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Book chapter

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**Susan Broomhall, 'Women's marriage-related migration across East Asia, 1500-1650,'
in *Female Marriage Migrants in Asia*.**

ABSTRACT: Women's marriage migration may not be a modern phenomenon, but the contours of such experiences in times past are generally much more difficult to capture in previous centuries. Nonetheless, evidence exists to indicate that women have long moved around the Asian region, motivated by a range of marriage politics that are historically specific. This essay explores the nature of such female marriage-related migrations in the early modern period, and the kinds of sources that enable discovery of these women's specific life courses and experiences. Through case studies of three individual women, a Japanese-born woman in the Dutch East India Company settlement at Batavia, a Korean-born woman in Tokugawa Japan, and a woman from the Indian sub-continent living in the Spanish-controlled Philippines, it investigates three forms of participation in these human circulations in the region. It brings to bear analysis from the disparate range of historical sources, both textual and material, in order to reflect on their experiences of agency, their survival and support strategies and mechanisms for identity construction, as well as their opportunities for integration within their host communities. This essay, therefore, provides a deeper historical context in which to situate current marriage migrations and test the novelty or longevity of its modern forms.

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ESSAY:

Historical studies of migration around Asia in this period are scarce, but we know that women as well as men were involved in the movement of peoples around this region in the early

modern period. These movements, some of which were forced and others voluntary, occurred as a result of war, slavery, trade and faith. We can trace the contours of major historical events and political and economic manoeuvres that caused such migrations, but it is often difficult to capture the stories of the individuals who experienced them.

More specifically, women's marriage migration may not be a modern phenomenon, but the contours of such experiences in times past are generally much more difficult to capture in centuries long past. For the sixteenth and seventeenth century, rich life narratives and other detailed historical documentation is rarely available, and especially for women who migrated. Nonetheless, some evidence exists to indicate that women have long moved around the Asian region, motivated by a range of marriage politics that are historically specific. This essay explores the nature of such female marriage-related migrations in the early modern period, and the kinds of sources that enable discovery of these women's specific life courses and experiences. To do so, I analyse historical materials that were often written for a very different context to my research questions and require me to 'read against the grain' of the document's original purpose to uncover information about women's migration experiences.

Through case studies of three individual women, a Korean-born woman in Tokugawa Japan, a woman from the Indian sub-continent living in the Spanish-controlled Philippines, and a Japanese-born woman in the Dutch East India Company settlement at Batavia, it investigates three forms of participation in these human circulations in the region. It brings to bear analysis from the disparate range of historical sources, both textual and material, in order to reflect on their experiences of agency, their survival and support strategies and mechanisms for identity construction, as well as their opportunities for integration within their host communities. This essay, therefore, provides a deeper historical context in which to situate current marriage migration research and test the novelty or longevity of its modern forms.

Hyakubasen: Migration as a married couple

In Hōon Temple (Hiekoba, Saga prefecture, Kyūshū, Japan), an eighteenth-century monument tells the story of Korean potters who came to Japan at the end of the sixteenth century.¹ At the

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beginning of the eighteenth century, a stone monument was erected by Jissen, a son of that generation of the Fukaumi dynasty who had been central participants to the establishment of the ceramic industry in Arita and the production of the then world-famous porcelain known as Aritaware. The monument's description, now too worn to be read on the physical surface, is now known by a transcription held among historical documents in the Takeo City Library.² The text recounts while

their real name is unknown, the Korean Fukaumi family came from Korea during the Bunroku campaign. Fukaumi Sōden followed the orders of Ienobu Gotō (the lord of the Takeo domain) and went with the monk from Kōfuku Temple to Takeo where he lived several years in front of the temple gate, where he made pottery. From Ienobu Gotō he honorably received land in Uchida village where he would produce pottery such as rice bowls and incense burners. The temple monk gave Sōden the Japanese name of Shintaro.³

This monument stood alongside two others dedicated to family members, one for Heizaemon (Buddhist name: Sōkai), the son of Shintaro (Buddhist name: Sōden), and another for Heizaemon's second son, Tankyū, who was Jissen's father.⁴ These were not the only monuments made in remembrance of the region's Korean ceramic specialists of the late

¹ This case is studied more fully in Susan Broomhall, 'Shaping family among Korean migrant potters in early modern Japan,' in *Keeping Family in an Age of Long Distance Trade, Discovery and Settlement 1450-1850*, ed. Heather Dalton (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming). Historical names in this document follow Korean and Japanese language conventions, citing family name before generational and given names. The names of modern scholars are presented in the order used in the relevant publication.

² The transcript appears in 後藤家御戦功記 (Memoirs of the battle victories of the Goto clan) in the Takeo-city Library Historical Documents Museum (武雄市図書館・歴史資料館), within the at 武雄鍋島家歴史資料目録 (続編) (Takeo-Nabeshima Clan Historical Documents Catalogue) at shelfmark: 目録番号 B-20(-2). This transcription was published in 中島浩気 Nakashima Hiroki, 肥前陶磁史考 (Examination of Hizen Porcelain History) (first published in 1936, reprinted Tokyo: Seichosha, 1985), p. 142.

³ Translated from Nakashima's 1936 publication and the Takeo City Library transcription.

⁴ Explanation on the signboard next to the monument. A family tree is provided in Nakashima.

sixteenth century. What makes the first monument remarkable in the broader context of these monuments, however, was that it also celebrated the life of Jissen's great-grandmother, Hyakubasen (whose Buddhist name was Banryōmyōtaidōba). It noted that she 'passed away on the 10th day of the 3rd month in the 2nd year of Meireki [1656] at the age of 96.' On the side of the monument, the connection of the monument to her life was reiterated: 'This monument has been erected by Jissen, great-grandson of Sōden at the commemoration of the 50th year of Hyakubasen's death.' This monument provides one of our few forms of material evidence about the lives of women in particular as members of the Korean ceramic families who came to Japan at the end of the sixteenth century.

