 complaints against their presence.<sup>29</sup>

But the Macao rulers, spokesmen of the shipping community they ran, went further: ambitious merchants in need, they wanted, and managed to

strongly insinuate themselves in the attractive Castilian *Carrera de Índias* from Manila, and put many of their commercial ventures in the hands of their Spanish associates and at the risk of Spanish Crown bans and confiscations, to whom, of course, they addressed: ‘*e juntamente seja servido mandar desembargar o trato do Perû pera que as fazendas desta cidade possão ter comunicação com essa e com esta sahida se possão conservar estas duas Republicas*’.<sup>30</sup> Thoroughly preparing the ground by seizing a big portion of the Philippines-China trade, as mentioned above, then playing up their trump cards as strong agents in the Philippine market networking with Castilian officials and traders by using all the mechanisms of trade networks to establish and thrive. 10 October 1632: to the Spanish Indies council arrived several documents allegedly intended to protect Filipino merchants’ business. The first referred an agreement approved in the Manila Secular Church Chapter affirming the trade monopoly in the islands, breached by Mexican merchants whom in recent years, were sending capitals and overseers to the Philippines and set themselves in accordance with shipmasters and sailors hoarding cargoes to be traded in the Indies; accordingly, a 11 January 1593 Royal chart assuring Manila neighbours the trade monopoly and specifically preventing New Spain neighbours to do so (which meant they did), was copied and sent. The third document came in the wake of this controversy: it is dated from Manila, 11 October 1632, ordering an enquiry to determine who Mexican traders were involved in this business. The fourth clears over the issue; dated 22 October of the same year, requested the Manila Bishop to deny absolution to all the people in town associated with Mexican dealers and to impose ecclesiastical penalties to whom shipped their commodities, especially the Mexican and Macanese merchants. The last, dated 8 November 1632, is a Manila town council agreement asking the same Bishop new and more serious reproaches to the same traders.<sup>31</sup>

Over these documents stands a feeling of strength and initiative, identical to the strength and endeavours of other Portuguese overseas communities: for the most part, that strength came from the action of individual agents, tradesmen and navigation technicians who could move like no one in the intricacies of ports, trade, and business, regardless partnerships or rivalries. Among the seamen, the Great Ship Amacau pilot was



at the frontline. He was always Portuguese, the solely responsible for the navigation manoeuvre, influential in the cargo distribution and the crew contractor. He used the power he had aboard in his own benefit and too for his partners’ benefit but there’s still a lot to know about these connections.

So far, Early Modern trade schemes expose merchants as promoters and responsible for these connections. As for the present research, the Macanese merchants rely in the New Christians’ networks that seemed to be key-elements in this 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries’ business narrative both in Europe and throughout overseas empires. Through family, confessional, and cultural ties, which not prevented trans-national coalitions they were influential thanks

to their commercial networks, present in all ports and reference markets. Apart from the vast literature, a 1645 Portuguese account confirms the networks’ impact in Macao, showing, on the other hand, a last and formidable menace hovering over these communities’ heads: the Inquisition, the ultimate weapon used by rivals and the government officials to counteract this trend. The Inquisition process against Pêro Henriques de Guevara, a New-Christian from Torre de Moncorvo (a Northern Portuguese village famous by its crypto-Jewish merchants’ community) tried in the Holy Office Court of Lisbon, reports the existence of and performance of New-Christian networks in Macao and Manila, and, like in many other ports, supported by the clergy.<sup>32</sup>



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CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we followed a merchant’s community which grew accustomed, since its foundation, to manage its destiny and that, in the 1630s, was caught in a deadlock caused by the impending loss of one of its richest trades. This episode allows us to identify Asian ports’ agents moving across political borders, and transforming the concept, enabling ‘new’ territories to emerge, transforming the notion of space and trade community, direct and indirectly contacting and adapting to different realities. Groups who also saw suffered threats to their own existence and often had to rely on their own resources and wits to survive and in the process became stronger, paving the way for new organisational economic, social and cultural models.

Returning to the initially question of this study, and offering an additional concept to reflect upon, globalization consists of what is understandable by people and agents in and of different worlds. The commercial practice described in this study, extended to different areas, made of widespread exchanges, experiences and adaptations, was undeniably understood by all participants.


In this sense, it is also important to stress the fact that this process greatly contributed to our understanding of ports and merchants’ first steps towards globalisation, which in history, is still far from being studied and clarified, and this thanks to the intervention of two Southeast Asian port-cities: Macao and Manila.