The period in which Jissen's ancestors had arrived in Japan at the end of the sixteenth century was a turbulent one. In 1592, the Japanese shōgun, Hideyoshi Toyotomi, launched a vast campaign into Joseon Korea. Its intention was to use Korea as a base for a more ambitious military engagement with Ming dynasty China. Having rejected Hideyoshi's diplomatic overtures to comply with his vision, the Joseon kingdom faced the might of Japanese navy and more devastatingly, its army. In a rapid manoeuvre, Japan landed massive numbers of troops on the Korean mainland, wreaking widespread destruction across Joseon society. However, by May 1593, Japanese supply lines were overstretched by counter-attacks from the Korean navy, most notably by famed figure, Admiral Yi Sun A and his turtle ships. The Japanese withdrew. In March 1597, Hideyoshi launched a second campaign. Once again, it immediately produced devastating results on the Korean mainland but the intervention of a military force from China, with whom Korea held a tributary relation, would prove decisive. When Hideyoshi died in September 1598, Japanese troops were rapidly withdrawn by the following month. These invasions represented the most serious military conflict among East Asia nations until the late nineteenth century.⁵

⁵ A vast literature covers all aspects of the war, usefully analysed by Kenneth M. Swope in 'Perspectives on the Imjin War,' *Journal of Korean Studies*, 12, 1 (2007), pp. 154-161. See also Swope, *A Dragon's Head and a Serpent's Tail: Ming China and the First Great East Asian War, 1592–1598* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009) and James B. Lewis (ed.), *The East Asian War, 1592-1598: International relations, violence and memory* (London: Routledge, 2015)

A significant aspect of the particular devastation of this conflict was the capture by the Japanese of many thousands of Koreans who were taken back to Japan. Scholarly attention has focused on neo-Confucian scholars and potters among these captives, partly because of the impact they are perceived to have on subsequent Japanese cultural traditions, but many more were peasants put to work as farm labourers. Among these captured Koreans were a large contingent of potters who were seen by various participating *daimyō* as valuable assets to bring to their lands. Korean ceramics were held in particularly high esteem among the contemporary Japanese elite, where the cultural performance of the tea ceremony, and its attendant ceramic utensils, were highly valued. Tea ceremonies were an integrated component of Japanese political culture.⁶ However, as part of their tea practices, Japanese elites had an interest in Korean pottery. Hideyoshi's tea master, Sen no Rikyū, was significant in introducing to Japan the rustic aesthetics of *wabi cha*.⁷ 'Korean things' (J: *kōraimono*) favoured by Rikyū began to dominate

⁶ Beatrice M. Bodart, 'Tea and Counsel. The Political Role of Sen Rikyu,' *Monumenta Nipponica*, 32, 1 (1977), pp. 49-74; Dennis Hirota, 'Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū Nampōroku Book I,' *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 25 (1980), pp. 31-48; Louise Allison Cort, 'The Grant Kitano Tea Gathering,' *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 31 (1982), pp. 15-44; Murai Yasuhiko, 'Furuta Oribe,' *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 42 (1985), pp. 24-48; Kumakura Isao (trans. Paul Varley), 'Sen no Rikyū: Inquiries into His Life and Tea,' and Theodore Ludwig, 'Chanoyu and Momoyama: Conflict and Transformation in Rikyū's Art,' in *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu*, ed. Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), pp. 33-69 and 71-100; Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Leiden: Brill/Global Oriental, 2003), Charley Iten, *Zur Töpferkunst der von Sen no Rikyū und Furuta Oribe geschätzten Brennöfen*, PhD thesis Universität Zürich, 2004; Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material culture, Tokugawa Ieyas, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016)

⁷ Louise Allison Cort, 'The Kizaemon Teabowl Reconsidered: The Making of a Masterpiece,' *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 71 (1992), pp. 7-30; Haga Kōshirō (trans. and adapted Martin Collcutt), 'The Wabi Aesthetic and its Historical Development,' in *Tea in Japan* (eds) Varley and Isao, pp. 195-230; Nam-lin Hur, 'Korean Tea Bowls (Kōrai chawan) and Japanese Wabicha: A Story of Acculturation in Premodern Northeast Asia,' *Korean Studies*, 39 (2015), pp. 1-22. See Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), chapter 1 on the historiographies developed around Rikyū and the development of *raku* specifically in late sixteenth-century Japan.

wabi cha practice and the elite world of tea-related ceramics by the end of the sixteenth century.⁸ These tea bowls and utensils were not the high quality ceramic styles favoured by Korean elites, but in keeping with the *wabi cha* aesthetic, those made for everyday use in the Joseon kingdom from a coarse form of celadon, producing faded greys, blues and greens, known as *buncheong* ware.⁹

Daimyō who were engaged in the war could thus take the opportunity to coax, or capture, Korean potters back to their estates in Japan, providing, in some cases, housing, lands and even income.¹⁰ Jissen's narrative made no mention of the family's forced relocation to the area and indeed suggested a positive relationship between Fukuami and the local *daimyō*, Gotō, lord of the Takeo domain. Most settled on the island on Kyūshū and began to produce pottery now known broadly as Karatsuware. The high iron content of the local clay which produced a light grey colour after firing, combined with the influences of Korean rustic pottery traditions, were attractive to teamasters seeking the *wabi* aesthetic.¹¹ In order to retain the Korean style of their ceramics and to retain the exclusivity of the industry, Japanese authorities restricted the integration of the Korean families, who were generally not permitted to marry local Japanese.

The Fukuami family had arrived in Japan as a result of Japanese interest in Korean ceramics but Hyakubasen was central to this migrant family's next move. As Jissen's narrative continues, 'Sōden passed away on the 29th day of the 10th month in the 4th year of Genna [1618]. The wife of Sōden left Uchida after the death of her husband and moved to Hiekoba at the foot of Mount Kurokami. The Korean potters who lived in Uchida moved with her to Hiekoba.' This move was shaped by a change in ceramic productions in the area. Another Korean potter known in Japan as Kanegae Sampei (K: Ri Sam-pyeong) had begun to develop a local porcelain

⁸ Hayashiya, 'The Korean Teabowl,' *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 18 (1977), pp. 28-46; Jon Carter Covell, 'Japan's Deification of Korean Ceramics,' *Korean Journal* (1979), pp. 19-26.

⁹ Hur, p. 5.

¹⁰ A recent study by Andrew L. Maske analyses the work of Korean potters brought to Chikuzen by the Kuroda lords to produce Takatori ware, *Potters and Patronas in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2011)

¹¹ Koo Tae-hoon, 'Flowering of Korean Ceramic Culture in Japan,' *History Review* (2008) online at http://www.koreafocus.or.kr/design2/layout/content_print.asp?group_id=102438 (accessed 13 September 2018)

product.¹² Kanegae is credited to have discovered kaolin in the area at the local mountain, Izumiyama, in the early 1600s. With financial support and protection from the Nabeshima, by 1616, he and eight others had soon established a traditional Joseon-style, multi-chambered kiln at Tengudani in Arita and brought together a large population of close to a thousand to work there.¹³ Archaeological work at the Tengudani sites have revealed shards of celadon and white porcelain, some with underglaze cobalt blue decoration, similar to contemporary styles from Korea.¹⁴ The Fukaumi family and their followers numbered among these new arrivals to the area who came to work the new porcelain styles that were soon to be known internationally under the name Aritaware.

Jissen thus recorded the transition of the family from Takeo to Hiekoba under his great-grandmother, Hyakubasen. It was a narrative in which she was lovingly remembered: ‘She passed away on the 10th day of the 3rd month in the 2nd year of Meireki [1656] at the age of 96. The wife of Sōden had a gentle shaped face and calm expression and since she was widely respected people called her Hyakubasen.’ In Hiekoba, where the Hōon Temple monument was erected, Jissen’s explicit mention of his great-grandmother made sense. It had been she who was responsible for the family’s association with the village, and for the family’s successful transition to a new and flourishing ceramic manufacture, of Arita porcelain. The popularity of Aritaware aided by its exportation into Europe by the Dutch East India Company particularly from the late 1650s and into the 1660s.¹⁵ The rise in popularity of Aritaware is reflected in the

¹² Koh, ‘The Place of the Pottery’; pp. 154–5; John A. Pope, ‘The Beginnings of Porcelain in Japan,’ in *200 Years of Japanese Porcelain*, (ed.) Richard S. Cleveland (St. Louis: City Art Museum of Saint Louis / Nelson Gallery - Atkins Museum, 1970), pp. 3-5; Koo, ‘Flowering of Korean Ceramic Culture in Japan.’

¹³ Nakashima, 1955, pp 94, 97 cited by Becker, p. 25; Yun Yong-I, ‘Koreans Shaped Base for Japan's Pottery: Origin of Satsuma & Arita Wares,’ *Koreana*, 5, 3 (1991) online at <https://koreana.or.kr/user/action/backIssueView.do> (accessed 13 September 2018); Koo Tae-hoon, ‘Flowering of Korean Ceramic Culture in Japan’. Nakashima suggests that Hyakubasen brought over 900 people with her to the area (p. 153).

¹⁴ Yun, ‘Origin of Satsuma & Arita Wares’.

¹⁵ Yun, ‘Origin of Satsuma & Arita Wares’; Olivier R. Impey, *The early porcelain kilns of Japan: Arita in the first half of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Koo, ‘Flowering of Korean Ceramic Culture in Japan’.

rapid increase in kilns that were built in the area. From thirteen kilns operating under the supervision of the local administrative office in 1637, there were some 180 by 1672.¹⁶ Indeed, Jissen went further in establishing his family's claims: 'She was a treasure and the beginning of the pottery town.'¹⁷

Hyakubasen was central to the monument text that Jissen created. Indeed, he explicitly tied the erection of the monument to her. On the side of the stone plinth was written, 'This monument has been erected by Jissen, great-grandson of Sōden at the commemoration of the 50th year of Hyakubasen's death.' Jissen's monument honoured most significantly his ancestors, Sōden and Hyakubasen, who had founded this Japanese branch of a Korean family of origin. Jissen's monument celebrated the coming together of a new and flourishing multi-generational unit, the dynastic House of Fukaumi, as well as documenting the physical movement by an earlier generation of family and household from lands in Takeo, and emplacing the current household within the social and physical landscape of Hiekoba, at the Hōon Temple.

The monument narrative of a household and a dynasty now successfully economically, socially and culturally embedded in Japan that had been profoundly shaped by migrations first from Korea to Japan and then another from Takeo, to Hiekoba. Moreover, this later decision was undertaken, the monument tells us, by the unit's founding mother, aunt, grand-mother, great-grandmother and revered older lady, Hyakubasen. In doing so, it signaled her capacity for agency in determining the future of her household and its strategic engagement with the emerging porcelain industry in the region. Although the Korean community of potters was required by Japanese authorities to remain in isolation from the host population that surrounded it, Hyakubasen's attempt to forge strong connections for her family to the new industry, her economic success, and the continuation of the family as a renown ceramic dynasty were survival strategies and identity constructions that were powerful achievements.

María: Migration, sexual labour and hopes of marriage

¹⁶ Yun, 'Origin of Satsuma & Arita Wares,' Koo, 'Flowering of Korean Ceramic Culture in Japan'.

¹⁷ A family tree provided is provided in Nakashima, 1985.

Another woman, María, would pay for her marriage-related migration with her life. In 1635, she arrived in Spanish-controlled Philippine Islands from India. Little is known of her specific origins, for Maria was a slave. This complicated the nature of the marriage promise that brought her Manila as well as her capacity for agency, self-determination, and identity construction. Nonetheless, the slim available document about her live provides intriguing hints about all of these features, as we shall explore below, as well as about her possibilities for integration into the Catholic colonial culture of her new home.

Many women moved across the region at this period as slaves and in sexual labour. Although these practices did not commence with European involvement in the region, they were eye-witnesses, vigorous commentators and often participants in slavery practices there. European officials feared that divine anger at such practices was causing the difficult weather conditions that they faced in crossing the region. When a ship sailing from Macao to India became stranded in 1583 in the Strait of Malacca, historian and archivist Diogo de Couto, who spent much of his life in Portuguese India, opined: ‘Without fearing God, merchants and others keep fair-skinned and beautiful girls as concubines in the cabins of the ship. ... Since the Portuguese in this region are engaging in immoral and lustful acts far more than in other regions of the world, there is no doubt that God threatened and punished them by causing typhoons many times.’¹⁸ From 1571, Sebastien of Portugal issued several decrees that such sexual contact with slaves went against the efforts of Christian missions in the region.¹⁹ Despite capturing their own slaves from China and Korea, as we have seen above, Japanese officials such as Ohmura Yuki, Hideyoshi’s subordinate, took a dim view of Europeans enslaving their own people:

They buy several hundred men and women and take them aboard their black ships. They place chains on their hands and feet and thrown them into the

¹⁸ Michio Kitahara, *Portuguese Colonialism and Japanese Slaves*, Tokyo: Kadensha, 2013, p. 19, fn 51. See also the forthcoming work of Lúcio De Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan: Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Slaves* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming)

¹⁹ Thomas Nelson, ‘Slavery in Medieval Japan,’ *Monumenta Nipponica*, 59, 4, (2004), 463; Kitahara, p. 18, fn 45.