For merchants and networks Macao acted as base, meeting point and departing point of maritime routes that linked trading key points, such as Malacca, Nagasaki and Manila. At its limit, commodities were sent to Lisbon, from where the Crown administrated the Oriental trade. But this was just a small part of this world of business; the lion’s share was in Southeast Asia, in every port and harbour of the Straits, India, China, Japan, the Philippines, and elsewhere, where the Portuguese intervened as equal, assuming themselves as local agents and, whenever possible, on the fringes and outside the official schemes of Portuguese Crown trade.

By virtue of the Portuguese and the Portuguese ships, many and diverse areas began to contact and linked as a result of their commercial transactions. This kind of involvement contrasts with the Castilian Caribbean, traditionally defined as ‘closed’ to external navigation by virtue of the Spanish authorities restrictions, although this remains to be fully proved. In Southeast Asia, in essence dealings were organised and managed by Portuguese merchants, as seen in the cases of Goa-Japan-Manila, and Ormuz-Goa routes and the immense circuits where they participated, more or less freely and autonomously.

‘Born with a silver spoon’, Manila turned the Philippines into the cradle of globalization,<sup>33</sup> but only because many factors converged to it, including some mentioned in this study. So I have no doubt in saying that this first global age was due to merchants; to the itinerant men of ports and networks, Iberian and Asian, and their partners, who developed a settlement and affirmation model different of the one later developed by the Dutch and English, guideline by some kind of imperialist intervention.<sup>34</sup>

With Manila there was a meeting of wills. As recently shown by Picazo Muntaner, the Castilians of Manila suffered from similar constraints to those imposed on the Portuguese in Macao: growing interventionism of the Crown, which led to the adoption of ‘escape’ strategies and devices to circumvent limitations, resulting, in most cases, in smuggling practices or in partnerships with agents familiar to all ports and areas. The Spanish had to overcome an additional and serious obstacle of social order and even of social prejudice, namely when officers of noble extraction decided to involve themselves in trade and business, which was in contradiction with the Spanish Ancient Regime social behaviour standards.<sup>35</sup>

As a closing remark, the existence of this first globalisation is proved by the fact that the practices involved clearly contradict the traditional idea of closed worlds: the Atlantic, Indian and the Pacific worlds. On the contrary, these movements generated in ports through their networks linked, interconnected the different systems: Atlantic, Indian and Pacific. Suddenly, the world became small. 

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DOCUMENTAL APPENDIX

DOCUMENT 1

1639. December. 3. Macao<sup>36</sup>  
*Letter addressed to the King Philippe the 3<sup>th</sup> of Portugal and signed by some Macao’s neighbours, about the cut of relations with the Portuguese decided by the ‘King’ of Japan; as the trade ceased, in consequence, the city risks to no longer exists because commerce with Japan is the principal reason why the city thrives. They proposed and ask for an agreement with the Spaniards in order to be authorised to participate in the Spanish Indies trade as compensation for that loss; they mention the ‘King’ of Japan’s sentence and say that it is translated in this letter, which is not.*  
Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Filipinas, 41, N.64 – 3

Senhor  
Damos conta a Vossa Magestade de como este anno nos despedio El Rey de Jappão pera que não tivéssemos mais este trato com elle nem tornacemos a seu Reino com as penas referidas na sentença que nos mandou cujo treslado vay com esta E como sem este comercio se não pode conservar esta cidade fica exposta não sô a se não conservar, respeito de se não poderem sustentar seus moradores mas tão bem receoza de que o enemigo de Europa reine sobre ella por ficar com este trato que tantos annos hã pretende; o que tudo foy ocasionado de tres Religiosos que avião prezos com o que se erriou tanto no odio que a nossa Sancta Fê tem, e as amoestações que todos os annos nos fazião com o que se vierão a resolver desta maneira;

Partirão pera aquelle Reino coatro navios de viagem, de que hos dous lâ chegarão e hum dos de companhia se perdeo, e o outro aribou destroçado, chegados os dous mandarão desembarcar a gente sem lhes consentirem levarem outra couza algua mais que o que sobre seus corpos tinhão, e depois de estarem em terra lhes foy notificada a sentença que vos dizemos, a qual mandarão a esta cidade, e logo tornarão a lançar os navios pella barra fora sem consentirem tyrarce delles nem as cartas que pera os do seu governo hião como hê costume, nem deixarem vender valia de hum sô real, nem ainda pera sustento da mesma gente emquanto lâ estiveram; antes não quizerão receber as fazendas de seus naturais que nos mesmos navios hião com lhas offerecerem os Portuguezes, dizendo que nem o que era seu querião de nos que tal hê o odio que nos tem tomado.