holds of their ships. Their torments are worse than those in hell. ... We hear that the local Japanese have learned their ways by imitating them and sell their own children, parents, wives, and daughters.²⁰

The shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi complained to the Jesuit Vice Provincial Gaspar Coelho in 1587 about the ‘insufferable’ practices of Europeans ‘ripping Japanese away from their homeland, families, children, and friends.’²¹ The Jesuits themselves felt that ‘the Portuguese treat them just like dogs’, excusing ‘their behaviour by saying that they have legally purchased the Koreans or Japanese and so freed them from a worse form of slavery and guarantee them a better one. In reality, this is untrue’.²² Of particular concern, were ‘the women ... forced through poverty to live badly and scandalously’.²³ Coelho observed that “These merchants steal young, married women and make them their concubines. They kidnap children and bring them to their ships.” This did not end happily for the slave women and children. ‘Naturally, many of them commit suicide.’²⁴ Even the valets of the Portuguese owned slaves, and ‘they gave a scandalous example living in debauchery with the girls that they have bought and that some introduce into their cabins as they make the passage to Macau.’²⁵ In 1613, the Chinese authorities at Macau complained of the disruptive presence of Japanese slaves and forbade the Portuguese from bringing them there. A stone stele was erected at the port with an inscription to that effect.²⁶

²⁰ Nelson, pp. 465–6 citing Okamoto, *Jūroku seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsūshi no kenkyū*, Hara Shobō, 1931, p 734.

²¹ Nelson, p. 465 citing Luis Frois, *Historia de Japam*, ed. José Wicki, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976-84, vol. 4, p. 402.

²² Léon Pagès, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusques 1651*, Paris, C. Douniol, 1869-70, p. 468.

²³ *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon*, p. 469.

²⁴ Kitahara, pp. 19-20, fn 52, citing Louis S. Delplace, *François-Xavier et ses premiers successerus, 1540-43*, Brussels: Albert Dewi, 1909.)

²⁵ Pagès, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon*, p. 76: “ces valets donnent un scandaleux exemple en vivant dans la débauche avec les filles qu’ils ont achetées et que quelques’un introduisent dans leurs cabins en la traverse de Macao.” (my translation)

²⁶ Bocarro, *Decada 13 da história da Índia*. Lison, Aademic real des Sciencias, 1876, p. 725.

María's story began in India. She was a slave owned by an artilleryman named Francisco de Nava. The two had, in the words of the contemporary documents, 'illicit communication'. This had come to the attention of the archbishop who set out to investigate. Nava explained that he understood that the two had a marital understanding: 'he had brought [María] from Yndia, saying that he was going to marry her, as he had taken her while she was a maiden'.²⁷ This was, in his eyes at least, a contract for her virginity: Nava argued that María could gain a respectable marriage in exchange for her sexual labour.

The sexual morality of women and men in Manila was of great concern to the Spanish secular and ecclesiastical officials. Exile for men and marriage for women were two solutions applied in the colony as seen in the reflections of the governor, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, in November 1635 on his concerns about the 'great license and looseness of life, in both men and women. That has been corrected by exiling some of the men, and arresting others; and by rebuking and threatening the women of quality, and sheltering others of less standing, in the seminary of Santa Potenciana, until they are sought in marriage from that house.'²⁸ Spanish Dominican friar Diego Aduarte lamented on the poor morals of Spanish by comparison to native Christians in his history of missions in the region, recording:

There was one poor Indian slave woman whom a Spaniard, who had communicated a few days before in that village, tried to violate. She resisted him with spirit; and, as if horrified at the lack of respect which by his actions he showed to the Lord, whom he had received, she said to him: "How is it that, being a communicant, you dare to commit such a sin?" In this way may be seen how some of the new Christians surpass others who are old in the faith, going beyond them in virtue, devotion, and the fear of God.'²⁹

²⁷ Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, *Relation of events in the city of Manila from the year 1635 until the month of June, 1636*, in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland, AH. Clark Comp, 1903-1909, vol. 26, p. 24.

²⁸ Hurtado de Corcuera, *Letters*, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 26, pp. 74-75.

²⁹ Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores* (cont), Manila, 1640, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 31, p. 33.

It is possible that María's rejection of Nava's marriage offer was similarly because the sexual contact observed between them was non-consensual.

Manila was a known trading centre for slaves in the seventeenth century. When the Jesuit Pedro Chirino, procurator of the islands, send to Claudio Aquaviva, a summary account of the work of the Jesuits there, he noted the rich diversity of the city, not least as a result of its slave populations: 'From India, Malaca, and Maluco come to Manila male and female slaves, white and black, children and adults'.³⁰ The women, he thought, made 'excellent seamstresses, cooks, and preparers of conserves, and are neat and clean in service.'³¹

However, Spanish authorities were anxious about the 'many offenses to God' that took place between female slaves, in particular, and men in the city. In 1608, the King Felipe III outlawed the 'evil' of the passage of female slaves aboard vessels: 'It has been reported that the passengers and sailors of the trading ships of Filipinas transport and carry slave-women, who are the cause of very great offenses to God, and other troubles; this should be prohibited and reformed (and more reasonably so in a navigation so long and dangerous), and all occasions for offending God suppressed.' A senior auditor was to inspect each ship at launch.³²

However, the practice continued. Historian Tatiana Seijas suggests about a quarter of all those crossing the Pacific were women.³³ The same and further concerns still preoccupied the procurator-general of the Philippine Islands, Hernando de los Rios Coronel fifteen years later when he wrote again about that 'evil' of female slaves aboard vessels, 'a practice which gives rise to very great offenses against God'.³⁴

³⁰ Father Pedro Chirino S.J., *Relation of the Filipinas Islands and what has been accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus*, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 12, p. 47.

³¹ Chirino, *Relation* in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 12, p. 47.

³² Law LVI in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 17, p. 49.

³³ Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 79.

³⁴ los Rios Coronel, *Reforms*, in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 18, pp. 311-2.

That slave women be not conveyed in the ships, by which many acts offensive to God will be avoided. Although that is prohibited by your royal decree, and it is also entrusted to the archbishop to place upon them the penalty of excommunication and to punish them, this evil has not been checked; and many sailors—and even others, who should furnish a good example—take slave women and keep them as concubines. He knew a certain prominent official who carried with him fifteen of these women; and some were delivered of children by him, while others were pregnant, which made a great scandal.³⁵

Hernando de los Rios Coronel feared God’s punishment of the immorality of these actions: ‘It is not right that there be any occasion for angering God when there is so great risk in the voyage, as I dare to affirm; and it is certain that, in the last ten years, while this has been so prevalent, many disasters have happened.’³⁶

The evidence surrounding María provide intermittent hints of agency and autonomy by the migrant slave woman. It appears that the relationship between María and de Nava had faltered for she ‘left the house, going to that of Juan de Aller, a kinsman of Doña Maria de Franzia, wife of Don Pedro de Corcuera, whom she asked to buy her.’³⁷ The lady of this household ‘became fond of her’ and sought out Nava to buy María from him.³⁸ However, he ‘answered that he did not keep her for sale’, asked again a few days later, he responded ‘that he did not wish to sell her, as he was keeping her in order to marry her.’³⁹ Nava insisted that he had intended to make María his wife. As the report of the ecclesiastical authorities recounted, he “was so beside himself over the loss of the said slave that he refused to sell her at any price,

³⁵ los Rios Coronel, *Reforms*, in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 18, pp. 287-8.

³⁶ los Rios Coronel, *Reforms*, in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 18, pp. 311-2.

³⁷ Hurtado de Corcuera, *Relation 1535-1636* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 26, p. 24.

³⁸ *Second Book of the Second part of the Conquests of the Filipinas Islands, and Chronicle of the Religious of Our Father, St. Augustine* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 25, p. 164.

³⁹ Hurtado de Corcuera, *Relation 1535-1636* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 26, p. 24.

saying that he wished, on the contrary, to marry her.”⁴⁰ He refused money for her. But there were other stories circulating that complicated this narrative. The governor, reporting on the events at the end of the year, noted that ‘he had said the year before that he had been married in Nueva España.’ According to his account, ‘the slave girl said that she preferred to belong to another than to be his wife.’⁴¹ It is possible that the religious authorities felt the need to explain their involvement in the case, when they wrote up their accounts, and were inclined therefore to emphasise María’s own desire to leave de Nava’s household. What it does tell us, however, is that these officials thought it was viable for a slave girl to have that kind of agency and for the Church authorities to respond to her desire.

However, Nava’s actions had been in contravention of his faith. The archbishop, Don Hernando Guerrero, became involved in the sale of Maria to Doña María de Francia. Nava was outraged but received a violent beating when he went to Francia’s house: “he had gone there to request that they should give him the slave, as he had resolved to make her his wife.” Nava was placed in the stocks. His reactions to the loss of María were perceived as excessive for shortly after, an order was given that he be punished as if he were mad.⁴²

María’s story of migration ended tragically. On Sunday, 8 August 1635, at three in the afternoon, María passed by in the street in a carriage with her new mistress when Nava approached her, asking if she recognised him for her master. He then drew a dagger and stabbed her to death in the street.⁴³ Nava, wrote Hurtado de Corcuera, ‘deliberately and very securely, approached her by stealth; and, embracing her from behind, he stabbed and killed her

⁴⁰ *Second Book of the Second part of the Conquests of the Filipinas Islands, and Chronicle of the Religious of Our Father, St. Augustine* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 25, p. 164.

⁴¹ Hurtado de Corcuera, *Letters*, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 26, p. 75.

⁴² Hurtado de Corcuera, *Relation 1535-1636* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 26, p. 24.

⁴³ *Second Book of the Second part of the Conquests of the Filipinas Islands, and Chronicle of the Religious of Our Father, St. Augustine* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippines Islands*, vol. 25, p. 164.

treacherously.⁴⁴ The account of the religious authorities, however, provides another hint of a possible assertion of autonomy in María's actions: '*The slave answered him with some independence*, whereupon he, blind with anger, drew his dagger in the middle of the street and killed her by stabbing her, before anyone could prevent it.'⁴⁵

Nava would be condemned to death by the general of the artillery and his sentence rapidly carried out on 6 September 1635 on gallows raised on the spot where María had been killed. Soon after the events, popular ditty was affixed to the door of the governor's house, recounting these remarkable events:

Who was hanged from a beam?—An artilleryman.
 On what was that action based?—On the slave-girl.
 Of what did the homicide deprive him?—His life.
 Unjustly lost
 It was; but still I lament
 That he should lose in one moment—
 That artilleryman—his slave-girl and his life.⁴⁶

In summary, María's prospects of marriage may have been lost to the wider audience of these events, but it was potentially an important aspect of the journey that she had taken from India to the Philippines. Female slaves were at the mercy of the sexual expectations of their masters and as migrants; they generally had fewer familial or other established social networks to assist or protect them. Agency is thus typically hard to discern in the case of a slave. However, the evidence around María is intriguingly ambiguous. Did she actively seek to leave de Nava herself? What role did she play in gaining sympathy with powerful local citizens to assist her?

⁴⁴ Hurtado de Corcuera, *Letters*, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 26, p. 75.

⁴⁵ *Second Book of the Second part of the Conquests of the Filipinas Islands, and Chronicle of the Religious of Our Father, St. Augustine* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 25, p. 164. (My italics)

⁴⁶ Hurtado de Corcuera, *Relation 1535-1636* in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 26, p. 45.

Indeed, as a migrant to the Spanish-controlled Philippines specifically, María enacted a survival strategy by engaging ecclesiastical authorities and local elite women in her case, who were prepared to step in to such a household in order to instil Catholic moral values. Their actions integrated her into a Catholic colonial social community, which was advantageous to her. We have little remaining evidence of unusual situations such as María's in which a female migrant slave appears herself to have rejected the advances of a master, which may or may not have included a proposal of marriage. Sadly, however, María's rejection of her master would also lead to her death.

Maria: Marriage and exile

For other women, their migration from homelands across Asia was caused by marriage or relationships with Europeans. In 1639 the Tokugawa Shogunate government issued an edict to exile the partners and children of Dutch and English traders. It followed earlier orders to exclude first the Spanish and then the Portuguese from the country, to ban the promulgation and practice of the Christian faith in Japan, and to forbid the exit of Japanese individuals and vessels from the country. By 1641, the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, or VOC) would be limited to trade only from Deshima, a constructed island offshore Nagasaki. Most of the exiled families migrated to European settlements in Macau, Taiwan and Batavia (present-day Jakarta, Indonesia). As was trade, communication between exiles and their Japanese friends and families would be heavily restricted for many years.