Com este successo fica esta cidade em estado que não sabemos se se poderá conservar athe ser El Rey nosso senhor avizado por que os  
[verso]

que não são cazados se vão e desemparão a terra, e os que o são farão o mesmo por se não poderem sustentar, por quanto mayor mal foy tornarem as fazendas por vender, de que a quebra do mesmo comercio, por que como os cabedais destes moradores são muito limitados, e esses empregados em fazendas que sô pera o mesmo Jappão servem ahy se apoderecerão (*sic*), e assy ja oje morre muita gente a fome, e outros se passam pera os Infieis não atentando o que devem a suas almas por verem o estado em que estamos pois hê tal que não hã filho que a seu pay possa ser bom, nem o pay ao filho Estes naturais que entre nos vivião, vendonos neste estado se forão e nos desemparão.

Neste estado fica esta cidade sem sabermos o quanto se poderá conservar e presto temos avizado ao Vice Rey da India estã elle em estado e pello impedimento dos’Estreitos que em tres annos não temos cartas daquelle Estado.

A Ell Rey nosso senhor temos avizado e lhe pedimos seja servido mandarnos conceder hua embarcação desta cidade pera o Reino e outra pera Angola pera com isso se não vir a largar esta praça e juntamente seja



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servido mandar desembargar o trato do Perú pera que as fazendas desta cidade possão ter comunicação com essa e com esta sahida se possão conservar estas duas Republicas Sirvace Vossa Magestade fazernos merce fazer a El Rey nosso senhor a mesma suplica em favor desta cidade pera que com a informação que Vossa Magestade lhe fizer sejamos providos para nossa conservação, antepondo o de quanto perjuizo será a sua Coroa e a seu real serviço assenhorearce o enemigo destes tão opulentos tratos de China e Jappão que tantos annos hã pretende, e outras muitas conciderações de seu real serviço e bem de seus vassalos.

E como ao serviço d’El Rey nosso senhor não convem que o rebelde fique com este trato, respeito que com elle se farã tão poderozo que em pouco tempo imtentara couzas muito mayores pedimos a El Rey nosso senhor se sirva mandar fazer hua suplica a Sua Sanctidade em que lhe peça mande passar um Breve com graves penas e sensuras para que nenhum Religioso passe a Jappão durante o tempo desta perciguição atentando o nenhum fruto que oje se fas nem pode fazer naquelle Reino, nem menos pode nelle entrar Religioso que logo não seja prezo, e morto sem fazer fruto algum antes ocazião de morrerem e arrenegarem muitos, e sobre tudo a grande perda, e roina que se seguirá, e aos estados d’El Rey nosso senhor fazendoce o enemigo poderozo com estes tratos alem da perda desta cidade aonde hã melhoria de sincoenta mil almas Christãs afora as Christandades destes reinos vizinhos que com a falta desta cidade tudo se acaba: Pedimos a Vossa Magestade seja servido fazernos merce de que com a concideração que dizemos emforme a El Rey nosso senhor para com sua emformação sermos providos no que pedimos, e no que mais convier a seu real serviço.

Como pera sermos avizados d’El Rey nosso senhor se hão de passar dous e tres annos, e o estado em que estamos hê tal que não sabemos se antes disso se poderã esta cidade vir a desemparrar, intentamos mandar este [recto]

anno a Jappão seis ou oito homens velhos, e de mais experiencia daquele Reino com todo o risco da sua sentença ver se nos querem ouvir e apiedar de nos pera o que pedimos a Vossa Magestade e o mesmo pedimos ao Governador destas Ilhas nos fação merce de que com junta que se faça de todos os tribunais eclesiasticos e seculares e perlados das religiões aonde vistas e concideradas as rezoins asima nos fação merce de hua obrigação assinada por todos os tribunais e mais pessoas que dizemos em que se obriguem a que não passem nem passarão Religiosos ao dito Jappão, e esta obrigação em forma que a possamos mandar a Jappão e cazo que por ella queirão ver se lha comprimos e nos pessão fiquem lâ refens com as vidas obrigadas que não sô possão ficar os tais refens, se não que tão bem possamos obrigar os navios e fazendas se lâ tornarmos, e as vidas dos que nelles forem e assym convem que com esta cautela e segurança aja de ser: Pedimos a Vossa Magestade seja servido mandar obrar nesta materia como vir mais convem ao serviço das duas Magestades Divina, e Humana antepondo as rezoins referidas por hua e outra parte. O que tudo reprezentará por esta cidade, e seu povo: Miguel de Macedo fidalgo de muitas partes e experiencia no serviço de Vossa Magestade em que ocupou lugares de muita concideração; ficamos entendendo nos não faltara Vossa Magestade com sua merce e favor a tam justas petiçoins: Deos Nosso Senhor goarde e prospere a Vossa Magestade por largos e felices annos. Macao. [noutra letra:] Sobescrita per mim Simão Vas de Pavia (?) cavaleiro fidalgo alferes escrivão da Camara desta cidade do Nome de Deos na China em 3 de Dezenbro de 1639.