Not all women married or in relationships with European men left their homelands. One could interpret women's decisions as a first act of agency. But by remaining in Japan, they gave up their partners, their children and their Christian faith (if they were Christians). Surishia and Tokeshio were the mothers of Cornelia and Hester, the two daughters of Cornelis van Nijenroode, VOC chief merchant in Japan from 1623 to 1632. Before his death in 1633, van Nijenroode had recognised both his daughters of different Japanese mothers in notarial acts and his testament, and provided funds for both daughters and their mothers.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ W.Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1597–1641* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1985), 254-5 and Leonard Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis? The Life and Times of Cornelia van

However, in November 1637, following a resolution by the VOC Council of Hirado in September the previous year, Cornelia and Hester had been removed from their mothers and taken to Batavia on the *Galjas*.

In October 1639, one woman from Nagasaki, the widow of an Italian, left her homeland forever, travelling on the VOC vessel *Breda*. It left Hirado carrying a number of individuals of English or Dutch ancestry, Company and free burghers, their wives, children and in some cases, grandchildren.⁴⁸ Stopping at Casteel Zeelandia in present-day Taiwan, some of the youngest aboard disembarked to be cared for there, but the majority remained, arriving in the VOC settlement of Batavia on 1 January 1640. Among those aboard were a series of families—the Japanese wives and widows of Dutch, English and Italian men and their children and grand-children—including Maria from Nagasaki, the widow of an Italian pilot, Niccolò Marino, and her daughters, fifteen-year-old Haru/Jeronima, and nineteen-year-old Man/Magdalena. Maria's grandson, aged three, the son of Man, had been left to be raised in Taiwan.⁴⁹ These Japanese female migrants who travelled upon the *Breda* would form a close-knit community who remained in contact, as documentary sources reveal, for the remainder of their lives. In doing so, they created a shared identity and protective strategy for survival and support in their new location.

The Japanese community had formed a numerically-marginal presence in the European-governed, cosmopolitan *entrepôt* of Batavia.⁵⁰ Just 83 individuals had been identified as

Nijenroode,' in his *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht-Holland: Foris Publications, 1986), pp. 182-3.

⁴⁸ The ship's register of passengers is reproduced in Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, Appendix 5, p. 254.

⁴⁹ The case of Japanese Christian exiles in Batavia analysed more fully in Susan Broomhall, 'Tears on Silk: Cross-cultural emotional performances among Japanese-born Christians in seventeenth-century Batavia,' *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 1.1 (Special Opening Issue: Emotions and Marginalized Communities) (2016), 18-42. The *Breda* left Hirado in October 1639, with 4 Dutch families, 7 children of Dutchmen, 2 daughters of an Italian, 1 daughter on an Englishman, and 6 Japanese mothers.

⁵⁰ On the social experience of Batavia at this period, Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1983)

Japanese in a population of just over eight thousand in the 1632 census of the city, with 25 slaves.⁵¹ However, women like Maria joined many other migrant women who had come from VOC contact zones across Asia to Batavia. The archival records of marriages and re-marriages in the first half of the seventeenth century, which often named women by their place of origin, highlight some such journeys made by Justa Zuares van Bengale (Bengal), Ursela de Mesquite van Cochin (Kochi, Kerala), or Anna van de Cust Chormandel (the Coromandel Coast).⁵² Japanese exiled women and men were considered favourable migrants to the Batavia settlement by its Dutch authorities. Those at the top of the VOC hierarchy hoped many more would arrive to become helpful to the Company:

Our friends report that all Japanese whose friends were punished on account of the Roman religion [Catholicism], will be banished from Japan and they believe more than 400 men or more with their wives will come to Batavia and serve us.⁵³

This view was reflected in the January 1640 general missive sent from the Governor-General and Council at Batavia that announced the emigration of Japanese wives and children of the VOC on the *Breda* and noted that officials would ‘endeavour to raise the children in fear of God and heartfelt Christian religion.’⁵⁴

Many exiled Japanese Christian single women married men within the VOC network at Batavia, at the same time retaining connections to their Japanese networks there. Maria’s elder daughter, Man, remained within the Japanese community, marrying Murakami Buzaemon/ Michiel Boesaijmon in January 1642: ‘Michael van Langesackij Christen Japonder,’ free burgher and ‘Magdalena van Langesackij, Christene, Japonsche jonge dochter’.⁵⁵ Among the marriages records of the city is that of Maria’s younger daughter, Haru/Jeronima, in November 1646: ‘Simon Simonssen of Hirado, assistant in the Company,

⁵¹ Seiichi Iwao, ‘Japanese Emigrants in Batavia during the 17th Century,’ *Acta Asiatica* 18 (1970), 1-24, (p. 6). and Naojiro Murakami, ‘The Japanese at Batavia in the XVIIth Century,’ *Monumenta Nipponica*, 2, 2, (1939), p. 358.

⁵² Murakami, ‘The Japanese at Batavia in the XVIIth Century,’ pp. 367, 370.

⁵³ Antonie van Diemen, Anthonio Caen and Cornelis van der Lijn, 8 January 1640, *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal*, , ed. by W. Ph. Coolhaas, (’S Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), Vol. 2: 1639-55, 98.

⁵⁴ Van Diemen, Caen and Van der Lijn, 8 January 1640, *Generale missiven*, vol. 2, p. 98.

⁵⁵ Murakami, ‘The Japanese at Batavia,’ p. 369, Appendix II, no. 58.

with Hieronima Marinus, young girl, born in Nagasaki'.⁵⁶ Simonsen was, like Haru/Jeronima, the son of a Japanese woman and European father, born in Hirado himself. He was a VOC Junior Merchant who would rise to become Harbour Master in Batavia in 1663.⁵⁷ Between 1620 and 1675, some forty women of Japanese origin were listed in such records; 26 married to European men (23 Dutchmen, three other Europeans), 12 to Japanese men and two to other Asian men.⁵⁸ In fact, marriages between partners both of Japanese origins, such as that of Haru/Jeronima and Man/Magdalena were relatively rare.

Migrant women evidently kept their natal families and networks alive for their children, and these were reflected in their later correspondence. We can read such letters as evidence of 'global householding', as characterised by the sociologist Mike Douglass, in which individuals enact practices designed to maintain family and household across distance.⁵⁹ Over time, authorities in Japan relaxed restrictions on communications. This allowed Maria's daughter, Haru/Jeronima, to send letters to Japan along with many gifts to family and friends as a widow in 1681.⁶⁰ Maria's daughter had had at least seven children.⁶¹ Letters remain from

⁵⁶ Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' p. 370, Appendix II, no. 76.

⁵⁷ Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 63.