[signatures: Manoel Galvão de Sa, Diogo Enrique de Lousada, Francisco Botelho, Manoel de Figueira (?), Jeronimo (?) Silveira (?) de Campos]

[verso]

carta de Macao

Santo Nombre de Dios. A Vuestra Magestad 3 de Dexiembre 1639

Algunos vezinos de la ciudad de Macao

DOCUMENT 2

1639. November. 11. Macao

*Letter sent by some Macao’s clergy personalities about the passage of Jesuits missionaries to Japan which they condemned and ask not to be continued. João Pereira, governor of the China’s Bishopric, António de São Domingos, vicar of Saint Dominic’s convent, João de Jesus, prior of Saint Augustine’s convent, António Ribeiro, visitor of the Jesuit Order (Company of Jesus), and Bento de Cristo, guardian of the Saint Francis’s convent, in connection with the Macao’s City Hall, refer the attacks they suffer in Japan by the local authorities in retaliation against the Jesuit’s insistence in their mission work, and consider that it is not convenient to allow them to continue to pass there. They also warn that trade between Macao and Japan had broken up and the danger represented by the Dutch that menace to take over all the traffic in Asia.*

AGI, Filipinas, 41, N. 63

Assi como a charidade obriga aos pregadores evangelicos a acodirem as Christandades e pregarem a fê de Christo Nosso Senhor aonde hã esperança de fruto, assim a mesma obriga os mesmos a se desviarem e não passarem aonde sua prezença pode ser de grande perjuizo a mesma Christandade e porquanto a experiencia de largos annos tem mostrado que a ida dos Religiozos a Jappão não sô foi de nenhum fruto aquella Christandade, mas antes a tem posto em tal estado que ja não hã christão nenhum que queira ouvir nem recolher os Religiozos que lâ passão por que fogem todos delles e nenhum se confeça, dizendo que não servem de mais que de fazer cair alguns poucos se ainda os hã provocando com sua ida os tirannos a lhe darem cruelissimos, e nunca ouvidos tormentos com os quaes tornão atras por onde pedem os mesmos naturais que não passem Padres a Jappão, visto sua ida não servir de mais que de irritar os emfieis contra elles pera os obrigarem a fazer mil dezacatos, pizando as Sagradas Imagens por não poderem sofrer tão intoleraveis tormentos visto tambem ser impossivel chegar a Jappão algum Padre sem ser logo descoberto prezo, e posto nelles e os que hão sido christãos não lhes querem dar hum prato de arros, por onde tres Religiozos vendosse mortos de fome, e sem remedio se forão apresentar aos tirannos comfeçandosse por Religiozos os quaes logo forão postos a tromentos de modo que nenhua pessoa tem animo pera falar com os Pregadores do Evangelho, e a Christandade quoando a haja ficara sendo cada dia mais aveixada finalmente visto ser cauza esta passagem de se quebrar de todo o comercio e trato de Macao com os Jappoins, como aconteceo este anno de 1639 no qual mandarão tornar os nossos navios com suas fazendas sem consentirem se dezembarcasse fato [verso]

algum despedindoos de todo, como consta da sentença que derão contra nos com penna de morte aos que lâ tornassem com o que fica em grande risco esta cidade da qual dependem todas as Christandades da China, Tunquim, Cochimchina, Canboja, Laos, Sião e outras partes que sem ella se não podem sustentar, nem comservar, e os Olandezes ficarão com todo este comercio com o qual serão senhores de toda a India. Por onde vendonos os perlados das Religioens desta cidade abaixo assinados os grandes malles, e detrimentos que se seguem da passagem dos Religiozos a Jappão somos todos de parecer e julgamos que por nenhum cazo comvem passarem Religiozo algum a Jappão emquoanto dura tão grande rigor, e tão dura perceguição visto não se tirar fruto nenhum de semelhante passagem, antes se seguirem gravissimos danos e detrimentos



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assy spirituais, como temporaes, que a charidade obrigua evitar e por assy o entendermos fizemos esta carta por vias, por nola pedirem os officiaes desta cidade do Nome de Deos da China pera com ella informacem a quem mais convier. Macao 18 de Novembro de 1639.