⁵⁸ Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' p. 359. See also Iwao, 'Japanese Emigrants in Batavia,' p. 2, who lists 33 marriages involving Japanese women between 1618 and 1659.

⁵⁹ See for example, Mike Douglass, 'Global Householding and Social Reproduction in Migration Research Part: From the Peasantry to Feminist and Political Economy Critiques', *Ewha Journal of Social Sciences*, 29, 3 (2013), Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2583197> and Douglass, *Global Householding and Social Reproduction: Migration Research, Dynamics and Public Policy in East and Southeast Asia*, Asian Research Institute of the National University of Singapore, Working Paper, no. 188 (2012)

⁶⁰ Letter of Haru, widow of Simonsen, held at the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, Reference Number 県書 へ 13 62. My thanks to the assistance of Mr Toshiaki Gomi at the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, and the research assistance of Mr Kazuo Miyata.

⁶¹ Citing Iwao, *A sequel to: The Study on the Nangyang Japanese Town* (Iwanami-shoten, 1987), in Masotoshi Iguchi, *Java Story: The history and culture of a southern country* (Kibworth Beauchamp: Matador, 2015), p. 36.

a number of exile women.⁶² They were typically accompanied by gifts — tea, wooden screens, and especially textiles that were readily accessible in Batavia. Haru/Jeronima's 1681 letter enclosed such items as white cotton cloth, calico, and figured satin, sent to a large number of friends and family in Japan. In these letters, fabrics from across the reach of the VOC were included, as well as locally-produced *batik* and *ikat*.⁶³ Women sometimes included requests that obliged their recipients to procure small items for them, or to conduct errands on their behalf, such as having white cloth dyed in Japan or sending barrels of Japanese *sake* with monies provided.⁶⁴ Such requests assumed bonds of duties and obligations between support networks of kin and friends.

Mothers left behind in Japan were not forgotten in such letters either. Cornelia van Nijenroode who had been separated from her mother and arrived in Batavia in 1647, later married Pieter Cnoll in 1652. By 1663, the year of her first known letter to Japan, Cnoll had reached the position of VOC *opperkoopman* (first head merchant) at Batavia, responsible in practice for much of the day-to-day business of the Company. The couple had at least ten children.⁶⁵ Cornelia sent at least two letters to her family, via interpreters, sending gifts and detailing news of her family. Cornelia's 1663 letter addressed to her mother, Surishia and her husband, Handa Goeimon, demonstrates her filial affections and duties to look to the health of her family members and anticipates the concerns of her mother by insisting upon her own wellbeing and that of her family. Cornelia noted that her mother and Handa were in good health and insisted: 'Please do not worry about me. My husband Cnoll is a good fellow, and he rises ever higher'.⁶⁶ In April 1671, she elaborated further:

⁶² Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 187. See letters by Cornelia van Nijenroode, and two by Fuku/Catharina, a servant born into in the family of Gorosaku and Sanzō, who married Louwijs Rokube/Locqbe/de Nangesackje. Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' pp. 356, 362, 369.

⁶³ Iguchi, *Java Story*, pp. 105-6. Letter of Haru, Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, 県書 へ 13 62.

⁶⁴ Iguchi, *Java Story*, p. 44. Letter of Haru, Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, 県書 へ 13 62.

⁶⁵ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 187.

⁶⁶ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 190.

we are especially in good health, and last year [1670] in the fourth month I gave birth to a baby girl. Now we have four children; they are all in good health, please do not worry. ... Over the last two years nothing has been sent by me; you may be worried about me. But nothing special has occurred. I am in good health so you do not have to worry about me. I have become a mother of ten children; six have been lost, four are in good health. Elder brother is fourteen, his sister twelve, followed by a little sister of six and the little baby who is eight months old. All are in good health. Especially the eldest son and the second daughter send grandfather and grandmother their warmest greetings.

That you are still in good health makes me happy time and time again.⁶⁷

Cornelia's repeated injunction to her mother not to worry about her rhetorically displayed her willingness and capacity to anticipate her mother's feelings, enacting a connection between them through demonstration of Cornelia's knowledge of her mother's state of concern, and thus, their emotional interdependence.

In her 1663 letter, Cornelia thanked her family for presents she had received from them and then sent gifts of her own: cloth with a Chinese pattern, Borneo camphor, gingham cotton cloth, and coloured chintz. These were carefully selected for particular recipients that elucidated a network of connections for her in Japan: her grandmother, her step-father Handa Goeimon, her wetnurse, and her sister Hester's mother, Tokeshio. In April 1671, Cornelia acknowledged the generosity of her correspondents, working through the VOC officials in Deshima: 'Every year I receive almost too much charity of the office of the two governors of Nagasaki'⁶⁸ and continued by assuring her readers that she had delivered all to their rightful recipients: 'Everybody rejoiced and said it was too much to accept'.⁶⁹ In doing so, Cornelia's letter not only represented her own emotional experiences but produced the emotional affiliations of a far wider network of Japanese Christians in Batavia to their Japanese correspondents. This included Murakami Buzaemon/ Michiel Boesaijmon, then widower of Maria's daughter, Man/Magdalena, who had died after the birth of their child, Cornelia in 1643, who enclosed his own message within Cornelia's: 'I have received the presents from you every year ... I feel very indebted to you.'⁷⁰ Cornelia then sent back many pieces of

⁶⁷ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 191.

⁶⁸ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 191.

⁶⁹ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 191.

⁷⁰ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?', 191-2.

Salempouri, calico and Palcalle cottons, and *batik* for her mother, her Japanese step-father Handa, her wet nurse, and sister's mother, Tokeshio. She also looked to forge connections from her children to their relatives in Japan, incorporating them into the ritual emotional practices of gift-giving: 'To grandmother and grandfather I send 2 *tan* of Dutch linen presented by elder brother and his little sister. It is a small sign of kindness.'⁷¹ These gifts and requests forged affiliations across the communities of Japan and Batavia. Haru and Cornelia effectively conducted emotional labour as a form of global householding, through discussions of care, assuring connections for the next generation of the Batavia-based children with their natal relatives in Japan and sending back goods as presents.