[signatures:]

Joam Pereira governador  
Frei Antonio de São Domingos, vigario geral  
Frei João de Jesus prior de Santo Agostinho  
Antonio Ribeiro vizitador da Companhia de Jhesus  
Frei Bento de Christo guardião de São Francisco

[in another letter:]

Antonio de Macedo ouvidor com alçada por Sua Magestade nesta cidade do nome de Deos da China juis das Justificações e dos Regiduos em ella etc. a quantos esta minha certidão de justificação virem [recto]

faço saber em como os sinco sinais que estão ao pé do relatório atras hê hum delles do Reverendo Padre João Pereira governador que autualmente he deste Bispado da China, e outro hé do Reverendo Padre Frey Antonio de São Domingos vigairo do Convento de São Domingos e outro hê do Reverendo Padre Frei João de Jhesus Prior do Convento de Santo Agostinho, e outro he do Reverendo Padre Antonio Ribeiro da Companhia de Jhesus visitador das Provincias de China, e Jappão, e outro hê do Reverendo Padre Frey Bento de Christo guardião do Convento de São Francisco da Capucha, segundo me constou da fê do escrivão que esta sobescreveo que bem os ditos sinais conhece pello que hey os ditos sinco sinais atras por justificados por serteza do qual mandey passar a prezente certidão de justificação por mim assinada e sellada com o sello das armas Reaes da Coroa de Portugal que no juizo da Ouvidoria desta dita cidade serve aos vinte e oito<sup>36</sup> dias do mes de Novembro de mil e seis sentos trinta e nove annos. [outra letra:] E eu Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo escrivão da Ouvidoria per Sua Magestade nesta cidade que o fis escrever e sobescrevi. Pagou desta o acostumbrado e d’asinar e sello trinta reis.

[signed:]

Antonio de Macedo  
[Two illegible words] Macedo

[verso]

Carta dos perlados  
Santo Nombre de Dios 18 de Noviembre 1639  
Juan Pereira Governador y Religiosos

NOTES

- 1

I used the Portuguese version. Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*. 4<sup>a</sup> ed. Macao: Fundação Oriente/Museu e Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1989.
- 2

Idem, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- 3

And, as we know, will bring with them the winning strategy.
- 4

Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000; Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- 5

Material goods consumption but also of knowledge and culture goods.
- 6

Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, p. 1.
- 7

Bébio Vieira Amaro, ‘Nagasaki as Emporium: History and Social Composition in its Initial Years’, in *Vanguards of Globalization: Port-Cities from the Classical to the Modern*, edited by Rila Mukherjee. Delhi: Primus Books, 2014, p. 255.
- 8

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Filipinas, 8, R. 2, N. 21.
- 9

General ideas about this commercial framework in Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau* p. 7.
- 10

Marina Alfonso Mora; Carlos Martínez Shaw, *El Galeón de Manila*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2000, and the massive bibliography about this subject published in Spain, which is referred in this book/catalogue.
- 11

Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, p. 4. Document 2 specifically refers ‘*crístandades*’ (christianities) of China, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Cambodja, Laos, Sião, ‘*e outras partes que sem ella [a cidade de Macau] não se podem sustentar*’ (‘and other parts that could not survive without Macao’).
- 12

Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, pp. 8-9.
- 13

When the Roman Catholic Church was definitely banned; to better understand the Jesuit presence in Japan it’s essential to consult the work of Léon Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon: la fondation de la mission japonaise par François Xavier (1547-1551) et les premiers résultats de la prédication chrétienne sous le supériorat de Cosme de Torres (1551-1570)*. Lisbonne/ Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkain/Commission Nationale pour les Commémorations des Découvertes Portugaises, 1993. Although dated, this book contains plenty and useful data. Recent revision in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *A Descoberta da Civilização Japonesa pelos Portugueses*. Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1995.
- 14

That means, also with a political agenda, however identical to the one of their counterparts, entangled with personal interests.
- 15