The evidence of wills suggests that Japanese migrant women could be highly successful in financial terms in this European environment. Isabella 'van Nangasacki'/van Sandtvoort had arrived in Batavia on the *Breda* with Haru/Jeronima. The daughter of a Japanese woman and a freeburgher, Melchior van Sandtvoort, Isabella was the widow of Vincent Romeijn, also an exile from Japan (although from Manila originally) and later a Sherriff of Batavia.⁷² When in September 1648 she wrote her will, Isabella left substantial goods and properties, including a stone pedack on the Tijgersgracht to Maria, 200 *reals* to Maria's daughter Haru/Jeronima, two silver knives, spoons and forks to Haru/Jeronima's husband Simon Simonsen, 100 *reals* to Cornelia, the daughter of Man/Magdalena and Michiel Buzaemon/Boesajimon.⁷³ These wills clearly showed the capacity of women to become engaged in economic activities as a form of survival strategy in their host environment. The stone pedack, for example, that Isabella left for Maria represented a relatively substantial shop front. Haru/Jeronima's testament, made in May 1692, showed her like Isabella to be in financially-comfortable circumstances, liberating twelve slaves and leaving five other individuals to her daughter Maria, by then the widow of a Batavian judge.⁷⁴

Beyond their distribution of gifts, while still managing to remain connected to their Japanese origins. Death represented a moment at which profound acts of socialization occurred, both for the dying and for those who surrounded them in which identities and communities were

⁷¹ Blussé, 'Butterfly or Mantis?' 192.

⁷² Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' p. 358.

⁷³ Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' p. 371, Appendix III, no 1.

⁷⁴ Iwao, 'Japanese Emigrants in Batavia,' p. 9.

enacted and performed through often ritualised emotional and affective display. The distribution of these women's goods and people located subjects within Christian, European, Japanese and exile communities. In addition to the distribution of both properties and goods to a range of individuals in the exile community outlined above, Isabella's will also designated a number of gifts, money and textiles to be sent to her relatives in Japan, as well as to other Japanese exiles living in Macau.⁷⁵ In an August 1649 codicil, she placed one of several slaves who she owned in a five-year term of service to Willem Verstegen who was also known to her from their time together on the *Breda*.⁷⁶ These migrant women's wills thus became important mechanisms by which women could assert a self-constructed identity, thus, in some small ways, resisting the definitions that host communities made for them.

Moreover, the Japanese migrant beneficiaries of Isabella's testamentary gifts signed their receipt of these items in a range of forms that signalled their own choice of self-representation. In a document that again identified her as 'van Nangesacki', her Japanese recipients chose a range of means to bear witness to this act, in Japanese *kana* and *kanji* characters, using a traditional *kao* (family seal), the Dutch alphabet or with a simple mark. For example, Haru/Jeronima placed her *kao* upon the document. By contrast, Maria's son-in-law Buzaemon/Boesaijmon provided a signature of his name in its Dutch variation, 'Michiel Bouzayemon'.⁷⁷ Later, Haru/Jeronima's own will was signed in *kana*.⁷⁸ The choices that these women and men made to identify themselves in varied Japanese or European styles in documentary forms shaped by European administrative needs and perceptions of their status, suggests their resistance to the definitions of their identity by others.

In summary, marriages of Japanese women to European men in the early seventeenth century produced unexpected outcomes and experiences as a result of the Tokugawa's increasingly anti-Christian policies. What agency did Maria have in her migration? These women had to decide whether to stay in Japan with their natal families, or go into exile with their husbands and children, and their Christian faith. As the widow of a European Christian, she could have

⁷⁵ Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' p. 371, Appendix III, no 1.

⁷⁶ Iwao, 'Japanese Emigrants in Batavia,' p. 9.

⁷⁷ Murakami, 'The Japanese at Batavia,' pp. 372-3, Appendix III, no 3 and Figure 2. On the use of Japanese seals, see Iwao, 'Japanese Emigrants in Batavia,' p. 7.

⁷⁸ Iwao, 'Japanese Emigrants in Batavia,' p. 18.

remained in Japan, but it would have entailed a renunciation of her Christian faith and potentially separated her from her daughters if they chose to leave for Batavia. Once she had arrived in the city, Maria and her daughters appears to have had a range of strategies to support them and to create fulfilling identities in their new location. These included economic activities of trading, forging marriage networks with other migrants and establishing local sociabilities, while renewing affiliation to kin in Japan for themselves and the next generation. These migrant women from Japan living in the VOC settlement at Batavia forged for themselves multiple identities and communities that they sustained through acts of correspondence, gift-giving and sociabilities and which are revealed to us through documentary forms of letters, notarial acts, church registers and testaments. Moreover, these documents indicate how women who migrated as a result of their marriages to European men did not fail to inculcate their feelings and obligations for loved ones at home in their daughters. These texts reflected and enacted expressions of multiple identities of exiled Japanese women while forging connections far across the region. The documentary records suggest that these women were able to operate successfully in Batavia but it does not suggest a complete integration into the Dutch society that governed the city. Although Japanese Christians were welcomed, they always remained, partly by their own choosing and as the records indicate, defined by their ethnic origins as Japanese.

Conclusions

As this essay has shown, the documentation that is available to historians to assess migrant women's experiences that were connected with various kinds of marriage politics is slim. It can nonetheless allow us to analyse the agency, survival and support strategies, and opportunities for identity construction of these women, as well as consider how they were integrated in their new host communities. These women had very different kinds of agency to each other, to determine their marriage, migration and their life in a new destination. Sometimes the sources reveal rather unexpected and surprising forms of agency, as in the case of the slave woman, María. Likewise, in very different circumstances, we can still see patterns of strategic behaviours of migrant women that were designed to support them in new locations. These were connected to economic activities such as trade and production. The evidence here suggests that women were certainly not economically passive subjects, at the whim of politics in the region. They were in fact resourceful, flexible and talented. The documentation suggests that these migrant women commonly found mechanisms to construct their identity in ways of their choosing, maintaining connections to home for themselves and

their children and forging new sociabilities and networks in their host communities that would enable them to have success in marriage and in business, as well as to practise their culture and language in the case of Hyakubasen in Japan and Maria in Batavia. These forms of identity construction can also be interpreted as emotional forms of survival strategies, vital for their wellbeing and resilience in challenging circumstances. Finally, we find that some measure of integration into host communities might be possible, especially through economic labour but that culturally, these women and their families were often held at arms' length by local populations and authorities. Indeed, it is this study's most vulnerable woman who was able to be socially integrated of the Catholic colonial elite (albeit as a slave) but in doing so, gaining access that group's cultural and legal protections. Clearly, then, the dynamics of these women's marriage-related migrations were very different, to each other and to modern contexts. But in some senses, women face similar challenges then and now and displayed significant agency, strategic thinking and identity construction in their own historical contexts.