Which escapes to Aníbal Pinto de Castro in his study *As Cartas dos Jesuítas do Japão: Documentos de Um Encontro de Culturas*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1991.
- 16

Oka Mihoko, ‘The investment of Japanese Silver in XVII century Macao-Japan trade’, in *O Estado da Índia e os Desafios Europeus. Actas do XII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, edited by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Vitor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues. Lisbon: CHAM, 2010, pp.119-138.
- 17

Besides, there were a different missionary project in Japan by other religious orders, especially the Franciscans, which I don’t study in this article, but that we can, in a certain part, find in the second document of the Appendix (and in many other letters sent to Rome and to the Iberian Crown complaining about the Jesuits monopoly since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As soon as 1590, 3 March, Friar Mateo de Mendoza, prior of the Holy Name of Jesus, an Augustinian convent in Cebú, informed that the Augustinians have had founded several convents in the Phillipines, Macao and Japan, and that in this last country the Jesuits notified them to leave by subpoenaing them with a letter from Pope Gregory XIII which have conceded them the Japan
- 18

conversion exclusive. AGI, Filipinas, 79, N. 21. Curiously, one of the letter’s signatories was the General of the Jesuits in Macao, which gives proof of the genuine care about the Jesuit problem in Japan.
- 19

Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber: Séculos XVI e XVII*. Lisbon: Presença, 2006, p. 167.
- 20

AGI, Filipinas, 79, N. 17. About the Japanese presence in Manila, see Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de La Pontificia, 2005.
- 21

AGI, Filipinas, 79, N. 17, cit. 22. In this game of interest’s competition we can find, sometimes, unexpected allies (whose positions we need to fully clarify through new studies, in order to determine the intentions behind those positions). In 1599, Friar Miguel de Benavides, Bishop of New Segovia, in Spanish Indies, censored the Castilian governor Francisco Tello for having sent a ship trading in China lamenting that, because of that ‘*tambien padecerán los portugueses de Macao, así como el comercio y la evangelización en general*’ (the Portuguese in Macao will also suffer, as well as trade and conversions in general). AGI, Filipinas, 76, N. 42.
- 22

Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, p. 4.
- 23

AGI, Filipinas, 340, L. 3, F. 478v-479v.
- 24

AGI, Filipinas, 41, N. 16.
- 25

As clear example of the casados’ ability to thrive and becoming influent, self-organised and present in the Asian most important hubs, see Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, *Os Casados de Malaca, 1511-1641: Estratégias de Adaptação e de Sobrevivência*, in IICT/bHL/blogue de História Lusófona/Ano VI/Junho 2011, available in <http://www2.iict.pt/?idc=102&idi=17183>.
- 26

See Appendix, document 1.
- 27

Not surprisingly. We must be careful with anachronism analysis which could exaggerate autonomous initiatives of traders and businessmen in this era; if that’s true that the self-organisation displayed by these men was a fact and responded to their needs, we are still far from neo-liberal positions that dominate in our time and are part of our actual reality.
- 28

See Appendix, document 1.
- 29

Manel Olé i Rodríguez, “A inserção das Filipinas na Ásia Oriental (1565-1593)”, in *Revista de Cultura* n.º 7, 2003, p. 9.
- 30

AGI, Filipinas, 82, N. 1.
- 31

See Appendix, document 1
- 32

AGI, Filipinas, 27, N. 156.
- 33

Torre do Tombo – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 13643.
- 34

Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, ‘Born with a “Silver Spoon”’: The Origin of World Trade in 1571’, *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (Fall, 1995); David R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 9. See also Benjamim Videira Pires, *A Viagem de Comércio Macau-Manila, nos Séculos XVI a XIX*. Macao: Imprensa Nacional, 1971, study in which the successive stages of encounter between Portuguese from Macao and Philippines are referred, namely with business proxy nominations, p. 31.
- 35

Of course Spanish and Portuguese had imperial projects; however these were of Crown initiative; what distinguished them was that the Iberian global projects had little to do with the Crown.
- 36

Antoni Picazo Mountaner, ‘Ports and Networks: the Case of the Philippines’, in *Vanguards of Globalization: Port-Cities from the Classical to the Modern*, ed. by Rila Mukherjee. Delhi: Primus Books, 2014, pp. 219-229.
- 37

Although later than document 2, the subject had been already debated in the City’s Chamber, and afterwards with the clergy; that’s why I present this document in first place.  
This word amended.